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## **FUNCTIONALITY OF THE ANITA PLATFORM IN THE LEGAL SYSTEM OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA**

### ***Abstract***

*Back in 2018, the University of Criminal Investigation and Police Studies entered its first Horizon 2020 project with 16 other partners from a total of 11 countries as an organization that trains members of the police in the Republic of Serbia. The project itself presents a unique undertaking in the EU and beyond. It is intended to be an exploration-oriented form of an online platform for searching the deep, surface, and dark internet to obtain data on the objects, connections between subjects and prove their relationships and activities. This platform is a unique tool in the fight against illegal trade of narcotics, new psychoactive substances, as well as counterfeit drugs, weapons, and ammunition, as well as terrorist financing. The presentation of the possibilities of this platform is integrated with the approach to the analysis of possible measures and actions that would come into consideration for application in the legal system of the Republic of Serbia. Regardless of the way in which this platform is analysed and, although it is a tool applicable in the systems of EU member states, it is necessary to recognize its usability in the legal system of the Republic of Serbia. To this end, in the article is presented an analysis of possible legal bases for action in the application of ANITA platform tools, as well as proposals regarding possible procedural actions that are in the option for enforcing. In addition to showing the specifics of the platform itself and the tools that come with the work, it also offers an elaboration of the positioning of this tool in the legal framework of our country. although it is a tool applicable in the systems of EU member states, it is necessary to recognize its usability in*

*the legal system of the Republic of Serbia. To this end, an analysis of possible legal grounds for action in the enforcing of ANITA platform tools is provided, as well as proposals regarding possible procedural actions that are in the option for enforcing. In addition to showing the specifics of the platform itself and the tools that came with the project, article also offers an elaboration of the positioning of this tool in the legal framework of our country.*

**Key words:** *Anita project, procedural measures, special evidentiary actions, OSINT, evidentiary actions.*

## INTRODUCTION

The combat against crime takes place in all available fields, and in that sense, any new methods and means are more than welcome, especially in the field of Internet searches. Our state, and the state's responses to crime, literally, in most cases lags the richer states and, for example member states of the European Union. European Commission projects related to scientific research contributions to society and communities with a huge budget range are not only reserved for member states but are also available to other states. We are lucky that within the Horizon 2020 call of the order of projects in the field of fight against crime and terrorism (FCT) and our state and institution, the University of Criminal Investigation and Police Studies (KPU) has connected with exceptional partners in order to create tools in the fight against organized crime and its incarnations on three levels of the Internet - superficial, deep and dark. This form of tool is a novelty in the region of our region, but unlike previous cases, this time we have access to the most modern type of tool through this form of cooperation with the privilege to be the first to try it and offer it to potential users in our market and environment.

## THE SITUATION IN THE LEGAL SYSTEM OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

To understand to what (evidentiary) actions could be used tools available within the ANITA platform, it is necessary to explain the current situation and available actions in the procedural - legal system of the Republic of Serbia. Criminal (conditionally speaking and procedural evidentiary) actions in the doctrine are divided into operative, evidentiary, and special evidentiary. This division is based on the division, conditionally speaking, provided by the Criminal Procedure Code (Official Gazette of RS No. 72/2011, 101/2011, 121/2012, 32/2013, 45/2013, 55/2014 and 35/2019)<sup>1</sup>. When solving a criminal offense and discovering the perpetrator, and during the formal and unformal activities of procedure, for the acting agency (whether it is the police, public prosecutor, or other agency), they require a legal basis for undertaking. The characteristic of any lawful and harmonized with criminal rules action of authorized police officers is reflected in the necessity of the simultaneous existence of a material precondition and a formal basis<sup>2</sup>. The material precondition is the existence of a criminal offense for which he is prosecuted *ex officio*, actually the certain level of suspicion that such a criminal offense was committed and that a certain person(s) committed the criminal offense (in special evidentiary actions the range of criminal offenses for which the material condition it is less binding - Article 162 of the Code of Criminal Procedure is prescribed, and thus the circle of perpetrators targeted by these actions is reduced). The formal (criminal procedure) basis for criminal measures and actions taken by the police are certain provisions of the CPC and, possibly, certain activities of procedural subjects or their presence (proposal of the public prosecutor for issuing an order for search or, for example, the presence of a defence counsel during the interrogation of the suspect by the police). When taking action, the acting agency has the obligation to take action in order to clarify the crime and apprehend the perpetrator, as well as to take the necessary measures to

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<sup>1</sup> Article 286 Criminal procedure code.

<sup>2</sup> Ивановић З. Доказне радње у дигиталном окружењу – криминалистичка анализа, Зборник радова, Научно-стручни скуп са међународним учешћем Тара, 24–26. мај 2016. године Европске интеграције: правда, слобода и безбедност, Криминалистичко-полицијска академија, Фондација „Ханс Зајдел” Београд, 2016, стр.367-393, стр.369.

find the perpetrator, in order to prevent hiding or escape of the perpetrator or accomplice, also, to discover and provide traces of the crime and acts and objects that may serve as evidence, and to collect all information that could be useful for the successful conduct of criminal proceedings. To fulfil this duty, the police according to Art. 286 of the CPC may take certain demand (operative) actions. These include the following actions: to request the necessary information from citizens; to carry out the necessary inspection and search of means of transport, passengers and luggage; to restrict movement in a certain area for the necessary time, up to eight hours at the latest; to take the necessary measures regarding the identification of persons and objects; to conduct a search in a form of an all point bulletin (APB) for the person and objects sought; to inspect certain facilities and premises of state bodies, companies, shops and other legal entities in the presence of the responsible person, to inspect their documentation and, if necessary, to confiscate it; to take other necessary measures and actions. A record or official note shall be drawn up on the facts and circumstances that were established during the enforcing of certain actions, and which may be of interest for the criminal procedure, as well as on the items that were found or seized. This article envisages one in its essence and basis of sui generis action. According to the warrant (this is the only warrant existing in the CPC) of the pre-trial judge, and issued at the proposal of the public prosecutor, the police can obtain records of telephone communication, used base stations or locate the place from which communication is performed.<sup>3</sup> This action in the original form of the CPC

<sup>3</sup> Based on the initiative of police officers to the acting Basic or Senior Prosecutor for obtaining the realized telecommunication traffic of a natural person - ie retained data, the acting prosecutor submits to the pre-trial judge the initiative on the basis of which the pre-trial judge makes a decision to ask the communication providers to provide recorded information (retained data) on realized telephone communications, addresses of base stations or locate the address from which a certain communication was performed. Retained data represent information about the number being called, the number being called, the date and time, the start and end of the phone call, the duration of the phone call, the device used in communication, and the geographical location of the phone you are calling. a call has been made. Regarding the retention of data, we have a period of 12 months for their storage according to the Law on Electronic Communications. In the Law on Electronic Communications, as well as in the bylaws, which are to be adopted on its basis, as bylaws that more fully regulate their application, the rights and freedoms of man and citizen that are restricted are: guaranteed secrecy of letters and other means of communication in Article 41 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia and guaranteed protection of privacy of



was reserved for the Public Prosecutor, but due to the actual obstacles related to the supervision of communication and requesting a court decision, such a solution was subsequently found. The police shall immediately inform the public prosecutor about the undertaking of measures and actions, and no later than within 24 hours after the undertaking. A person against whom some of the measures and actions have been applied may file a complaint to the acting public prosecutor. The described actions can be taken by the public prosecutor at any time, but by the vocation, they are reserved for the police. Certain measures and actions are legally determined in the CPC, and their undertaking is conditioned, according to the conditions that must be fulfilled during the undertaking; they, as a rule, have probative value. According to the described, the conditions for taking evidentiary actions can be imperative or alternative. For the sake of illustration, we can cite the example of communicating a certain corpus of rights to a person who is deprived of liberty or a suspect who agreed to be questioned in the presence of defence counsel before the police, according to the rules of questioning the defendant (Art. Article 68, paragraph 1, items 1 and 2 and Article 69 of the CPC). If the conditions prescribed in this way are not formally fulfilled, the action taken and the results of its undertaking will not have a legally perfect effect - moreover, all records must be separated in a special envelope and excluded from the case file in a further trial. Evidentiary actions must be taken by the agency in charge, first, the head of the pre-investigation procedure and investigation - the public prosecutor and he (or she) may entrust the performance of these actions to the police, except for autopsy and exhumation. First of all, criminal-procedural evidentiary actions are provided exclusively by procedural legislation (CPC) and, as a rule, are regulated in detail only by this regulation (the elaboration of police actions in undertaking certain investigative actions is also contained in the Law on Police 6/2016, 24 / 2018-95, 87 / 2018-24) ZOP - for temporary seizure of items in Articles 92, 93 and 94). Evidentiary actions are actions by which the agency in charge, in the conditions prescribed by law appears as the bearer of their implementation, as an authorized procedural entity entitled to take such action with the aim of producing legal consequences - the presentation

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personal data from Article 42, as well as Article 46 of the Constitution of Republic of Serbia in terms of freedom of opinion and expression.

of evidence in the procedure. As a rule, evidentiary actions (investigative actions) are performed by the public prosecutor, and in the law, especially in cases provided for, by authorized police officials (temporary seizure of objects, reconstruction of events, investigation and expertise, interrogation of suspects, search, confrontation and identification). Under Chapter II of the CPC, the following actions are explicitly stated as evidentiary actions: search of an apartment and a person, search of the automated processors of digital data, temporary seizure of items, handling of suspicious items, examination of the defendant, examination of witnesses, CSI investigation, and expertise.

Special evidentiary actions may be ordered against a person for whom there are grounds for suspicion that he has committed a criminal offense under Article 162 of the CPC, and otherwise evidence for criminal prosecution could not be collected or their collection would be significantly hindered, under the conditions of Art. 161 CPC. Special evidentiary actions may exceptionally be ordered against a person for whom there are grounds for suspicion that he is preparing any of the criminal offenses referred to in paragraph 1 of Art. 162<sup>4</sup>, and the circumstances of the case indicate that the crime could not

<sup>4</sup>For criminal offenses for which a special law stipulates that the public prosecutor's office of special jurisdiction shall act (Article 162, Article 1, paragraph 1 of the CPC); as well as for the acts listed in Art. 162 par. 1 point 2, ie. aggravated murder (Article 114 of the Criminal Code), kidnapping (Article 134 of the Criminal Code), showing, obtaining and possessing pornographic material and exploiting a minor for pornography (Article 185, paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Criminal Code), robbery (Article 206, paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Criminal Code), extortion (Article 214, paragraph 4 of the Criminal Code), abuse of position of a responsible person (Article 227 of the Criminal Code), abuse in connection with public procurement (Article 228 of the Criminal Code), receiving bribes in performing economic activities (Article 230 of the Criminal Code), giving bribes in performing economic activities (Article 231 of the Criminal Code), counterfeiting money (Article 241, paragraphs 1 to 3 of the Criminal Code), money laundering 245, paragraphs 1 to 4 of the Criminal Code), unauthorized production and distribution of narcotics (Article 246, paragraphs 1 to 4 of the Criminal Code), endangering independence (Article 305 of the Criminal Code), endangering the territorial integrity Article 307 of the Criminal Code), attack on the constitutional order (Article 308 of the Criminal Code), calling for a violent change of the constitutional order (Article 309 of the Criminal Code), diversion (Article 313 of the Criminal Code), sabotage (Article 314 of the Criminal Code), espionage (Article 315 of the Criminal Code), disclosure of a state secret (Article 316 of the Criminal Code), incitement to national, racial and religious hatred and intolerance (Article 317 of the Criminal Code), violation of territorial sovereignty (Article 318 of the Criminal Code), association for unconstitutional activities (Article 319 of the Criminal Code), preparation of acts against the constitutional order and secu-



have been detected, prevented, or proved in any other way, or that it would have caused disproportionate difficulties or great danger. When deciding on the determination and duration of special evidentiary actions, the acting agency will especially assess whether the same result could be achieved in a way that less restricts the rights of citizens. In the Chapter VII, Part 3 of the CPC, are prescribed measures of the prosecuting authorities for the detection and proving of criminal offenses from Article 162 of the CPC, and they are there also envisaged, and determined as special evidentiary actions (formerly called special investigative measures). In terms they are: secret surveillance of communication (Articles 166-170); covert surveillance and recording (Articles 171–173) simulated jobs (Articles 174–177); controlled delivery (Articles 181–182) and computer data retrieval (Articles 178–180). As a special, specific, action of the prosecuting authority for the detection and proof of criminal offenses under Art. 162, para. 1, point 1 of the CPC (for which, according to special laws, prosecutor's offices have special competencies), the legislator also foresaw the engagement of an undercover investigator (183–187). The action of an undercover investigator can be determined only for criminal offenses within the competence of special prosecutor's offices. It is important to emphasize here that these actions can be undertaken and that their results can have probative value only if they are undertaken against certain persons (suspects for acts under Article 162) as well as in connection with criminal offenses provided for in Article 162 of the CPC. para.1. point.2. A special evidentiary action under Article 183 of the CPC (PI) may be ordered only for a criminal offense under Art. 162 st. 1 item 1. Under the conditions from Article 161 of the CPC, a special evidentiary action from Article 166 of the CPC (secret surveillance of communication) may be ordered for the following criminal offenses: unauthorized use of a copyright work or subject

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urity of Serbia (Article 320 of the Criminal Code), serious acts against the constitutional order and security of Serbia (Article 321 of the Criminal Code), illicit production, possession, carrying and trafficking of weapons and explosives (Article 348, paragraph 3. of the Criminal Code), illegal crossing of the state border and smuggling of people (Article 350 para. 2 and 3 of the Criminal Code), abuse of official position (Article 359 of the Criminal Code), trading in influence (Article 366 of the Criminal Code), accepting bribes (Article 367 of the Criminal Code), giving bribes (Article 368 of the Criminal Code), trafficking in human beings (Article 388 of the Criminal Code), endangering persons under international protection (Article 392 of the Criminal Code) and a criminal offense under Article 98 para. 2 to 5 of the Law on Data Secrecy.

of related law (Art. 199 CC), damage to computer data and programs (Art. 298 para. 3 CC), computer sabotage (Art. 299 CC), computer fraud (Art. 301, para. 3 CC) and unauthorized access to a protected computer, computer network and electronic data processing (Art. 302 CC). So, special evidentiary actions may be undertaken only in connection with criminal offenses provided for in the CPC (Article 162), by persons authorized to undertake such actions (determined and provided for by special laws). A special evidentiary action (PDR) of interest for this work is computer data retrieval. It was defined differently during its development as an automatic computer search of personal and other related data to have this name today. From this second form of the name, one can conclude about the logic and essence of the action. A special evidentiary action is provided for in Articles 178-180. ZKP. The conditions for the possibility of application are, as with any other special evidentiary action, the basic conditions provided by the CPC. Computer search of personal and other related data and their electronic processing (in the form of comparison) may be undertaken if there are grounds for suspicion that a criminal offense referred to in Article 162, paragraph 1, item 1 and 2 of the CPC, if evidence for criminal prosecution cannot be collected in any other way or their collection would be significantly more difficult. The measure consists in a computer search of already stored personal and other, directly related data and in their automatic comparison with the data related to the criminal offense under Art. 162. para.1 point 1 and 2 of the CPC and the suspect. This seems to exclude as possible suspects persons in respect of whom it is unlikely that they relate to the crime. Of course, the same cannot be the only reason for applying this measure. It carries with itself significant potential in terms of evidence and searching for such data and generating positive results of such a search can be very important evidence in the proceedings. The measure is ordered by the pre-trial judge, at the reasoned proposal of the public prosecutor. The order contains data on the suspect, the legal name of the criminal offense, a description of the data that needs to be searched and processed by computer, the designation of the state body that is obliged to search the requested data, the scope and duration of the special evidentiary action. The measure can be enforced for a maximum of three months, and due to the necessity of further collection of evidence, it can be exceptionally extended for a maximum of two

more times, lasting three months each. The computer search of data is to be stopped as soon as the reasons for its enforcement cease (the total duration of the measure is nine months). The measure is implemented by the ministry of internal affairs, BIA, VBA, customs services, or other state agencies, that is, other legal entities that exercise certain public powers based on the law. The purpose of applying this action, therefore, is related to computer search of data collected and stored in some databases or in generating a database and obtaining hits on keywords or search objects that are predefined for the purposes of applying this PDR.

**Procedure for application** The order contains data on the suspect, the legal title of the criminal offense, a description of the data that needs to be searched and processed by computer, the designation of the state body that is obliged to search the requested data, the scope and duration of special evidence. Upon completion of the computer data search, the agency or legal entity submits to the pre-trial judge a report containing: data on the start and end time of the computer data search, data searched and processed, data on the official who conducted the special evidentiary action, description of the applied technical means, data on the persons involved and the results of the applied computer data search. The pre-trial judge will submit this report to the public prosecutor. If, by undertaking special evidentiary actions, material on a criminal offense or perpetrator was collected that was not covered by the decision on determining special evidentiary actions, such material may be used in the procedure only if it refers to a criminal offense under Article 162 of the CPC. Special registers are formed on the undertaken actions. Such a proposal for determining special evidentiary actions and decisions on the proposal shall be recorded in a special register and kept together with the material on the conduct of special evidentiary actions in a special envelope, with the indication "special evidentiary action" and the degree of secrecy, in accordance with regulations related to classified information. Information on proposing, deciding, and conducting special evidentiary actions is classified information. They are obliged to keep them as secrets and other persons who find out about them in any capacity. If the public prosecutor does not initiate criminal proceedings within six months from the day when he became

acquainted with the material collected through the use of special evidence or if he states that he will not use it in the proceedings, ie that he will not request proceedings against the suspect, the pre-trial judge will issue a decision on the destruction of the collected material. The procedure related to the notification of the persons who were the subject of the action taken under Article 166 is specifically prescribed by CPC. The pre-trial judge may inform the person against whom the special evidentiary action referred to in Article 166 of this Code was conducted if the identity was established during the conduct of the action and if that would not jeopardize the possibility of conducting criminal proceedings. The material is destroyed under the supervision of the pre-trial judge, who draws up a record of it. If during the undertaking of special evidentiary actions, it was done contrary to the provisions of this Code or the order of the agency in charge, a court decision cannot be based on the collected data, and the collected material is handled in accordance with Article 84, paragraph 3 of CPC.

## OSINT

In the framework of the consideration of operative actions, it should be noted that although they are named in the CPC, ZOP, and some other regulations, they are still not fully enumerated, nor fully prescribed. These include the so-called OSINT which, in addition to special evidentiary actions, is important for this work of ours. Open-source intelligence (OSINT) technique involves collecting data from the so-called open, publicly available sources, in order to use them for intelligence purposes. There is no precise date when the term OSINT first appeared, however, as a relative term it has probably been used for hundreds of years to describe the act of gathering intelligence using publicly available resources. In recent history, OSINT was introduced during World War II as an intelligence tool by many security services, but with the extensive growth of Internet communications and the vast amount of digital data produced by the public around the world, OSINT is now becoming a necessity for various organizations. In this sense, government services, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and business corporations are beginning



to rely more on OSINT rather than private and classified data. OSINT sources differ from other forms of intelligence in a manner that they must be legally available to the public, without violating constitutional norms, which relate to guaranteed rights and freedoms, primarily the right to privacy, the right to protection of personal and family home, freedom of communication but also copyright and related rights. This difference makes the possibility of collecting OSINT sources applicable in different spheres, not just security. For example, companies may benefit from using these resources to gain knowledge about their competitors without violating the rules of unfair competition and economic shipowners through such activities. The United States Department of Defense defines OSINT as "intelligence produced from publicly available information and collected, used, and distributed in a timely manner to an appropriate audience to meet specific intelligence requirements."<sup>5</sup> and not just security. For example, companies may benefit from using these resources to gain knowledge about their competitors without violating the rules of unfair competition and economic shipowners through such activities. For example, companies may benefit from using these resources to gain knowledge about their competitors without violating the rules of unfair competition and economic shipowners through such activities.

Social networks open numerous opportunities to collect data and support investigations of any kind due to the huge amount of useful information, which can be found in one place. For example, a large amount of personal information about any person around the world can be obtained by finding only that person's Facebook account, if it is not false or intentionally altered, in order to place misdirected information. In addition to being of great importance to the intelligence community, OSINT collection is cheaper and less risky than traditional data collection methods, because all it takes to collect data from OSINT resources is a computer, an Internet connection, and adequate expertise. As stated, the amount of data and the intensity of communication that takes place over the Internet is growing rapidly, and therefore their search is difficult. For example, the statistics of the YouTube platform show that about 300 hours of video material are published every minute, while the social

<sup>5</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Open-source\\_intelligence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Open-source_intelligence) last accessed on 31.03.2021.

network Facebook at the time of writing this paper has about 2.5 billion active users and 83 million fake accounts. It happens that when searching public sources, confidential data is found that are not adequately protected. Such "leaked" data can be e.g. found on websites such as WikiLeaks. Paradoxically, although confidential and collected illegally, such data have become suitable for the OSINT method of data collection by the fact that they have become publicly available. Notwithstanding such facts, according to the rules of criminal procedural law in Serbia, the data obtained in this way cannot be used as valid to provide evidence in the proceedings but can be examined as such. Their usefulness is limited to operational activities. According to the 2001 NATO Handbook on Data Collection from Public Sources, there are four categories of data that can be obtained from public sources:

- Generic data from primary sources, such as photographs, audio and video material, satellite photographs, databases, metadata, etc .;
- Generic data that has undergone a specific processing and filtration process to meet certain criteria or needs, such as. books that cover certain topics, articles, dissertations, journals, technical reports, internal documents of commercial companies, as well as other contents that have been processed by their creators. They are also called "Gray literature" because they are published outside traditional and academic distribution channels;
- Data from public sources that have been converted into information that has been disclosed, processed and intended to meet certain criteria and needs in the broadest sense;
- Confirmed data from public sources, which have a high degree of accuracy and which are confirmed by other sources that are not public, or data from reliable and respectable public sources. They are of particular importance, as there may be intentional public disclosure of inaccurate data to interfere with OSINT analysis. As OSINT includes all publicly available sources, including those on and off the Internet, such sources can be divided into four groups:

- Internet (forums, blogs, social networks, video platforms, search platforms for individuals and legal entities, registered domains and IP addresses , geolocation data, as well as everything else that can be found online that will be the subject of basic processing of this paper);
- Traditional mass media (radio, television, newspapers, books and magazines);
- Specialized journals, academic publications, dissertations, annual reports of companies;
- Photos and videos including metadata •



Geospatial information (eg commercial maps and cartographies) Today, as we live in the information age, publishers, corporations, universities and other actors are shifting their business processes to digital form. Also, the number of social network users will continue to increase, as will the number of "Internet of Things", which will lead to a huge increase in the amount of digital data coming from a large number of sensors and machines, making primary online data sources for OSINT analysis in the future.

### **ANITA PROJECT AND GOALS**

The basis of the project is the ANITA platform for the application of several different tools that are modularly incorporated into a system that uses the latest scientific advances and cutting-edge technologies in order to achieve efficient analytical and collection activities on surface, deep and dark Net (Surface, Deep and Dark Net). These tools are independent, although they are integrated into a platform that, in addition to phenomenological analysis, performs other analyses and provides the system user with a comprehensive resultant with the possibility of its interaction in order to direct analytical tools and results that the system offers after applying analytical and other tools. The meaning of the system and its sustainability, as well as its applicability are defined in three basic scenarios - New psychoactive substances, counterfeit drugs and narcotics, Weapons (firearms) and ammunition and terrorist financing primarily through cryptocurrencies. Illegal trade takes place on all three levels - surface, deep and dark internet - network. The premise of the ANITA platform and the tools it uses is based on comprehensive analysis of consortium members in which, for example, an analysis of 6 markets on the darknet in the period 2016-2018 was performed<sup>6</sup> regarding heroin, cocaine, specifically the analysis of all drug market markets. Also then was performed the specialized analysis of the market of cannabis, tobacco and new psychoactive substances, as well as the general criminological analysis. As a result of the analysis, various forms of conclusions are offered about the relations of criminal groups that distribute narcotics, ways of their distribution, creation of new ways and

<sup>6</sup> Analysis for DNT project, available at: [www.dntproject.eu](http://www.dntproject.eu) last accessed on 31.03.2021.

means of distribution and profiling of sellers in darknet markets, the origin of narcotics, geographical tendencies of narcotics pathways, general tendencies of classical narcotics in relation to new psychoactive substances. In terms of additional analysis, a parallel can be made with the second scenario regarding weapons and ammunition, where narcotics and weapons and ammunition are very often imported. The criminological as well as scientific - professional basis of the platform and its functionality are the analysis of online illicit forms of trade and the study of strategies and measures in counteracting such phenomena. Specifically, the analysis covers activities, processes, trends and human factors that affect online trafficking, all with the aim of raising awareness of key actors (in example law enforcement) about potential risks as well as providing first-hand knowledge with sets of recommendations on effective countermeasures that are to be undertaken in the fight against such phenomena. The goal is for the platform to be a living organism, which receives guidance on the undertaken activities and training and fine-tuning from the participants in the construction of the project, members of the police units involved in the project and the security advisory board. This includes both the evolution of the phenomena observed and the updating of the actions of the prosecuting authorities through operational advice and guidance from police units.

The procedures underlying the system are on the one hand real phenomena that have their moment of evolution and on the other hand operational guidelines that the technical part of the project consortium must turn into an operational - functional platform with adequate and fully integrated tools. Observing the evolution of the problem includes analysis of actors at all three levels of the network, their measures in order to hide their identities and actions in the markets, while operational guidelines provide the following analysis. In the field of surface network - surface net nicknames of sellers, "stores" that sell and advertise certain new psychoactive substances (NPS), online pages of doctors and pharmacies (pharmaceutical companies), direct ads on social media, video sharing with narcotics, do it yourself videos about narcotics, videos that promote narcotics. In the domain of deep network - deep net (web), nicknames of sellers, direct advertising, instructions on how to get in touch with sellers,

gain access to certain markets, forums dedicated to drug trafficking, video sharing with drug topics, forums dedicated to drug quality assessment and other narcotics related forms of services. In the domain of the hate network - dark net, nicknames of sellers, street names and titles, as well as famous brands, user feedback - feedback, search engines - grams, torch, discussion forums (DREAD / HUB FORUM). Through the analysis conducted within the ANITA project, a classification was made into two groups of markets for illicit products on the darknet: crypto markets and dealer stores<sup>7</sup>. Based on the analysis, the classification and payment methods - through the main virtual currencies in crypto-markets – until recently, most often Bitcoin, and increasingly Monero and Ethereum, but also traditional currencies that have recently appeared on the darknet. The communication channels provided by the analysis appear in the following forms - encrypted applications - most often used among sellers, dealers and buyers in order to avoid surveillance, the use of instant messengers with automatically generated and temporary identities using Surespot app, Wickr, KIK, Tails and the like. The analysis also yielded results according to which the vector of social media in advertising is extremely important (Facebook) as well as the registered role of search services and spam to promote online commercialization of drugs. Criminal strategies that should be used in prevention and suppression match criminal strategies, are defined through the analysis of the latter. In darknet markets, exit fraud strategies have been recognized, phishing (by which sellers and manufacturers who offer their products warn users who do not need to follow the links posted on the ratings and pages for the evaluation of purchased illicit products), cases of non-delivery of goods, etc. Separately for each of the scenarios described in the earlier part of the text, evolutionary cycles and operational guidelines are developed. Each of the described scenarios has its realization most often through the forms of crypto-currencies, and the analysis of crypto wallets and realized transactions provides exceptional opportunities in the identification of participants in transactions<sup>8</sup>. It is important to point out that each of the

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<sup>7</sup> Compare with: <https://www.rand.org/randeurope/research/projects/online-drugs-trade-trafficking.html> last accessed on 07.02.2021.

<sup>8</sup> For example: walletexplorer.com or poloniex.com. Specially designed tools. Graph Sense or Tag Sens – as a part of DANTE H2020 project – providing research of incoming and outgoing transactions and thus providing ideal support in investigation of these activities and their actors.

network levels has its own form of connection with the previous one, and that the actors whose identifications are sought leave their information in the form of traces on them and can be tracked. In terms of communicating messages with advertising content, one should also understand the concept introduced by Brian Solis back in 2008 in the form of a conversational prism - now at level 5.0, in which he tried to show observers in more detail to better understand, appreciate and understand the "status sphere" and its evolution through a still ongoing study in digital ethnography that follows dominant and promising social networks and organizes them according to the way they are used on a daily basis<sup>9</sup>. At the heart of this lie the teachings that look at the everyday discourse of advertising through all three spheres of online illicit products. For each of the specific categories that we process within the ANITA platform, it is necessary to evaluate and evaluate the following main elements to more fully and in detail explore the ways in which the Internet transforms criminal modes of action - *modi operandi*.

They are:

- Specific role of surface, deep and dark net.
- Changes in the typologies of substances and products
- Legal status of substances or products as well as the legal environment that regulates the (mis) use of medical substances - drugs, precursors, New psychoactive substances - NPS
- Risk in implementing regulations
- Availability and price of traditional medicines
- Geographical area of importance and relevant routes for smuggling
- Role of organized criminal groups and relevant criminal networks

In analysing these activities, each of the scenarios can provide us with certain conclusions and the opportunity to implement them on the platform through the tools incorporated into it. Technically, they include several different system elements that will be discussed later. Some of them are a social model of raw materials or products themselves, models of distribution and concealment of

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<sup>9</sup> <https://www.hospitalitynet.org/opinion/4083995.html> last accessed on 31.03.2021.

the entire advertising process - advertising, making available illegal material, user evaluation of quality, functionality and purity of illicit products as well as sales or the entire transaction between seller (manufacturer) and buyer. Profiling according to the research of RISSC<sup>10</sup>, which referred to 6 crypto markets, indicated the virtual origin of shipments, mostly the European continent and the North American continent, followed by Oceania and Asia in 2016, while in 2018. The survey achieves different results in Europe (51.8%), North America (16.5%), Asia (3.8%) and Oceania (2.9%). The rest are all others in the figure of 1%. The role of the partner institutions of the ANITA project was, among other things, to more fully define the origins and destinations according to the operational knowledge of active sellers and buyers in the territories of the countries from which the police units within the ANITA project come. With this auxiliary tool orientation within the ANITA platform, there is a correction and fine-tuning of the sensor within ANITA.

## ANITA PLATFORM AND TOOLS

The ANITA Platform is available at <http://217.172.12.209:9090> and is a user interface that binds all forms of tools that will be displayed later and functionally connects the entire system. This platform is a form of tool that is an application for the management of investigative activities, and which allows the detection and reconstruction of a network of perpetrators of crimes in specific areas. Searching and retrieving data is the first step in processing on the platform. Data entry is based on several different sources - scrapping, that is, literally copying the darknet market to servers that provide their functionality and capacity to this system, as well as online search capabilities. In this phase, we are talking about the analysis of data sources and streams. In addition to such defined entries, we also have an overlay that translates the current surface net and other provided content (text to text, speech to text, speech to speech and text to speech) through the engagement of partner servers SYSTRAN<sup>11</sup>, and allows all translations performed at the request of

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.rissc.it/> last accessed on 31.03.2021.

<sup>11</sup> <https://translate.systran.net/> last accessed on 31.03.2021.

the user. The platform is offered at the initial level through the possibility of creating the role of administrator - investigation manager and assigning investigations to participants and another form - basic users, who can conduct investigations. Searches can be performed within the protected environment of the ANITA platform, but also on the surface internet. Once created, the investigation has more functionality, and is displayed on the graphical interface in the form of a network of connected, or partially connected entities. They appear in multiple functional forms, in the form of, for example, photographs, documents, functional connections, faces, videos or audio recordings. Each of the forms is interactive, predefined in the system with a special icon, and can be accessed with various forms of additional functionalities, depending on the processing of the system, functional connection with the creator, as well as access options defined by the system and protection. The platform provides opportunities to discover and monitor certain resources - defined as listening to the Internet. Capacities are also offered for the analysis of large amounts of data and analytical activities during their processing. The system talks about large data analysis and analytics here. Within the graphical interface, there are various functions that enable further activities on the analysis, as well as assigning tasks to the system itself. Some tasks, such as crawling a particular website (complete digital acquisition), require additional time to perform such a task, and you should also take into account the workload of the system (it is literally copying the entire content of the website for which it is necessary to have enough server space, as well as free servers to perform these activities). The Home button allows you to return to the platform's home menu from where you can proceed further and again. It is possible to start a completely new investigation by entering the entities of interest and making additional connections, while assigning tasks to the system itself. The graphical interface can be changed to a list of active objects, but its display provides several significant advantages in recognizing connections and the possibility of additional influence on the analysis by the researcher himself. In any case, we have a presentation of simplified features and characteristics of a particular object of interest (description, type of object according to the annotation, title, presentation of the same - image, video for investigations - which is the identification element of the investigation, description, status of

the investigation and which inspector active, etc.), in an additional window about the object (button About) as well as additional functionality about the annotation. During the research, it is possible to add a new object in one of the offered forms (source, location, object, transaction, web source, digital wallet, person, organization, event, and digital identity). Also available is a mouse pointer hovering mode that displays a simplified display of features. Each of the entities can be changed, most often this can be done by right-clicking on the object itself, and it is additionally possible to require the system to display more possible connections based on the algorithms existing in the system itself, and that object or node will be removed. In addition to this, there is an existing application button that introduces additional capacities of the platform itself and provides exceptional opportunities for further exploration of the entities. In the next step, within the applications, it is possible to perform an analysis of financial transactions with entities that enable it, so it is possible to search for a specific transaction in the available data, digital wallets, etc. Current exchange rate movements in the exchange of the most current cryptocurrencies are also provided. The next application is surveillance - which can instruct the system to monitor a particular source or resources, social media accounts, social media by type and for a particular object shape, entering keywords as well as the time in which the monitoring will be performed. The next application is deep web crawling (which involves downloading content with large amounts of data - which includes a wide variety of data) which is given tasks such as downloading the entire content of a darknet market. This is the most demanding application on the platform, and one should be careful when defining the tasks for it and the resources it will take up. Within the results, it is possible to see several different pages that include downloaded web pages, categories, URLs, as well as resellers. It is also possible to manage activities within this application, so it is possible to pause and stop downloading content, but within the obtained results it is also possible to add new categories - entities. The tools available in this application can also be linked to keywords and sources, with determination of the time range for crawling. In the case of applications, there is also a part related to the requested data or copies of data with the result of their request - rejected, accepted and the implementation is in progress. The capacity of the



information extraction platform should also be pointed out, which may have probative value. After all, there is the possibility of creating and modelling intelligence that represents the current currency for all participants in the investigation, through the creation of standards and ontologies. Through machine learning, this platform promises both the possibility of classifying data and performing certain triage in terms of the usability of such data in the investigation. In general, this platform, in addition to the above, can be very good tool in assistance of investigations and decision-making in the operational processing and clarification of criminal offenses, but it can be used for evidence gathering and preserving.

## **MODULES**

In the next step, we will show the modules on which the ANITA platform is based, on which the tools within the system rest. The modules are divided into several different units: Investigation area, which includes investigation management, investigative graphic researcher, actions regarding requests for duplicate data, handling the chain of evidence and evidence in general, their export and import from and into the system; Surveillance of sources - surveillance task manager, dark net crawler, Twitter crawler, reddit crawler, surface internet crawler, blockchain analysis services, reconstruction of the source network, Tool for analysis of illegal trade trends; Photo and video analysis: object and concept detectors on photos and videos, visual indexing of places and weapons; Audio analysis tools: speech to text; Tools for the reconstruction of criminal networks, search and retrieval services in ANITA memory space, searches on external sources, extraction of evolving knowledge, validation of new and existing knowledge and intelligence, blockchain search engine and visual analytics; Unconscious human feedback incorporation into the platform, transfer of knowledge to new learners from the platform. We will explain some of these modules in more detail as follows.



### **Visual analysis module**

As a functionality, it offers the provision of precise and time-efficient detection and recognition of high-level semantic concepts (objects, concepts, and events). The meaning and reasoning that encompasses or carries this module is related to the machine understanding and classification of specific entities that appear in a photograph or video. It also includes the detection and classification of people, activities, and objects. The purpose of the platform is to identify the different entities that appear on certain objects - scenes of photographs and videos, as well as the detection of specific concepts of importance.

### **Photo and video indexing module**

Its basic functionality enables precise and time-efficient extraction of relevant content from large-scale databases. The specifics that adorn this module are the creation of short binary codes, after which it is possible to quickly extract videos and photos. In the platform system, the meaning and purpose of this module is to pull visually and semantically similar content according to the user's request (video frame).

### **Module: Object detection with improvement through the analysis of system user behaviour**

Its basic functionality is enabling precise and time-efficient object detection with the use of a human perspective of visual recognition (recognition). This module attempts to incorporate artificial intelligence and machine learning through contextual specialized object detection with elaboration of expert experience. The system of this module is based on monitoring and analysis of human subjects - experts and their reactions during object recognition in order to create scientific and machine knowledge from these activities and incorporate it into the process of object detection in the system. A contribution to the overall ANITA system is the identification of the context of visual objects. Its basic functionality is enabling precise and time-efficient extraction of relevant content from databases.

### **Machine text translation module**

This module enables the translation of multi-modal text content entries of the file type (office, Microsoft portable document format - PDF, Hyper Text Markup Language, hypertext markup language, XML Extensible Markup Language, or extensible (meta) markup language markup) of text documents, it is a standard set of rules for defining the format of data in electronic form) but also audio files (and those downloaded from video). Real-time translation of the desired content into selected languages within the REST application, which is a functional incorporated part of the ANITA platform. Translation is done in over 150 language combinations<sup>12</sup>. Translations are realized through the application of neural machine translation software solutions; it is a software-hardware construction of a system that learns independently and is constantly improved. The functional connection between the ANITA platform system and this module is reflected in enabling the user to view and understand the downloaded content even when it is not in the user's native language and includes the described language combinations. One of the modules related to this provides the possibilities of stylometric analysis, according to which one can conclude about the personality of the person who is the auto textual record being analysed, his education, personality characteristics, etc.

### **Speech-to-text translation module**

This module offers the possibilities of multimodal translation services (text-to-text, speech-to-text, text-to-speech, and speech-to-speech) or, first, textual speech translation from related and compatible spoken and spoken sentences to text. Software hardware engines can vary depending on the domain and language pairs (from which it is translated to which) placed on the server that is currently on duty on the ANITA platform to which the user is connected. In terms of content, it is about translating audio content into text for further translation and analysis. The purpose of this module for the ANITA platform is to enable the researcher - police officer (inspector) to review and understand audio content that is not in his native language. Acquisition module with

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<sup>12</sup> Partner that is providing this application is SYSTRAN and this partner is adding that available engines in translation (servers and software solutions) can in dependence of domains and language pairs that are deployed on the server dedicated for that particular moment for ANITA project integrated platform.

dark market crawler This module retrieves all data from deep net sites and dark net markets. The contribution of this module is exceptional in the field, primarily, of obtaining all materials from the described sites, as well as fully documenting and proving covert services (including files, photos, and video stimulation). It is also important that such a tool can be used to conduct an investigation without the danger that the person conducting it will be noticed, as well as that the investigation can be noticed, and with the acceleration of actions, the general acceleration of the investigation. A special contribution of this module and tools is in the processing and analytical value of the data obtained from the market.

### **Darknet source identification crawler module**

The module serves to identify possible sources, markets and communication channels through surface, deep and dark (dark) net. A special added value of this module is that the results of crawling (complete digital acquisitions) are not corrupted by search engines because they apply blacklists regarding criminal or prohibited activities. Fully suitable documentation and material for use in court, including photos, files, and streaming video files.

### **Human factor integration module in the analytical cycle**

This module integrates user reactions, considering and integrating user attitudes, all to enable interaction with the system and improve the model of machine learning. The additional value of this module is that it enables automatic adaptation of the user interface and content, but also that it improves the robustness and performance of the detector of the desired measurements. The role in the ANITA platform system is to enable the use of system learning and independent improvement of the system as well as the transfer of knowledge for training new system users. This system uses several different sensors that monitor users and their reactions, based on which the system learns. The sensors are eye tracker, mouse activity, keyboard, and camera. The data collected by the sensors are pupil dilation, narrowing of the eyelids in the eyes, the quality and quantity of movements in the mouse, typing and content text in the keyboard sensor and facial expression in the camera. It is measured in the eyes - emotional state and cognitive load, quantity, and quality of movement in mice, affective state (excitement

and valence) in the keyboard and emotional state in the camera. Based on these input factors, data is processed in the ANITA system, as well as data integration and analysis, followed by the creation of user modelling, enabled by artificial intelligence. Basically, the analysis concludes on the mental state of the user, physical and motor condition, physiological and in general mental, psychological state of the user and on that basis on the correct actions within the system. The goal is to improve the system in terms of decision-making and reasoning about the links and results of the analytical process within the ANITA system. Within the system itself, the following activities can be pointed out as an example. Personality intelligence can be obtained with the following tools: surface crawler, deep and dark web crawler, speech to text module, multilingual automatic translation, text analysis and stylometric analysis. E-mail data: multilingual automatic translation, text analysis and stylometric analysis, visual indexing, object detection and concept detection. Tasks related to markets on the dark net in the form of acquisition and analysis are obtained by crawlers of deep and dark network, reconstruction of the network by sources of multilingual automatic translation, text analysis, visual indexing, object detection and concept detection. Detection of crypto transactions through multilingual machine translation, text analysis and blockchain analysis. Analysis of connections between people and products through stylometric analysis, visual indexing, reconstruction of the criminal network, search and retrieval of data, extraction of evolving knowledge.

### **POSITIONING WITHIN THE LEGAL SYSTEM OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA**

Given the above, it is possible to recapitulate the same in relation to the ANITA platform. The presentation gave us an understanding of the available measures and actions in the procedural sense and criminal procedure in the Republic of Serbia. If we look at the meaning and goal of the introduction of PDR, according to the teleological interpretation, it is necessary to understand that these are actions that encroach on the freedoms and rights of man and citizen by the state apparatus in such a way that it is necessary to exercise

multiple supervision. In that sense, the application is reserved as a rule for the police, the first level of supervision and control is with the head of the pre-investigation procedure - the competent public prosecutor's office, while the second level is within the jurisdiction of the pre-trial judge, who issues orders (for most PDR, except for controlled delivery) but also later when the files on the actions taken are submitted to him in order to forward them to the Prosecutor's Office. Search operations do not have these forms of control, especially when we look at OSINT. Our conclusion in the field of application of the ANITA platform is that it requires in the part where searches are undertaken in the darknet (dark part of the network). Where certain persons appear with the intention of not establishing their identity - because the basic precondition for access to this area of non-indexed Internet is the use of the TOR browser, which by definition does not reveal the location or identity of the user but hides it through the TOR node network. Due to the described characteristics of the application of certain aspects of this platform, it is easy to treat it as a tool that encroaches on rights and freedoms in such a way that it is necessary to treat it as an action that belongs to the PDR. On the other hand, forensic standards, which are met by the platform in terms of preserving the chain of evidence and the technical background regarding the application of certain methods within the module, this tool meets the standards required by the PDR application framework. Of course, it is possible to consider aspects that would provide material so that we can consider and define within the evidence of actions. If we were to think about this option - of course it is also valid, but then we would not need additional judicial control or appointment by the court, but only the Public Prosecutor. Some spheres of application of this platform have a dimension that can be within the scope of even demand operations. It should be cut and given that we have already discussed the PDR in the first part, We believe that the application of the platform must require a reasoned form of initiative by the police or another body from the body of procedure - the In charge – acting Public Prosecutor, which would address a reasoned request to the competent judge for pre-trial proceedings in order to issue PDR. Of course, if both the search and the search areas could be limited to the public sphere and the superficial and deep internet where the data are publicly available, then something like that would not be necessary. The platform has such capabilities

and it is possible to differentiate such requirements in the same way, it remains an additional "fine-tuning" of the platform itself to listen to the voice of users and adapt to their requirements. Conclusion The platform presented in this way, its possibilities, tools, and modules that are in the platform itself, indicate several different conclusions. First, due to a combination of different happy circumstances, we are at a level that is significantly higher than the surrounding countries. Secondly, such a tool provides a significant advantage in the training market, but also the use of such tools by law enforcement agencies. Third, the process of presenting the results and capacity of the platform as a decision aid tool, online investigation tools and multilingual search tools as well as other, no less important, components of the system is restrictive, which significantly limits the possibilities of advertising the platform itself. However, this does not limit such scientific - professional analysis, which can also help in the development and thinking about the wider and further use of the system. It must be acknowledged that such a platform has never existed in our criminal set of tools in the fight against crime. Of course, it can be said that neither the scope nor the forms of crime to which it is directed have ever existed before in this scope. Since it is necessary to fight against such problems with all our might, it is important to include such a tool in the arsenal on the side of the prosecuting authorities. Not only the police and the prosecutor's office will benefit, but also other institutions and calls, such as the Court, but also the bar and citizens in the last resort. Such platforms and tools contribute to strengthening the security of the fight against crime system and, if adequate forms of protection of human rights and freedoms are respected, they have their manifestations in such projects, platforms and weapons behind them, the result cannot be missed. Everyone can benefit from them. Since it is necessary to fight against such problems with all our might, it is important to include such a tool in the arsenal on the side of the prosecuting authorities. Not only the police and the prosecutor's office will benefit, but also other institutions and calls, such as the Court, but also the bar and citizens in the last resort. Such platforms and tools contribute to strengthening the security of the fight against crime system and, if adequate forms of protection of human rights and freedoms are respected, they have their manifestations in such projects, platforms and weapons behind them, the result cannot be missed. Everyone

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UNODC, in the World Drug Report 2018, underlines that “Fentanyl and its analogues remain a problem in North America, while tramadol - an opioid used to treat moderate and moderate-to-severe pain - has become a growing concern in parts of Africa and Asia. Accessibility of fentanyl and tramadol for medical use is vital for treating pain, but traffickers manufacture them illicitly and promote them in illegal markets causing considerable harm to health”, UNODC, (2018), World Drug Report, available at [www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/2018/June/world-drug-report2018\\_-opioid-crisis--prescription-drug-abuse-expands-cocaine-and-opium-hit-record-highs.html](http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/2018/June/world-drug-report2018_-opioid-crisis--prescription-drug-abuse-expands-cocaine-and-opium-hit-record-highs.html)

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## **ФУНКЦИОНАЛНОСТ АНИТА ПЛАТФОРМЕ У ПРАВНОМ СИСТЕМУ РЕПУБЛИКЕ СРБИЈЕ**

### *Apstrakt*

*Још у 2018 Криминалистичко – полицијски универзитет је ушао у свој први Хоризонт 2020 пројекат са још 16 партнера из укупно 11 земаља у својству организације, која обучава припаднике полиције у Републици Србији. Сам пројекат представља јединствен подухват на просторима*



*ЕУ али и шире. Смисао је да истражно оријентисан облик онлајн платформе за претраге дубоког, површинског и тамног интернета у циљу прибављања података о субјектима објектима, везама међу субјектима и доказивања њихових односа и активности. Ова платформа представља јединствено оруђе у борби против нелегалне трговине: наркотицима, новим психоактивним супстанцама, као и фалсификованим лековима, оружјем и муницијом као и финансирања тероризма. Приказ могућности ове платформе укомпонован је са приступом анализи могућих мера и радњи које би дошле у обзир за примену у правном систему Републике Србије. Без обзира на који начин се посматра ова платформа и, иако она представља оруђе примењиво у системима земаља држава чланица ЕУ, неопходно је препознати његову употребљивост и у правном систему Републике Србије. У том циљу пружа се и анализа могућих правних основа за поступање приликом примене оруђа АНИТА платформе, као и предлози у вези са могућим процесним радњама које су у опцији за примену. Поред приказивања специфичности саме платформе и оруђа која са собом носи радом се уједно нуди и елаборација позиционирања овог оруђа у правне оквире наше земље.*

**Кључне речи:** *Анита пројекат, процесне мере, посебне доказне радње, ОСИНТ, доказне радње.*

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## **UNDERSTANDING RELIGION IN THE WRITINGS OF EARLY SOCIOLOGISTS**

*"The violence is intriguing.  
Universally doomed, and yet it is everywhere.  
Most of us are both fascinated and horrified by it.  
It is a fundamental ingredient of our entertainment  
(children's stories, world literature, film industry)  
and an essential addition to many of our social institutions.  
"In most parts of the world, it is extremely common  
in family life, religious affairs and political history."*

**Litke Robert**

### **Abstract**

*Ten years passed since signing of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence in Istanbul. It is the first legally binding instrument recognizing violence against women as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women. The aim of the Convention is to ensure zero tolerance in all states towards violence against women and domestic violence. Transformative power of the Convention and its monitoring expert body GREVIO is visible. Over the past ten years, the Convention influenced numerous states in modernization of their legislation and policies of preventing and combating violence against*

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women effectively. Implementation of the Convention especially gains on relevance during pandemic of COVID 19.

Challenges in efficient implementation of the Convention indicate the need to ensure the Convention's aims reach all women and girls. The emerging trend is the lack of intersectional approach to women protection. GREVIO's general recommendation is furthermore directed to the need for interinstitutional cooperation between governments and NGOs. Sufficient financial resources are needed for state duties' implementation in effective fight against gender based and domestic violence. Although none of seventeen analyzed countries, parties of the Convention, have not yet applied completely gender equality principles, GREVIO notes promising practices in many countries. Declaration of the of the Committee of the Parties to the Council of Europe Istanbul Convention acknowledges the major contribution of the Istanbul Convention monitoring mechanism in preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence by providing tailored-made guidance as well as opportunities for states parties to learn from each other and exchange on best practices. Special value of the Convention legal standards in the area of fight against gender-based violence and domestic violence, is in its contribution to dismantling globally widespread negative gender stereotypes, which are one of main causes of violence against women.

**Key words:** Council of Europe, Istanbul Convention, Tenth Anniversary 

## INTRODUCTION

Ten years passed since signing of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence in Istanbul. It is the first legally binding instrument recognizing violence against women as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women. The aim of the Convention is to ensure zero tolerance in all states towards violence against women and domestic violence. Consequently, the protection of the victims of such violence is in the center of the Convention principles and norms. Since significant majority of victims are women and girls, the Convention makes essential link with wider goal of achieving equality between women and men, because the root of violence against women lies in inferior position of women.

In May 2011 Istanbul conference of the Council of Europe (CoE) Committee of Ministers opened the signing of the new Convention and the beginning of the ratification process. Turkey was the first CoE member state that ratified the Convention. Thirty-four member states of the Council of Europe have ratified it, twelve have signed it – along with the European Union.<sup>2</sup> Convention is titled as “Istanbul Convention” as a sign of gratitude for the support of Turkey in its ratification. Convention is open to accession also to other countries, non-members of the Council of Europe. However, it is historical paradox that we are witnessing the withdrawal of the Turkey from the Istanbul Convention notified in March 2021, which will take effect on 1st July 2021. This is a huge setback for Turkey.

Istanbul Convention entered into force on 1 August 2014, after ten states signatories had deposited instruments of ratification, in line with Art. 75 para 3 of the Convention. It is the first international treaty that establishes a comprehensive set of legally binding obligations to ensure a holistic response to all forms of violence against women, including domestic violence. The Council of Europe Istanbul Convention consists of the Preamble and 12 chapters (81 articles and an annex on the privileges and immunities of the members of the GREVIO - Monitoring Expert Body for the implementation of the Conven-

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.coe.int/en/web/istanbul-convention/10th-anniversary>, accessed on 14th May 2021



tion). Legal standards embodied in the Convention have been the subject of almost two years of negotiations among member states of the Council of Europe at the expert level within the Ad Hoc Committee for the Prevention and Fight against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence.<sup>3</sup>

Over the past ten years, the Convention influenced numerous states in modernisation of their legislation and policies of preventing and combating violence against women effectively. Celebrating its ten-years anniversary represents marking the transformative power of this landmark treaty. Implementation of the Convention especially gains on relevance during pandemic of COVID 19, since the increase of violence against women and domestic violence is evident, while access to specialized support services for victims is extremely hampered due to anti-pandemic measures (Second General Report on GREVIO's activities, June 2019 till December 2020, p. 29).

### LEGAL MILESTONE

Before the adoption of the Council of Europe (CoE) Convention on the Prevention and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention), there was no international legal instrument on this subject implemented in Europe, except the UN Convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW), with its Optional Protocol and Recommendation no. 19, brought by CEDAW Committee. Until the 1960s it was believed that domestic violence was very rare and unusual behavior (Draškić, 2016, p. 41). Furthermore, it was treated as a private issue by most European states even till 80-ties, but women's movements managed to bring this dangerous phenomenon under the umbrella of criminal law and prosecution.

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<sup>3</sup> Prof. Dr. Gordana Gasmi, the author of this paper, represented Serbia at the expert level when formulating the text of the Istanbul Convention during the two-years negotiations in CAHVIO from 2009 till 2011 and in 2011 she became the Council of Europe expert in the field of human rights and gender equality. The CAHVIO Committee, formed by a decision of the Committee of Ministers of the CoE in December 2008, started its work in April 2009 on the basis of the mandate entrusted by the CoE Committee of Ministers.

The term “gender-based violence against women” is used throughout the Istanbul Convention of the CoE, and refers to violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately. In this way the Istanbul Convention follows the definition set by UN CEDAW Committee. Gender-based violence against women differs from other types of violence in that the fact that these are perpetrated against a woman is both the cause and the result of unequal power relations between women and men.

The Istanbul Convention is open for the accession of non-member states of the CoE and for international organizations, such as the EU.<sup>4</sup> In March 2016, the Commission presented the proposal for the EU Council Decision on the signing of the Convention<sup>5</sup> and the EU signed the Convention on 13<sup>th</sup> June 2017. Among non-member states Tunis and Kazakhstan expressed their willingness to join the Convention.

The Istanbul Convention aims at zero tolerance for gender-based violence against women and domestic violence in each society. The aim of the Istanbul Convention is to ensure protection for victims of domestic violence, particularly women and girls, since they are prevalent majority of victims, but also for other victims of domestic violence, children, elderly people and men.

Therefore, the Convention is based on the principles of prevention, protection, punishment (concept of three “P”) plus comprehensive and coordinated policies, which all represent four pillars of the Convention. Starting from empirical facts, the focus is primarily on violence against women, since nine of ten victims of domestic violence are women and girls. The emphasis is on the prevention and the fight against violence towards women, which is defined as a severe discrimination and a violation of women’s human rights.

<sup>4</sup> The European Commission published in October 2015 a 'roadmap' on the (possible) EU accession to the Council of Europe Istanbul Convention, EU Commission, Roadmap A (possible) EU accession to the CoE Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, October 2015, 2015/JUST/010 and EU Commission, Factsheet Q&A International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women (24 November 2015) [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-15-6150\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-15-6150_en.htm)

<sup>5</sup> COM (2016) 111 final 2016/0063.



This means that states are held responsible if they do not respond adequately to such violence! Under international law a state is responsible for the commission of an internationally wrongful act which is attributable to it, through the conduct of their agents such as the police, immigration officials and prison officers.

In the Council of Europe's (CoE) Istanbul Convention (Art. 3), violence against women, i.e., gender-based violence has been recognized as a form of discrimination and a violation of women's human rights. The Istanbul Convention clearly differentiates between violence against women and domestic violence which might affect women, but also children, men, and elderly people. However, the focus of the Convention is on all forms of violence against women which includes domestic violence committed against women, since the majority of victims of domestic violence are women (Gasmi, 2012, p. 145).

Violence against women is defined as 'a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women', which include 'all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life'. The definition of domestic violence does not solely refer to acts committed against women, rather to any kind of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence "that occur within the family or domestic unit or between former or current spouses or partners, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim" (Article 3.b). In this way, Convention contains two definitions, which is obviously result of political compromise. However, the interpretation of the scope of the Convention is laid down in the Art. 2, specifying that "This Convention shall apply to all forms of violence against women, including domestic violence, which affects women disproportionately". In the para 2. of the Art. 2 it is said that: „Parties are encouraged to apply this Convention to all victims of domestic violence. Parties shall pay particular attention to women victims of gender-based violence in implementing the provisions of this Convention“. Consequently, in the Explanatory report of the Convention it is stated that States, Parties of the Convention are to decide whether to extend the applicability of the

Convention to men and children, being victims of domestic violence. In doing so, states should take account of the specific national situation and of the developments in their society. Nevertheless, the drafters of the Convention point out that gender-based violence against women, in its various manifestations, one of which is domestic violence, must lie at the heart of all measures taken in implementation of the Convention (CoE Convention Explanatory Report – CETS 210, Istanbul, 11.V.2011, p. 7).

According to the Convention, it is the duty of governments to protect women as citizens against this violence and, above all, to prevent it. A milestone born, *inter alia*, from the jurisprudence of the European Court for Human Rights in Strasbourg, more precisely one of the most known cases: *Opuz v Turkey* (2009) as well as other cases. Countries ratifying the Convention have to establish services such as hotlines, shelters, medical services, counselling, and legal aid. Article 5 of the Convention, para. 1, addresses the state obligation to ensure that their authorities, officials, agents, institutions and other actors acting on behalf of the state refrain from acts of violence against women, whereas paragraph 2 sets out Parties' obligation to exercise due diligence in relation to acts covered by the scope of this Convention perpetrated by non-state actors. In both cases, failure to do so will incur state responsibility. This principle is called: due diligence.

A requirement of due diligence has been adopted in a number of international human rights instruments, interpretations, and judgments with respect to violence against women. These include CEDAW Committee General Recommendation No. 19 on violence against women (1992), Article 4 of the United Nations General Assembly Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993), the Convention on the Prevention of Violence against Women (Convention of Belém do Pará, 1994) adopted by the Organisation of American States as well as the Council of Europe Recommendation Rec(2002)5 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the protection of women against violence (2002). Furthermore, the content of Article 5 reflects the case-law of the European Court of Human Rights. In its recent case law on domestic violence, the Court has adopted the obligation of due diligence (see the judgment of *Opuz v. Turkey*, 2009). It has established that



the positive obligation to protect the right to life (Article 2 ECHR) requires state authorities to display due diligence, for example by taking preventive operational measures, in protecting an individual whose life is at risk (CoE Convention Explanatory Report – CETS 210, Istanbul, 11.V.2011, p. 11).

According to the World Health Organization at least one in three women worldwide experience one or more serious physical and/or sexual violent incidents during their lifetime, often from an intimate partner or ex-partner.<sup>6</sup> In the framework of international law tendencies of defining the issue of gender-based violence were evident since 90-ties. The United Nations (UN) defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life."<sup>7</sup> UN Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) proclaimed gender equality *de iure* and *de facto*, but only after the Recommendation No 19 of the CEDAW Committee (1992, contained in Document A/47/38) gender based violence had been introduced under the auspices of the UN CEDAW Convention. It was realized through recognition in the Recommendation No 19, that: "Gender-based violence is a form of discrimination that seriously inhibits women's ability to enjoy rights and freedoms on a basis of equality with men." UN Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action defines as following: "Violence against women is a manifestation of the historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of women's full advancement."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> [https://www.who.int/health-topics/violence-against-women#tab=tab\\_1](https://www.who.int/health-topics/violence-against-women#tab=tab_1), accessed on 20 May 2021

<sup>7</sup> Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, Proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 48/104 of 20 December 1993

<sup>8</sup> UN, The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action, Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing, China 4–15 September 1995.

In Europe, according to recently conducted surveys,<sup>9</sup> 33% of women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence since the age of 15, which corresponds to 62 million women. Figures for all forms of violence, including stalking, are as high as 45% (Gasmi et al, 2017, p. 336). Nevertheless, most cases committed behind domestic walls, remain unreported (Gracia, 2004, p. 536). With regard to States' obligations deriving from its provisions, the Convention requires State Parties to criminalise several conducts which amount to violence against women and domestic violence, whether these conducts have not yet been included in their respective criminal codes. The conducts encompass forced marriage, female genital mutilation, forced abortion, forced sterilization, stalking, sexual harassment, physical and psychological violence and sexual violence. The Convention also requires State parties to ensure that in criminal proceedings regarding the acts of violence covered by the Convention, culture, custom, religion, tradition or so-called "honour" are not regarded as justifications of such acts (Art. 42, para 1).

The Convention then obliges State parties to take the necessary legislative or other measures to ensure that the offences established in the Convention are punishable by effective, proportionate and dissuasive sanctions (Article 45), taking into account their seriousness and aggravating circumstances, such as the fact that the acts are committed in the presence of a child (Art. 46).

As for preventive and protective measures, States must promote "changes in the social and cultural patterns of behaviour of women and men with a view to eradicating customs, traditions and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority of women or on stereotyped roles for women and men", Art. 12, (Hester M., Lilley, 2014, p. 8) and provide support services for victims of violence, including legal and psychological counselling, financial assistance, housing, education, training and assistance in finding employment (Art. 20), specialist support services (Article 22), shelters (Article 23), and telephone helplines (Art. 24).

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<sup>9</sup> EU Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), Violence against Women: an EU-wide survey, [http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-vaw-survey-main-results-apr14\\_en.pdf](http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-vaw-survey-main-results-apr14_en.pdf), accessed on 22 May 2021

All those provisions put the emphasis on the state obligations in implementation of the Convention, which represent legal milestone and a significant turn from treatment of domestic and gender-based violence against women as a private matter to recognize it as a very dangerous social phenomenon with serious economic consequences and notably for human rights.

### **EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CONVENTION – PRINCIPLES AND RESULTS**

Transformative power of the Convention is visible. In many countries (Denmark, Finland, France, Italy, Sweden and Serbia) the Criminal codes were amended and the introduction of new criminal offences, adapting their criminal law to the requirements of the convention has been implemented. These efforts cover in particular the criminalisation of stalking, forced marriage and female genital mutilation. Moreover, some have amended their legal definition of rape to be based on the lack of consent freely given by the victim, in accordance with the Istanbul Convention. Furthermore, in many state parties of the Convention the range of support services available to women victims were expanded by creating national telephone helplines, through increasing the number of safe houses or introducing specialised centers for rape victims. Raising awareness of the different forms of violence against women and relevant good practices have been identified at national levels, as to how to reach women with disabilities or women and girls at risk of female genital mutilation.

Protection and support provided under the Istanbul Convention must be available to any woman without discrimination, including with respect to her age, disability, marital status, association with a national minority, migrant or refugee status, gender identity or sexual orientation. In this way the non-discrimination principle is very important in implementation of the Convention norms, since some women face multiple discrimination and even higher level of gender based violence (women with disabilities, women from national minorities, LGBTI /Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex/ women, women from rural areas, migrant women, asylum-seeking and refugee women,

women without a residence permit, girl children, older women, homeless women and women in prostitution).

The Chapter VI of the Convention contains a variety of provisions that cover a broad range of issues related to investigation, prosecution, procedural law and protection against all forms of violence covered by the scope of the Convention, which all-together confirm the effectiveness of established standards<sup>10</sup>.



Effective investigation and prosecution mean, establishing the relevant facts, interviewing all available witnesses, and conducting forensic examinations, based on a multi-disciplinary approach and using state-of-the-art criminal investigative methodology to ensure a comprehensive analysis of the case. All investigations and procedures are to be carried out in conformity with fundamental principles of human rights and with regard to a gendered understanding of violence. Measures taken in implementation of this provision are not meant to be prejudicial to the rights of the defence and the requirements of a fair and impartial trial, in conformity with Article 6 ECHR. Especially important is the notion of gendered understanding of violence, bearing in mind the fact that women are prevalent victims.

Prosecution includes the following: violence against women is criminalized and appropriately punished; excuses on the grounds of culture, custom, religion or so-called “honor” are unacceptable for any act of violence; victims have access to special protection measures during investigation and judicial proceedings; law enforcement agencies respond immediately to calls for assistance and manage dangerous situations adequately. However, according to

<sup>10</sup> Article 49 – “General obligations

1. Parties shall take the necessary legislative or other measures to ensure that investigations and judicial proceedings in relation to all forms of violence covered by the scope of this Convention are carried out without undue delay while taking into consideration the rights of the victim during all stages of the criminal proceedings.  
2. Parties shall take the necessary legislative or other measures, in conformity with the fundamental principles of human rights and having regard to the gendered understanding of violence, to ensure the effective investigation and prosecution of offences established in accordance with this Convention,” Underlined by the author

the findings of GREVIO monitoring, most problems were found in prosecution procedures against perpetrators.

Offences against women included into the Convention are the following:

- Domestic violence (physical, sexual, psychological and/or economic violence);
- Stalking;
- Sexual violence, including rape;
- Sexual harassment;
- Forced marriage;
- Female genital mutilation;
- Forced abortion and forced sterilization.

Violence against women and domestic violence are not private matters. To emphasize the particularly traumatizing effect of crimes within the family, a heavier sentence can be imposed on the perpetrator when the victim is a spouse, partner or a member of the family.

Concept of the law enforcement and judicial proceedings is based on the following:

- Effective police investigation - to respond immediately to calls for assistance and manage dangerous situations appropriately;
- Effective public prosecution\_- will not be dependent upon a report or complaint by the victim and may even continue if the victim withdraws their statement or complaint;
- Consideration of aggravating circumstances - victim being an intimate or close relation, crimes against a vulnerable person or in the presence of a child, extreme levels of violence, threat of weapons, or previous convictions for crimes of a similar nature;
- Legislation criminalizing violence against women\_- States parties will ensure that culture, tradition or so-called 'honour' are not regarded as a justification for violence;

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- Dissuasive Sanctions for perpetrators - imprisonment, extradition, monitoring and supervision, and withdrawal of parental rights;
- Co-ordinated risk assessments\_- in co-operation with relevant agencies and institutions, taking repeat offences and access to firearms into account;
- Protection of child victims and witnesses - special protection measures; Children victims of sexual violence, forced marriage, female genital mutilation and forced abortion or sterilization will be able to initiate legal action for a sufficient amount of time after they have reached adulthood;
- No victim-blaming investigations and judicial proceedings;
- Victims' protection during investigation and judicial proceedings\_- from intimidation, retaliation and repeat victimization; Alternative options to resolve disputes such as mediation between victim and perpetrator will not be mandatory; The victim will be informed of any escape or release of a perpetrator.

Istanbul Convention is not a “tiger made of paper”, therefore it has established two pillars of monitoring of its implementation: the Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (GREVIO), an independent expert body, on the one side and the Committee of the Parties, a political body composed of official representatives of the States Parties to the Convention, on the other side. GREVIO draws up and publishes reports evaluating legislative and other measures taken by these countries to give effect to the provisions of the Convention (evaluation procedure). In specific circumstances, it initiates inquiries (inquiry procedure). GREVIO may also adopt general recommendations on themes and concepts of the Convention. When starting the monitoring of a particular country, GREVIO often invite national NGOs to give relevant information on their country. Those shadow reports are considered as valuable contribution to GREVIO evaluation.

In a new report based on seventeen countries in Europe, covering its work from June 2019 to December 2020, GREVIO highlights trends in the provision of services for victims and discusses these against the background of the pandemic which has greatly increased the need for support. The report shows how much the pandemic has brought to light pre-existing gaps concerning specialist services, impacting significantly on women's and girls' ability to access specialist support services for the different forms of violence (Council

of Europe, CoE (2021), *Second General Report on GREVIO'S Activities covering period from June 2019 to December 2020*, pp. 64 – 65).

The Mid-term Horizontal Review of GREVIO of all seventeen baseline evaluation reports dated on 10 May 2021 illustrates the findings of GREVIO article per article of the Convention. Challenges in efficient implementation of the Convention indicate the need to ensure the Convention's aims reach all women and girls. The emerging trend is the lack of intersectional approach to women protection. Therefore, more comprehensive policy documents on gender based violence against women are necessary. GREVIO's general recommendation is furthermore directed to the need for interinstitutional cooperation between governments and NGOs. In addition, sufficient financial resources are needed for state duties' implementation in effective fight against gender based and domestic violence. Without sufficient relevant state funding, GREVIO notes limited degree of commitments of state parties of the Convention. GREVIO welcomed law in Portugal, which obliged on line ministries to inform on transparent gender sensitive budget lines<sup>11</sup>. It is a state obligation to respond to all forms of violence against women and for women and girls in all their diversity. Although none of seventeen analyzed countries, parties of the Convention, have not yet applied completely gender equality principles, GREVIO notes promising practices (Spain, Sweden, etc).

“By breaking this silence, by reducing the social tolerance and inhibition, and by increasing identification and reporting of domestic violence against women we will also be taking steps to progressively melt the iceberg of domestic violence. This is an important challenge for western societies (even after more than 25 years of activism in the field of intimate partner violence), but this challenge is even greater in other cultures where violence against women is seen as a natural phenomenon based in deep rooted beliefs and attitudes....” (Gracia, 2004, p. 536, 537).

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<sup>11</sup> Johanna Nelles, Executive Secretary to the Istanbul Convention at the Belgrade CoE Conference “The Istanbul Convention: 10 Years On!” held on 7th May 2021



## CONCLUSIONS – LESSONS LEARNED

Declaration of the of the Committee of the Parties to the Council of Europe Istanbul Convention (Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, on the 10th anniversary of the opening for signature of the Istanbul Convention of 6 May 2021 reiterates “the essential role of the Istanbul Convention in preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, as the most far-reaching and comprehensive set of standards to tackle this issue”. Furthermore, the Declaration “acknowledges the major contribution of the Istanbul Convention monitoring mechanism in preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence by providing tailored-made guidance as well as opportunities for states parties to learn from each other and exchange on best practices”.

On the other (dark) side, there are some obstacles to the prevention and elimination of all forms of violence covered by the Istanbul Convention, including challenges arising from the COVID-19 pandemic. Especially harmful is the spreading of false narratives about the Istanbul Convention and the attempt to weaken the multilateral and legally binding international system protecting women against violence. Consequently, the Declaration urges states parties to intensify their efforts to promote and fully implement the Istanbul Convention in order to realize its potential and holistic approach, and to protect and promote the right of women and girls to live a life free from violence, including for women and girls facing multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination.

However, equally important are the Convention standards and principles, on the one side and relevant national norms, on the other. At complex road in achieving gender equality and an effective protection of women and girls from gender-based violence, the Istanbul Convention plays emancipatory role. Strategic legal significance of the Istanbul Convention is represented in the fact that it defines the violence against women as a severe discrimination and a violation of women’s human rights. Although the Convention was born under the auspices of the Council of Europe, it bears global importance through setting modern legal standards and by its openness for the accession



to non-members of the Council of Europe. The Istanbul Convention aims at zero tolerance for gender based and domestic violence in each society and therefore it foresees implementation of national prevention measures in this domain. Special value of the Convention legal standards in the area of fight against gender-based violence and domestic violence, is in its contribution to dismantling globally widespread negative gender stereotypes, which are one of main causes of violence against women (Gasmi, 2019, p. 131).

Convention represents a renewed aspiration towards establishing essential equality between women and men, aimed at removing deeply rooted unequal power relations between them. Its monitoring mechanism proves to be *spiritus movens* in guiding governments to apply efficient measures and policies to respond to violence against women. Fulfilling the commitments taken under this convention is crucial for it to reach its comprehensive potential. However, it is a long road, since more has to be achieved, such as in implementation of the Art. 36 related to definition of sexual violence based on the lack of consent<sup>12</sup>. Besides, in many countries domestic violence shelters should be more present, as well as services of support to victims.

- For tackling violence against women and girls it is necessary to constantly improve legislative framework;
- For effective fight against sexual violence, it is needed to sharpen prosecution rates;
- For reporting of gender based violence and domestic violence cases, it is highly recommendable to improve trust in the criminal justice system;
- For comprehensive approach to dismantling violence against women and girls, it is necessary to address intersectionalities and understand how to support most vulnerable groups;
- For prevention purposes and achieving zero tolerance, it is unavoidable to permanently undertake campaigns raising awareness and preventing gender-based violence through education. It is vital to improve identification

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<sup>12</sup>At the moment of writing this essay, only three countries parties of the Convention have complied with this standard in their legislation.

skills and appropriate responses to the disclosure of intimate partner violence in health sector.

- For raising general human security in a public, and especially safety of women and girls, it is recommendable to strengthen police mandate and multi-sector cooperation of responsible stakeholders.

In the forthcoming period, effective public awareness campaigns should also focus on the invisible part of the iceberg of domestic violence against women, pointing out that it is the result not only of the victim's silence but also of the explicit tolerance of the victims' social milieu. Therefore, it can be concluded that social response and responsibility in issues of gender based and domestic violence, together with effective implementation of the Convention and national legislation, would have a deterrent effect for perpetrators.

In near future, national policy measures against gender based and domestic violence are to be based on a greater research results on societal values towards intimate partner violence expressed through threats, intimidation and coercion (Ignjatović T., 2011, p. 231) in view of reporting, victim blaming, tolerance and complete silence. Finally, more resources are to be directed to permanent fight against gender based and domestic violence, in law enforcement, health settings, support programmes for the victims and prevention measures, in line with the Convention standards.

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### **Apstrakt**

*Deset godina je prošlo od potpisivanja Konvencije Saveta Evrope o sprečavanju i borbi protiv nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici u Istanbulu. To je prvi pravno obavezujući instrument kojim se nasilje nad ženama prepoznaje kao kršenje ljudskih prava i oblik diskriminacije žena. Cilj Konvencije je osigurati nultu toleranciju u svim državama prema nasilju nad ženama i nasilju u porodici. Transformativna moć Konvencije i njenog ekspertskog tela za praćenje GREVIO je vidljiva. Tokom proteklih deset godina, Konvencija je uticala na brojne države u modernizaciji zakonodavstva i politike efikasnog sprečavanja i borbe protiv nasilja nad ženama. Primena Konvencije posebno dobija na značaju tokom pandemije COVID -19.*

*Izazovi u efikasnoj implementaciji Konvencije ukazuju na potrebu da se osigura da ciljevi Konvencije dosegnu sve žene i devojke. Tekući trend je nedostatak intersekcionalnog pristupa zaštiti žena. Opšta preporuka GREVIO -a je osim toga usmerena na potrebu za međuinstitucionalnom saradnjom između vlada i nevladinih organizacija. Potrebna su dovoljna finansijska sredstva za sprovođenje obaveza država u efikasnoj borbi protiv rodno zasnovanog nasilja i nasilja u porodici. Iako nijedna od sedamnaest analiziranih zemalja, potpisnica Konvencije, još nije u potpunosti primenila principe rodne ravnopravnosti, GREVIO beleži obećavajuće prakse u mnogim zemljama. Deklaracija Komiteta strana potpisnica Istanbulske Konvencije Saveta Evrope priznaje veliki doprinos mehanizma praćenja Istanbulske konvencije u sprečavanju i borbi protiv nasilja nad ženama i nasilja u porodici kroz pružanje prilagođenih smernica, kao i mogućnosti za države potpisnice da uče jedne od drugih i razmenjuju najbolje prakse. Posebna vrednost pravnih standarda Konvencije u oblasti borbe protiv rodno zasnovanog nasilja i nasilja u porodici je u njenom doprinosu rušenju globalno rasprostranjenih negativnih rodnih stereotipa, koji su jedan od glavnih uzroka nasilja nad ženama.*

**Ključne reči:** *Savet Evrope, Istanbulska Konvencija, deseta godišnjica*

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**APPLYING A “MODULAR APPROACH” IN THE FIELD  
OF OBEDIENCE CRIMES IN MILITARY SERVICE –  
THE CASE OF MONTENEGRO**

*Abstract*

*The author describes the methodology of colour revolutions in the 21st century. As a product of the fall of communism and the new international context, colour revolutions are connected to democracy promotion campaigns in post-communist societies. In research, colour revolutions are marked as forms of overthrow in which the methods of civil disobedience and nonviolent action are used for the destabilization of the political system with foreign interference. The paper analyzes the theory of civil disobedience and methods of nonviolent action. According to previous empirical and theoretical research of these processes in post-communist states, the article presents the phases in which colour revolutions are realized. The author concludes that colour revolutions will remain an actual phenomenon of political practice because of complex international relations and the struggle of great powers for influence in strategically important areas.*

**Key words:** *colour revolutions, overthrows, nonviolent action, civil disobedience, political violence, international relations.*



## INTRODUCTION

The end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century is marked by two important processes in politics: the fall of communism and the democratization of post-communist societies. After the Cold War, the United States of America was the only superpower capable of expanding its influence in any part of the world. American president Bill Clinton announced “democracy promotion” as one of America’s foreign policy objectives.<sup>2</sup> Without an ideological opponent, liberal democracy and capitalism began to expand in former Warsaw Treaty Organization countries and Eastern Europe.

A key part of the United States’ global geopolitical strategy is to expand their influence in Eurasia. Eurasia’s geopolitical pivot areas are critical points for ensuring the stability and longevity of America’s global supremacy. For American strategists, Eurasia is the source of foreign policy threats and global geopolitical instability.<sup>3</sup> American foreign policy’s central goal towards Eurasia is to expand and consolidate a “democratic bridgehead”<sup>4</sup> America and its European allies achieved this with NATO’s expansion towards Russian borders, and by politically supporting pro-Western politicians and groups during the colour revolutions events in Eastern Europe.


Promoting democracy has intensified since the 2000s. This project (supported by the European Union and America) includes promoting democratic principles, rule of law, human rights, good governance, social and political reforms and dealing with corruption and abuse of power. Taxpayers in Western democracies invest billions of dollars into promoting democracy in transitional and authoritarian societies around the globe.<sup>5</sup> In countries that refuse to comply,



<sup>2</sup> Kisindžer Henri, *Diplomatija*, Kosmos izdavaštvo, Beograd, 2016, p. 849.

<sup>3</sup> Bžežinski Zbignjev, *Amerika-Kina i sudbina sveta: strateška vizija*, Albatros plus, Fakultet bezbednosti, Beograd, 2013, p. 127.

<sup>4</sup> Brzezinski Zbigniew, *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*, Basic Books, 1997, p. 195.

<sup>5</sup> Magen Amichai, McFaul Michael, “Introduction: American and European Strategies to Promote Democracy – Shared Values, Common Challenges, Divergent Tools?”, in: *Promoting Democracy and the Rule of Law: American and European Strategies* (eds. Amichai Magen, Tomas Risse, Michael McFaul), Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, pp. 3-7.

the spread of political influence can also be achieved by cooperative political actors initiating and carrying out colour revolutions. States that resist obedience to economic and (geo)political interests are accused of violating human rights, authoritarianism, endangering regional and international security, lack of fair and democratic elections, lack of rule of law and other political and legal achievements. Western governments support opposition in various ways: political and financial support, education and training, offensive intelligence activity and covert actions, subversion acts, psychological and informational operations for creating pro-opposition public opinion and voter mobilization. According to Oleg Karpovch (Олег Карпович) and Andrey Manoylo (Андрей Манойло), United States of America used colour revolutions as a way to build the democratic world order.

The realization of colour revolutions requires a strategic approach throughout. Economic pressures and interventions are used for causing political instability, social tensions, and political and security crises that are intensified through information campaigns and subversion. Guided by foreign special services, the opposition helps to shape public dissatisfaction. On election day, the opposition declares a victory regardless of the results. If the opposition does not win, they call the election process into question. Protests are organized until the opposition's election victory is recognised. Foreign parties also use non-government and international organizations for increasing pressure on the government.  
Sergey Grinyaev and associates define colour revolution as: “a special form of struggle (in the form of political intervention) aimed at creating a conflict potential of changing the government and the basis of its legitimacy that leads to the geopolitical and geoeconomic reorientation of the state”

Colour revolution is a form of overthrow that uses civil disobedience and nonviolent action to destabilise the political system with foreign interference.

<sup>6</sup> Карпович Олег, Манойло Андрей, *Цветные революции: теория и практика демонтажа современных политических режимов*, Юнити - Дана, 2015, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Parezanović Marko, *Politički prevrat: savremeni pristup*, Nova srpska politička misao, Beograd, 2013, p. 88-92.

<sup>8</sup> Гриняев Сергей and others, *Иррегулярные конфликты: «цветные революции» - Анализ и оценка форм, приемов и способов ведения операций по смене режимов в суверенных государствах*, Центр стратегических оценок и прогнозов, Москва, 2015, p. 199



Opposition groups employ these methods to create crisis potential. These political acts are based on Gene Sharp’s theory and methods developed by “professional revolutionary” organizations such as the Centre for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies (CANVAS). An important role in these political processes have intelligence agencies and non-government organizations.

## COLOUR REVOLUTION AS A 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY FORM OF OVERTHROW

Every modern state protects political order with the law (constitution and criminal code) and repression (army, police and special services). Criminal law prevents attacks on the constitutional order and the state’s security. Army, police and special services use specific methods and procedures to ensure public safety, national security and constitutional order. Despite law sanctions and repression, political history has many examples of overthrows (most common form) being used to illegally seize political power.<sup>9</sup>



Overthrows are not just the result of complex internal factors (social, political, security and economical). They are related to international processes, geopolitical conditions and foreign policy strategies. Many governments encourage overthrows abroad to achieve their own political agenda and goals.<sup>10</sup> According to Richard M. Bissel’s classification of secret actions, there is a wide range of covert activities for foreign intervention: 1) political advice and counsel; 2) subsidies to an individual; 3) financial support and technical assistance to political parties; 4) support to private organizations, including labour unions, business firms, cooperatives, etc.; 5) covert propaganda; 6) “private” training of individuals and exchange of staff; 7) economic operations; 8) paramilitary or political action operations designed to overthrow or support a regime; 9)

<sup>9</sup> Simeunović Dragan, *Uvod u političku teoriju*, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2009, pp. 107-108.

<sup>10</sup> More about covert actions and interventions of the United States in Chapter 9 of: Snider Britt, *The Agency and the Hill: CIA’s Relationship with Congress, 1946–2004*, The Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, доступно преко: <https://www.cia.gov/static/c2bbf1d2a5d7ee65af651f57ff784ac4/The-Agency-and-Hill.pdf>, 05.02.2021.

attempted assassinations.<sup>11</sup> In colour revolutions, the most important covert actions are: political advice and counsel, support to political parties and organizations, propaganda and political actions. Funding an overthrow and installing cooperative politicians comes with minimum casualties and is far cheaper than war. Costs for supporting a colour revolution are less than the price of a single 5th generation fighter aircraft. The CIA spent USD\$40 million in supporting Serbian opposition in the anti-Milošević campaign<sup>12</sup>

The first colour revolution happened in Serbia. On 5th October 2000, the regime of Slobodan Milošević was overthrown by an oppositional alliance of political parties – the Democratic Opposition of Serbia. America and Britain provided advisory, financial, educational and logistical support to Serbian opposition politicians and independent media. The Serbian colour revolution became a template for successful overthrows in Georgia, Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, and many similar political events around the world (in Belarus, Lebanon, Moldova and Hong Kong)<sup>13</sup> Youth movements and student organizations have a significant role in colour revolutions. In Serbia, it was the “Otpor!” (Resistance!) youth group (famous for its raised fist symbol) and its protest against the government. Leaders within the movement had contacts with foreign government officials, diplomats and intelligence agencies officers. “Otpor!” activists used a methodological framework based on Gene Sharp’s theory<sup>14</sup> The Serbian movement became a pattern for later youth organizations and their role in overthrows: Georgian “Kmara!” (Enough!), Ukrainian “Pora!” (It’s Time!), Kyrgyz “KelKel!” (Renaissance!) and “Birge!” (Together!).

<sup>11</sup> *Speech by Richard M. Bissel, Jr., before the Discussion Group on Intelligence and Foreign Policy, run by the Council on Foreign Relations, January 8, 1968, in: Bajagić Mladen, Metodika obaveštajnog rada, Kriminalističko-policijska akademija, Beograd, 2010, p. 178.*

<sup>12</sup> Shimer David, *When the CIA Interferes in Foreign Elections - A Modern-Day History of American Covert Action*, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-06-21/cia-interferes-foreign-elections>, 08.02.2021.

<sup>13</sup> Пономарева Елена, Рябинин Евгений, “«Цветные революции» в контексте стратегии управляемого хаоса”, *Обозреватель–Observer*, No. 12(311), Москва, 2015, p. 43-44.

<sup>14</sup> Naumović Slobodan, “„Otpor!“ kao postmoderni Faust: društveni pokret novog tipa, tradicija prosvetčenog reformizma i „izbornih revolucija“ u Srbiji”, *Filozofija i društvo*, 3/2006, Beograd, 2006, pp. 149-151.

“Otpor!” evolved into a professional organization for applying nonviolent actions and strategies against authoritarian and non-democratic regimes. The founders of “Otpor!” (Srdja Popović and Slobodan Djinović) established Centre for Applied Nonviolent Actions and Strategies (CANVAS) to help democracy and pro-Western oriented activists in more than 50 countries. The centre published methodological publications for the usage of nonviolence and civil disobedience: *Handbook for Working with Activists*, *Nonviolent Struggle: 50 Crucial Points*, *CANVAS Core Curriculum: A Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle*, *Making Oppression Backfire*, *Blueprint for Revolution* and others.<sup>15</sup> “Professional revolutionaries” are not new in political theory. Leon Trotsky (Лев Троцкий) – the October Revolution’s main strategist, noticed the importance of strategic planning and efficient political manipulation in revolutionary activities. Political practice in colour revolutions reaffirm Lenin's position on the need for “professional revolutionaries” who could lead the people and bring about desired political goals.<sup>17</sup>


In the last few years, hybrid warfare is a term often used in security studies and political science. Najzer offers the following explanation of hybrid warfare: “Hybrid warfare is a distinct form of low-level conflict spanning the spectrum of capabilities. It is a deliberately opaque merger of conventional and unconventional warfare and conducted under a single central authority and direction of a state and/or state-like actor. The aim of hybrid warfare is to achieve political objectives that would not be achievable, or would incur too high a cost, through the use of either form individually. The blend of conventional and unconventional enables the actor to exploit an opponent’s strategic or doctrinal weakness while maintaining deniability and strategic surprise”. Hybrid warfare's advantages include lower costs, easier justification to the people, and greater efficiency in achieving the desired goals. Hybrid warfare can include all


<sup>15</sup> More about CANVAS: [www.canvasopedia.org](http://www.canvasopedia.org), 08.02.2021.


<sup>16</sup> Глазунов Олег, *Государственный переворот - Стратегия и технология*, Олма пресс, Москва, 2006, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> More about “professional revolutionaries” in: Lenin Vladimir, *What is to be Done?*, 1902, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/download/what-itd.pdf>, 08.02.2021.

<sup>18</sup> Najzer Brit, *The Hybrid Age: International Security in the Era of Hybrid Warfare*, I.B. Taurus, London, New York, p. 29.

segments of society and the state, which means that not only military targets are attacked, but all social, political, economics and security potentials of the targeted state are potential target 

The main instruments for achieving political goals in hybrid warfare are psychological and information campaigns, economic sanctions, political pressures, incitement to criminal activities, subversion, support for terrorist and separatist actions. Military actions are carried out covertly by irregular forces to influence political structures, state administration and local self-government, the economy, the morale of the population, and security services. Hybrid warfare is performed in four phases: 1) influence on the population's morale through psychological and information campaigns; 2) social destabilization; 3) causing and controlling social crises and 4) taking control of companies with the help of internal forces that are in coordination with the attacker. In their foreign policy manoeuvres, geopolitical actors use colour revolutions in order to promote their security interests. Nonviolent regime change has its advantages over violent interference: violence is used to a minimum, risks are reduced, the cost is lower than classical warfare, overthrow activities are successfully managed through parties not directly connected with foreign government. 


Colour revolutions include illegal acts against national law and constitutional order. Because of this, overthrow can be seen as a form of political conspiracy. Professor Dragan Simeunović offers one of the most accurate definitions of political conspiracy in contemporary political theory: “Political conspiracy is organized conspiratorial action which, with the aim of realizing a secretly agreed and carefully prepared plan, is secretly or publicly carried out by selected and firmly connected conspiracy actors in a conspiracy group or organization”<sup>21</sup>  Political conspiracy is important to the success of illegal regime change because it helps conceal intentions, actors and goals, and avoid detection by the national security services. The use of political conspiracy is


<sup>19</sup> Milošević Davor, “Pojmovno određenje fenomena hibridnog ratovanja”, *Vojno delo*, 3/2018, p. 301.

<sup>20</sup> Milenković Miloš, “Nasilna promena režima kao sadržaj hibridnog rata”, *Vojno delo*, 6/2017, pp. 318-323.

<sup>21</sup> Simeunović Dragan, *Ibidem*, p. 110.

indispensable during colour revolutions - secrecy is needed due to the fact that the contenders for political power do not have the government's resources. Any revelation of foreign intelligence connections and intent to illegally seize power and connections is punishable. It is especially important to keep secret foreign involvement in colour revolutions. Efforts to uncover conspiracy intentions, plans and goals are an important preventive activity for intelligence services. If the conspiratorial intent is discovered in time, the possibilities of a colour revolution are diminished.

Colour revolutions are often seen as non-violent events. However, according to Parezanović's research, common forms of political violence in colour revolutions include: the threat of force, political murder, assassination, political suicide, subversion, repression, political protests, revolts, disorder, riots and demonstrations. Despite the image of colour revolutions as nonviolent events, political violence is used in this form of the overthrow, but only in the required amount to change the political regime.<sup>22</sup> 

The phenomenon of colour revolutions matches with the concept of political revolution. The political revolution is not a method for the conquest of political power. This type of revolution signals a welcome change in governance and increased progressiveness : for example, more democracy, human rights and freedom. The social revolution is portrayed as a wider phenomenon – it includes society's overall progressive transformation (comprehensive change of political, social, economics, culture, psychological and others relations in one society).<sup>23</sup> 

Opposition political subjects in a nation can choose to apply the methodology of a colour revolution for many reasons. A key reason is a lack of organizational skills for effective participation in political life. Party infrastructure is a necessary element to communicate with citizens and voters. With an extensive party organizational network, political actors can successfully animate their supporters, gain new ones, spot citizens' problems at the local level and offer them political solutions, but also represent citizens at the local, regional and national levels. Party disorganization can be conditioned by both internal and

<sup>22</sup> Parezanović Marko, *Ibidem*, pp. 133-134.

<sup>23</sup> Simeunović Dragan, *Teorija politike – rider*, Nauka i društvo, Beograd, 2002, pp. 190-191.

external factors: legal restrictions directed against opposition entities, lack of financial resources for political activity, repression of the government and others. By entering into a relationship with foreign governments, opposition political parties receive the necessary financial and logistical support they require as compensation for a lack of actional and organizational abilities.

### **CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND NONVIOLENT ACTION AS METHODOLOGICAL CORE OF COLOUR REVOLUTIONS**

Civil disobedience has roots in the medieval political thought. John of Salisbury, in his work *The Statesman*, considers that a state without the rule of law is tyranny. Believing that there should be no mercy for tyrants because they do not rule for the common good, John of Salisbury justified the assassination of tyrants and advocated the right to tyrannicide as a legitimate mean of political struggle.<sup>24</sup> Modern political theory and political practice are also influenced by theoretical works of Henry David Thoreau and his essay *Civil Disobedience*. Political practices of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. are the most known effective examples of civil disobedience and nonviolent actions in 20th century - Mahatma Gandhi for the political independence of India and Martin Luther King Jr. for advancing civil rights of the Afroamerican population in the United States of America. John Rawls, one of the most influential modern political philosophers, approves acts of civil disobedience and nonviolence if political regimes brake the principles of justice, but only if these acts are under a constitutional order and publicly recognized conception of justice.<sup>25</sup>

The methodological framework for colour revolutions is based on Gene Sharp's theory of nonviolent action. In 1983, he founded the Albert Einstein Institution, a nongovernment organization to research the strategic application of nonviolent action and to support pro-democracy groups around the world. His study *From Dictatorship to Democracy* is the "methodological Bible" of nonviolent action - it has been translated into 42 languages so far. "Nonviolent action may

<sup>24</sup> Đurić Mihajlo, *Istorija političke filozofije*, Albatros plus, Beograd, 2010, p. 178.

<sup>25</sup> Rawls John, *A Theory of Justice: Revised Edition*, The Belknap University Press of Harvard Univesity, 1999, p. 339

involve *acts of omission* - that is, people may refuse to perform acts that they usually perform, are expected by custom to perform, or are required by law or regulation to perform; *acts of commission* - that is, people may perform acts that they do not usually perform, are not expected by custom to perform, or are forbidden by law or regulation to perform; or a *combination of the two*<sup>26</sup>



Before the application in colour revolutions, nonviolence had its role during the Cold War. In an atmosphere of constant fear of the Warsaw Pact, Sharp proposes the use of nonviolent resistance in the case of a Soviet invasion. The author points out the need to strengthen the national defense and distraction capabilities by unconventional methods. Providing nonviolent resistance has social, political, psychological, and economic methods that have had an impact in the past: Czechoslovakia 1968, Germany 1920 and 1923, Korea 1919–1922, countries under Nazi occupation 1939–1945, Poland 1981–1982. A country's defense strategy involves prior training and preparation of citizens in order to slow down or prevent a possible occupation. Training the population to use nonviolent resistance would increase the overall defense capacity of a country. In this way, smaller states can compensate for the lack of conventional weapons in the event of a conflict with a much larger enemy.<sup>27</sup>





The methods of nonviolent action (198 methods) are divided into six groups and 37 sections. The first group – *The methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion* includes Formal statements, Communications with a wider audience, Group representations, Symbolic public acts, Pressures on individuals, Drama and music, Processions, Honoring the dead, Public assemblies, Withdrawal and renunciation. The second group – *The methods of social noncooperation* includes Ostracism of persons, Noncooperation with social events, customs and institutions, Withdrawal from the social system. The third group – *Economic boycotts* include actions performed by consumers, workers, producers, middlemen, owners, management, holders of financial resources and governments. The third group – *The Strike* includes various types of strikes: symbolic, agricultural, by special groups, ordinary industrial, restricted, multi-industry

<sup>26</sup> Sharp Gene, *Civilian-Based Defence: A Post-Military Weapons System*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1990, p. 40

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 35-36.



and combinations of strikes and economic closures. *The Methods of Political Noncooperation* includes Rejection of authority, Citizens' noncooperation with government, Citizens' alternatives to obedience, Action by government personnel, Domestic governmental action and International governmental action. And the last group – *The Methods of Nonviolent Intervention* includes various types of intervention: psychological, physical, social, economic and political 

Strategic planning is an important segment of successful regime change. Opposition must find the “Achilles' heel” of political regimes in order for the successful overthrow. Sharp cites seventeen weaknesses of each dictatorship: “1. The cooperation of a multitude of people, groups, and institutions needed to operate the system may be restricted or withdrawn; 2. The requirements and effects of the regime’s past policies will somewhat limit its present ability to adopt and implement conflicting policies; 3. The system may become routine in its operation, less able to adjust quickly to new situations; 4. Personnel and resources already allocated for existing tasks will not be easily available for new needs; 5. Subordinates fearful of displeasing their superiors may not report accurate or complete information needed by the dictators to make decisions; 6. The ideology may erode, and myths and symbols of the system may become unstable; 7. If a strong ideology is present that influences one’s view of reality, firm adherence to it may cause inattention to actual conditions and needs; 8. Deteriorating efficiency and competency of the bureaucracy, or excessive controls and regulations, may make the system’s policies and operation ineffective; 9. Internal institutional conflicts and personal rivalries and hostilities may harm, and even disrupt, the operation of the dictatorship; 10. Intellectuals and students may become restless in response to conditions,  restrictions, doctrinalism, and repression; 11. The general public may over time become apathetic, skeptical, and even hostile to the regime; 12. Regional, class, cultural, or national differences may become acute; 13. The power hierarchy of the dictatorship is always unstable to some degree, and at times extremely so. Individuals do not only remain in the same position in the ranking, but may rise or fall to other ranks or be removed entirely and replaced by new persons; 14. Sections of the police

<sup>28</sup> Sharp Gene, *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation*, The Albert Einstein Institution, 2010, pp. 79-86.



or military forces may act to achieve their own objectives, even against the will of established dictators, including by coup d'état; 15. If the dictatorship is new, time is required for it to become well established; 16. With so many decisions made by so few people in the dictatorship, mistakes of judgment, policy, and action are likely to occur; 17. If the regime seeks to avoid these dangers and decentralizes controls and decision making, its control over the central levers of power may be further eroded”<sup>29</sup>





## PHASES OF COLOUR REVOLUTION

Colour revolutions are the products of internal crisis and international context. Dragan Simeunović points out that the political crisis is in most cases an expression of the economic crisis and it represents the state of the political system during which it is difficult to make or implement political decisions by the authorities. As possible causes of various forms of political violence, but also subversive activities, Simeunović states: 1) extreme political polarization and inability to express the interests of large social groups; 2) reduced possibility of affirmative organization and exercise of power; 3) dysfunction of the economic system; 4) significant social differences; 5) presence and semi-legality of corruption, nepotism and other negative phenomena; 6) tolerance of socially negative phenomena; 7) the presence of anti-system forces in the public for a longer period of time; 8) existence of influential anti-systemic organizations and institutions; 9) foreign support to anti-system forces in the country; 10) subversive actions directed towards the economic, political and military segment of society; 11) conflicts between members of the political elite and interest groups; 12) unreliable, uncontrolled and unattached military forces and security structures. The existence of an internal political crisis strongly affects the realization of the overthrow. Without political tensions in one society, it is not possible to make an illegal regime change. Every political crisis consequently reflects on the security system of a country, but also the security situation in society can cause a crisis of the political system. Marko Parezanović points out

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>30</sup> Simeunović Dragan, *Političko nasilje*, Radnička štampa, Beograd, 1989, pp. 61-62.


that the complex political and security events and processes can take the form of a crisis if there is: 1) long-term strained political relations; 2) the emergence of significant scandals for political and security issues; 3) reduced control over the security system by the authorities; 4) inappropriate use of repression; 5) action of opposition forces from the position of extremism and militarism; 6) negative impacts of the economic situation; 7) foreign interference 


Realization of colour revolutions implies the agreed application of civil disobedience, nonviolent and other methods that are coherently, spatially and temporally used in order to influence public opinion and mobilize citizens. The methods are applied by the action core and its supporters in order to disrupt the normal functioning of the government through social and political activities, cause a political, social and security crisis and carry out a change of government. Colour revolutions are methodologically performed in the following six phases: 1) preparation; 2) deployment of forces; 3) destabilization; 4) conflict resolution; 5) changes in the political system; 6) consolidation 


*The first phase* begins with a strategic calculation and analysis of the current situation in the target state. The actors of the overthrow calculate the ratio of their own forces and the forces of the opponents and recruit actors whose political goals and values are identical to the requirements of the foreign factor. Before deciding to carry out a colour revolution and entering the first phase, an important role is played by the modeling process, which can last from few months to five years (depending on the projected goals, public opinion, political and security situation in the country, regional and global situation). The political, social and economic situation in the country and the region is taken into account; analysis of potential perpetrators of the color revolution; in-depth political analysis of the ruling elite, political parties, state structure, state administration and local self-government, companies. Along with these analytical processes, potential leaders of the revolutionary process are being selected and trained. Analytical processes in the preparatory phase include assessing the relationship between political forces and the structure of political parties, as well as studying the psychological profiles of leaders in state and

<sup>31</sup> Parezanović Marko, *Ibidem*, p. 183.

<sup>32</sup> Гриняев Сергей and others, *Ibidem*, p. 199.

military administration to assess the possibility of influencing them through manipulation (including the intelligence method of discrediting). It is especially important to find a “weak link“ in the political system - in crisis situations, it happens that people without competencies and experience in decision-making are appointed to important positions. Therefore, it is necessary to monitor all social and political processes in order to influence the making and execution of bad political decisions that would be promoted through the opposition media 

Subversive actions are extremely important during the preparation. A subversion is a complex form of institutional political violence with the strategic goal of destabilization of a certain socio-political system from within. The most commonly used subversion technique is the “social cleavage technique“: 1) causing a rift in the political, economic, security and scientific peaks of society, 2) creating a rift between social peaks (for example: between security and political), 3) a rift between the appropriate top and base of society segment and 4) encouraging divisions in the social base (with the use of social antagonisms). Subversion is carried out through three directions: 1) ideological-cultural, 2) economic and 3) military-intelligence. The best protection from subversive actions is provided by the creation of own ideological identity, as well as the creation of independent economic and security resources of power 

Modern technological development and social networks (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram) provide new opportunities in carrying out media and informational operations. The creation of media content is facilitated through a variety of software solutions. The costs of distributing media products are minimized in the Informational Age. In the era of universal availability of computers, smartphones and the Internet, society is more exposed than ever to misinformation and fake news, which achieves the tendency to present the situation in the country worse than reality in order to provoke desired processes and events through the emotional reaction of the citizens. 

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 201-202.

<sup>34</sup> Simeunović Dragan, *Političko nasilje*, Radnička štampa, Beograd, 1989, p. 106, 137-138.

<sup>35</sup> Parezanović Marko, Željki Relja, “Uloga propagandnih aktivnosti u političkim prevratima”, *Srpska politička misao*, 3/2019, p. 411.

Intelligence services provide support to their governments in political operations. The promotion of democracy by the United States was especially intensified during Ronald Reagan's presidency. The transfer of secret political actions to the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) began in 1983. This organization is more similar to the intelligence services in terms of organizational structure and activities than to apolitical and humanitarian organizations with a similar name. Prior to the establishment of the National Endowment for Democracy, the CIA provided support to political parties, media, organizations and companies abroad through secret political actions<sup>36</sup>




Initially, the State Department, the National Endowment for Democracy, or some other quasi-independent organization funded by the U.S. government conducts research in the target country. Often teams from the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute, consulting agencies, members of the “democratic network“ come to the country and conduct field research: interviews and meetings with local leaders, democratic political parties, civil society and government officials. Following the development of the action strategy, projects of civil society, political parties and independent media in the target country are financed. Funding is mediated by the National Endowment for Democracy, the United States Agency for International Development and the State Department, with the operational use of the diplomatic and consular infrastructure in that country. The organization and counseling of mass political parties and movements is a central component of the program activity. Most programs are focused on penetrating the media sector, supporting women's and youth movements, and, in the case of industrialized countries, farmers' associations. Special attention of the instructor is paid to the youth movements that are recognized as the bearers of future political changes in the country<sup>37</sup>




Through the organization of educational programs and scholarships, foreign non-government organizations are recruiting young activists from political parties and domestic NGOs, as well as promising students, primarily from

<sup>36</sup>Robinson William, *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US intervention and hegemony*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 86.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibidem*, pp. 101-103.

the social sciences.  The youth target group is especially suitable to manipulative and indoctrinal actions if we keep in mind: lack of life experience, a youthful pursuit for social justice, emotionality, poor financial position, desire for progression and career development, lack of sovereignist and patriotic ideals. By participating in the activities of non-government organizations, young people are not even aware that they are the subject of psychological profiling and assessment of the possibilities for building a cooperative relationship with foreign intelligence services. By searching the Internet and accessing available biographies of officials, we can conclude that attending trainings organized by the non-government sector related to foreign countries is often an important step in career advancement and entering political positions in some post-communist countries.

*Deployment of forces* as the second phase has a goal to deploy political actors who will carry out a colour revolution (actors who will take political power and actors who will be used as a means). This period is characterized by the emergence of new leaders and political movements. Special importance is given to the analysis of the leader, his personal characteristics, habits, abilities and inclinations. The foreign factor performs a guiding function and completes the personnel selection of the most capable actors at the end of the second phase, which lasts from several months to three years .

*Destabilization* occurs if political pressures and diplomatic measures do not produce effects in line with international strategies. Conflict becomes inevitable and political and social contradictions come to the fore. The destabilization of the situation begins with one or several socio-politically active groups (usually workers and students). In the first stage, the socio-economic requirements of these groups stand out (for example, an increase in the minimum wage, better study conditions, etc.). In the next stage of the third phase, political protests are organized in order to point out the demands, gain media publicity and influence public opinion. Through the media, specially trained politicians with political demands are brought to the stage in order for the situation to move from the

<sup>38</sup> Miljković Milan, *Posebnost informacionih operacija u radu savremenih obaveštajnih službi – doktorska disertacija*, Fakultet bezbednosti, Beograd, 2016, pp. 222-226.

<sup>39</sup> Гриняев Сергей and others, *Ibidem*, p. 202.

socio-economic to the political level. This period is crucial in the methodology of carrying out the colour revolution - attracting as many citizens as possible to the newly formed political movement. The driving force of these processes is the masses who are dissatisfied with their social and economic position. In order to animate the participants, the protest takes on the dimension of a spectacle. At this stage, financial support for the activities is provided by non-government organizations, funds and private companies. An indicator of the possibility of carrying out a colored revolution is the lobbying of opposition forces for the interests of the previously mentioned subjects in institutional politics. The third phase lasts from a few hours to a few weeks. According to Grinyaev and his associates, 8% of the population is a necessary “critical mass” to destabilize the social and political situation in the country.<sup>40</sup> However, Erica Chenoweth concludes that for political change, it is necessary to mobilize 3.5% of the population through nonviolent methods during key events.<sup>41</sup>

During the *conflict resolution*, opposition forces are beginning to violate the legal framework of political activism - organizing mass demonstrations, using nonviolent action, civil disobedience and sporadic excesses of political violence. The organizational potential of revolutionary actors is key to achieve the goals of this phase through mass demonstrations and the personal competencies of leaders. Conflict resolution takes from one to several days. Further development of the security situation can only be resolved through the coordinated use of military and police forces. During the planning and execution of these actions, a specially trained opposition “avant-garde” enters the scene, which organizationally and logistically (with foreign support) presents these processes and directs the development of the crisis situation.<sup>42</sup> Dynamic events are finished with the occupation of institutions that symbolize the regime (buildings of the state administration, parliament, public media service) by the opposition. Often, military and police forces are powerless (or intentionally badly coordinated) to suppress demonstrations due to numerical overruns by opposition forces

<sup>40</sup> Гриняев Сергей and others, *Ibidem*, p. 202-203.

<sup>41</sup> More about the “3,5% Rule” in: Chenoweth Erica, *Questions, Answers, and Some Cautionary Updates Regarding the 3.5% Rule*, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Harvard Kennedy School, 2020, [https://carrcenter.hks.harvard.edu/files/cchr/files/CCDP\\_005.pdf](https://carrcenter.hks.harvard.edu/files/cchr/files/CCDP_005.pdf), 08.02.2021.

<sup>42</sup> Гриняев Сергей and others, *Ibidem*, p. 204.

brought in from all over the country. Unable to establish public order and safety or due to an established agreement with opposition leaders, the police and military forces withdraw. Leaders of colour revolution tend to retain political power for more than seven days in order to gain international recognition. Recognition of the new government will always come first from countries that have given overt or covert support to actors of overthrow.<sup>43</sup>

*Changes in the political system* are characterized by the proclamation of a new government and recognition by relevant international subjects. This phase is suitable for making changes while the population is in a phase of “emotional shock” and before the negative socio-economic and political factors come to the fore. The time period in the fifth phase is acceptable for the formation of a “new way of life” according to the tastes of the new political elite. It is often the case that during the new changes in the political system, “revenge” is carried out on political opponents. *Consolidation* is taking place in the legislation: “the political elimination” of the former elite is taking place, positions in the state administration are being taken, a pyramid of political power is being built and the political system is being regulated according to new standards and requirements.<sup>44</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Colour revolutions have significantly influenced the course of world politics in the last twenty years. Promoted as “events of the people” that aspired to democracy and freedom, they were in fact a means to achieve foreign policy goals of the most powerful countries. By promoting their nonviolent and democratic character, their basic purpose is often obscured - the installation of cooperative political elites in geopolitically important states. Countries that have seen illegal changes of government act as a kind of socio-political experiment where results are later used to inform foreign policy. It is enough to follow international news to notice the methodology of colored revolutions is still applied today.

<sup>43</sup> Parezanović Marko, “Državni udar kao jedan od modaliteta nelegalne političke borbe”, *Vojno delo*, jesen/2011, pp. 107-108,

<sup>44</sup> Гриняев Сергей and others, *Ibidem*, p. 205.



Citizens spurred on by democratic and liberal political ideals, which are truly the civilizational heritage of the modern world, are not aware of their own instrumentalization. The dissatisfied masses elect pre-determined elites who, after coming to power, fulfill the political agenda of those countries that supported them in their subversive intentions. Expecting much from a regime change, the citizens receive nothing more than a political revolution. Unjust social relations and political injustices continue, despite eagerly awaited 'democracy'.

Colour revolutions have shown that modern international relations are marked by public and secret intentions and processes. Secret intentions are obscured by publicly expressed demands for the well-being of citizens, who are said to lack freedom and democracy. Countries which have encountered these revolutions have seen impacts to their economy, political and national security systems. The use of subversive actions in order to destabilize the state has left far-reaching consequences on all segments of society. Drawn into the whirlpool of globalization, nations with a lower degree of sovereignty are less and less able to decide independently on the directions of their own development and realization of their national interests.

The 21st century is a century of hybrid conflicts. The great powers will continue to use the potential brought about by these conflicts to realize their interests and power. It is inevitable that the "non-military segment" of hybrid warfare will gain more and more importance with the development of technological achievements. The methodology of colour revolutions will be applied, with minor contextual changes, in order to install cooperative political elites and spread economic, political and cultural influences.

Every element of the social system can be the potential target of hybrid warfare. The response to these threats therefore needs to consider the reaction of all parts of society. The preservation of state independence and sovereignty must involve political elites who are aware of the international, political and security situation and who provide adequate answers and solutions to the most important social and political problems. The potentials of the entire society should ensure political independence and, with their awareness of the importance of



the independent choice of strategic orientations, influence the reduction of the possibility of subversive action.

States in geo-strategically important locations must pay special attention to increasing their overall defense potentials. Most of the burden of protecting the state and national interests from hybrid threats is on national security systems. This specialized segment of society must first recognize and strategically respond to the challenges facing the modern state of the 21st century. An efficient and stable system of national security with competent members is an irreplaceable means of deterring any form of security threat. It must be cautioned that any preventive security measures which are taken must not be used to stifle party pluralism, disrupt political life and strengthen the current ruling elite. The abuse of these measures can only further worsen the situation in the country and lead to the creation of an even greater crisis potential that can be exploited.

Nation states in the era of globalization are facing many challenges and issues. One of the greatest concerns for any state leadership in a globalized world is how to realize the national interest in the multitude of conflicting interests of state and non-state actors. Weaker states are no longer simply struggling with the great powers and stronger states - today non-government organizations and international corporations have a notable influence on shaping world politics, representing their political and ideological ideals, but also the foreign policy of their home countries.

The emerging multipolar world will be an arena of struggle for the supremacy of great powers in certain regions. It is necessary to enrich foreign policy acrobatics with a wisely balanced policy that is accompanied by an awareness of current and future trends in international relations. The constant struggle for position of the hegemon in light of the strengthening influence of challengers will undoubtedly result in new attempts of colour revolutions. Some attempts will fail and some will succeed.

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**Dejan Tadić**

**PRIMENA METODOLOGIJE OBOJENIH REVOLUCIJA  
U SAVREMENOJ POLITIČKOJ PRAKSI**

*Apstrakt*

*Autor iznosi deskripciju metodologije obojenih revolucija u XXI veku. Kao proizvod pada komunizma i novog međunarodnog konteksta, obojene revolucije su povezane sa kampanjama promocije demokratije u postkomunističkim društvima. Istraživač označava obojene revolucije kao forme prevrata u kome se koriste metode građanske neposlušnosti i nenasilne akcije za destabilizaciju političkog sistema uz učešće inostranog faktora. Rad analizira najznačajnije postavke teorije građanske neposlušnosti i metode nenasilne akcije. Uzimajući u obzir ranija empirijska i teorijska istraživanja ovih procesa u postkomunističkim državama, članak prikazuje faze u kojima se izvode obojene revolucije. U zaključku se iznosi ocena da će obojene revolucije ostati aktuelan fenomen političke prakse u svetlu kompleksnosti savremenih međunarodnih odnosa i borbe velikih sila za ostvarenje uticaja u interesnim sferama.*

 **učne reči:** obojene revolucije, prevrati, nenasilna akcija, građanska neposlušnost, političko nasilje, međunarodni odnosi.

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## DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

### Abstract

*The subject matter of this paper is the different conceptions of juvenile delinquency. This issue is particularly important when it comes to the socially unacceptable phenomena, such as juvenile delinquency and juvenile crime. This paper is not aimed at advocating for the specific use of one or the other legal term in the process of defining the illicit behaviour of juvenile offenders. The authors underscore that the proper application of these legal terms largely depends on the scope and extent of illicit conduct that the specific term entails and conceptually defines. Different conceptions of juvenile delinquency will be presented both in Serbian and foreign available criminological literature.*

**Key words:** *juvenile delinquency, juvenile crime, conceptions.*

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## THE BASIC CONCEPT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN SERBIAN CRIMINOLOGICAL LITERATURE

The process of defining the concept of a social phenomenon shall necessarily start from the etymological meaning of the word. The term “*delinquent*” is a word of Latin origin (Lat: *delinquere*) meaning a perpetrator, a villain (Vujaklija, 1986: 198). Some other dictionaries include more detailed definitions of delinquency. It can be very difficult in defining of complex social phenomena. In the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, the term *delinquency* implies bad or criminal behaviour of (usually) minors, whereas the term *delinquent* is used to denote a person who exhibits a tendency towards committing criminal offences (Hornby, 2000: 332). According to the Oxford Dictionary of Law, a juvenile offender/delinquent is a person between the age of 14 and 17 who has committed a crime (Martin (ed.), 2003: 276). In general, a juvenile delinquent may also be defined as a minor who cannot be controlled by parental authority and commits anti-social or criminal acts, such as vandalism or violence (Dictionary.com, 2015). This definition shows the different approaches of juvenile delinquency.

Juvenile delinquency stands out as a distinct criminological phenomenon primarily due to the special biological, psychological and social characteristics of juveniles and their special legal position in criminal justice system. Ample distinctive phenomenological and etiological features distinguish juvenile delinquency from the delinquency of adults. This approach is not pertinent to criminological and sociological research only; it has been widely accepted in criminal law theory and judicial practice in terms of establishing criminal liability (culpability), competence of judicial authorities, criminal proceedings and criminal sanctions which may be imposed on juvenile offenders. There are several approaches to this problem. One interesting conception suggests that juvenile delinquency emerges as a result of discrimination that juveniles are exposed to; as the society does not provide sufficient attention to young people, delinquent behaviour is the youngster’s way of attracting attention to themselves and their needs. Edwin Schur, the proponent of the interactionist school of thought and one of the most radical criminologists who wrote on youth crime, considers that the juvenile crime problems are only aggravated



by intervention of the criminal justice system (Konstantinović-Vilić, Nikolić-Ristanović, Kostić, 2009: 222; Kostić, Mirić, 2015:46). Although this issue has been present since the earliest human societies organized on the basis of legal norms and other social conventions, the study of this social phenomenon is of a recent date (Knežević, 2010:11).

First and foremost, any serious study of a social phenomenon calls for establishing the conceptual framework and definition of the concept. In criminological literature, as noted by Ž. Jašović, there are different definitions on juvenile delinquency as a form of socially unacceptable behaviour. However, they are often inconsistent, contradictory and related to different terms and concepts whose content is not always easy to define. Some of the commonly used terms and expressions include: educational disregard or desertion, neglect or deprivation, susceptibility or vulnerability, young people of asocial behaviour, “problem children”, morally impaired youth, morally defective youth, behavioural disorders, habit disorders, social maladjustment, asocial/anti-social or socio-pathological conduct, juvenile delicts (petty offences), juvenile crime, juvenile delinquency, youth violence/bullying and hooliganism (Jašović, 1978 : 21). While none of these terms is quite comprehensive, each of them embodies a segment of youth conduct that the society has marked as socially unacceptable behaviour. Thus, depending on the type of delinquent behaviour, juveniles may be classified into three major categories: juvenile deviants, juvenile delinquents and juvenile criminal offenders (Kostić, Mirić, 2015: 46).

*Juvenile deviants* are offenders whose acts constitute a violation of cultural norms and habits of other individuals, religious or customary norms of the immediate social environment, ethnic/minority group or community. Violation of these norms does not involve criminal prosecution and imposing criminal sanctions against the perpetrators. However, these offenders are subject to social condemnation by individuals or groups in the given social environment. *Juvenile delinquency* in a broader sense implies deviant behaviour featuring specific psychological, socio-psychological and individual motives and causes. Such conduct violates the customary and statutory norms and patterns of behaviour (Joksić, Bojić, 2012). Delinquent behaviour includes criminal behaviour as well as forms of antisocial conduct which are not incriminated in criminal

legislation. Criminal offenders are adults, physically and psychologically “normal” people, whose delinquent conduct constitutes a violation of the criminal legislation of the given society. Therefore, criminals are not mentally impaired adults or juveniles but persons who engage in criminal activities which are highly likely to lead to the commission of crime (Nikolić, Joksić, 2011: 103-104).

Taking into account the contemporary achievements of criminology, psychology, criminal policy and other related sciences and scientific disciplines, it is therefore highly unjustifiable to label the young people displaying delinquent behaviour as “criminals” or “deviants”. Bearing in mind the correction and re-education of juvenile offenders, it seems that in many cases a more appropriate term may be “juveniles displaying delinquent conduct”, because it does not refer to the personal characteristics of the juveniles in derogatory terms but underscores the delinquent behaviour which has to be changed. The wording is particularly important in terms of the labelling theory, whose basis postulates apply to juvenile delinquency because people are often identified with the labels they are given by other members of the community or the society as a whole. Besides, such improper designation of juveniles who display delinquent behaviour may lead to emotional unrest, sense of rejection, isolation and depression. It certainly does not exclude the need to clearly and specifically identify the illicit behaviour which contains elements of a criminal offence as – *juvenile crime* (juvenile delinquency in the narrow sense).

Therefore, juvenile delinquency implies an entire spectrum of youth conduct, ranging from maladjustment to commission of serious crime (felonies). Generally speaking, there are two approaches to solving this problem: a (broader) criminological and sociological approach, and a (narrower) formal/legal approach. The domestic criminological and criminal law literature includes a similar classification (Nikolić-Ristanović, 2012; Hrnčić, 2007). This article is not aimed at advocating for the specific use of one or the other conception and related legal term in the process of describing the illicit behaviour of juvenile offenders. In fact, the authors wish to underscore that the proper application of these legal terms largely depends on the scope and extent of illicit conduct that the specific term entails and conceptually defines.

In the broader sense, juvenile delinquency includes all forms of juvenile deviant behaviour, ranging from the pre-delinquent behaviour to criminal offences envisaged in criminal legislation. However, juvenile delinquency does not imply only a violation of legal provisions but also a violation of moral norms of a specific society. Thus, the broader conception of juvenile delinquency comprises a number of interpretations. The first interpretation suggests that juvenile delinquency cannot be defined simply as behaviour contrary to legal norms; namely, it also implies the need to determine the relations between the legal norms and the moral norms in the specific society at a specific time. The second interpretation rests on the fact that it is essential to study the juvenile's delinquent behaviour and to observe one's conduct as potentially criminal conduct, in light of individual and collective morality, just as it is done with criminal offences. The third interpretation implies an eclectic approach where juvenile delinquency is perceived not only as a violation of legal provisions but also as a violation of moral norms of a society. This concept of juvenile delinquency is also designated as "young people's delinquent behaviour". In other words, juvenile delinquency in the broader sense includes "such deviant behaviour of young people of a certain age which constitutes a violation of legal norms of the society" or "any activity of minors or underage group which constitutes a substantial breach of some social norm" (Konstantinović-Vilić, Nikolić-Ristanović, Kostić, 2009: 223). In addition to a range of criminal offences, juvenile delinquency includes an array of other forms of deviant behaviour (such as: running away from home, school truancy, vagrancy, begging in the streets, etc.). Some of these forms of behaviour fall into the group of delicts (petty offences), while others violate some social/moral norms which are not explicitly regulated in the positive law.

The formal/legal conception has been accepted by a vast majority of European scholars. In the narrow sense, juvenile delinquency encompasses all forms of juvenile behaviour which are explicitly envisaged as criminal offences in the criminal legislation. This formal/legal concept of juvenile delinquency is clearly distinct from other forms of deviant behaviour. Thus, juvenile crime has to be distinguished from pre-delinquent behaviour which serves only as a wake-up call for taking preventive measures. This conception of juvenile delinquency

includes several interpretations. According to one of these interpretations, juvenile delinquency includes not only the violation of criminal law provisions but also different delicts (misdemeanor) and violations of administrative law norms (such as: vagrancy, begging, prostitution, etc.) which are from criminological standpoint perceived as forms of pre-delinquent behaviour. In criminal law literature, juvenile delinquency in the narrow sense is often designated as juvenile crime. Juvenile crime implies a set of criminal offences committed by (senior and junior) juvenile offenders in a specific society in a specific period of time (Jovašević, 2006: 280). Thus, in criminological and criminal law literature, some authors consider that the term *juvenile crime* is more acceptable than the term *juvenile delinquency* (Nikolić-Ristanović, 2014 :11). On the other hand, the idea to avoid the use of the term *juvenile crime* comes from the school of thought called “New Social Defence”, whose representatives point out to the “stigmatizing” effect of the term *crime* (Ignjatović, 2015 : 20).

Both conceptions of juvenile delinquency have their advantages and disadvantages. The broader conception is most frequently criticized for being somewhat vague, imprecise, diffused and potentially leading to negative consequences in practice; on the other hand, its most prominent advantage is the opportunity for preventive action aimed at suppressing and counteracting a large number of socially dangerous phenomena, which is of particular relevance in juvenile delinquency. The major advantage of the narrow conception of juvenile delinquency is a more precise and specific definition as compared to the broader conception, but its basic drawback is the limited scope of this concept in the provided legal norms and explicit formalism. Different approaches to defining juvenile delinquency additionally prove the complexity of this issue, which sometimes generates problems in theoretical and empirical research (Mirić, 2014: 8). Thus, the scope, aims and purpose of scientific research largely determine which conception of juvenile delinquency will be accepted within the framework of the specific research.

The concept of juvenile delinquency in many ways affects the process of devising measures for its prevention and suppression. If the juvenile delinquent behaviour is observed from the aspect of motivation, causation and social conditioning, it is certainly more appropriate to use the broader conception. On

the other hand, if the specific research is aimed at exploring the punishable conduct of juveniles demonstrating some forms of delinquent behaviour which are envisaged in the criminal legislation, it is certainly more opportune to use the narrower (legal) conception. The use of either of these conceptions is largely determined by the competences of public authorities which are entitled to counteract juvenile delinquency, i.e. whether the social reaction will be limited only to judicial authorities or whether the subject matter involved in the specific case requires the participation and activity of a number of other bodies and institutions (such as: social welfare services, correctional facilities, etc.). Therefore, given that the preferential use of the two theoretical concepts on juvenile delinquency largely depends on the method of researching a specific social phenomenon, neither of these two concepts may be accepted *a priori* (Kostić, Mirić, 2015:48).

The measures for preventing and counteracting juvenile delinquency include general and special prevention measures. It seems that in no other area of life the role of prevention and comprehensive consideration of all criminogenic factors is so significant as in the area of juvenile delinquency; namely, due to their young age and future prospects, juveniles still have a chance to change, adopt proper patterns of behaviour and return to life in the society, particularly if the society provides them the relevant assistance in that process. The future of a society significantly depends on the relations which the society has with juveniles in conflict with the law. For this reason, combating juvenile delinquency is not merely a political or criminal law issue which should be resolved by the members of the scientific, academic and professional communities. It is a much wider struggle for a more just and humane society, a society of equal opportunities for all (Dimovski, Mirić, 2013 :191).

## CONCEPT OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN FOREIGN LITERATURE

Juvenile delinquency is a complex legal and criminological phenomena. We will present some important issues in various legal systems as an example of different conceptions pointed by some authors in foreign criminological literature.

The age criteria for being a juvenile vary from country to country, state to state. In ancient India, a parent was supposed not to punish a child who is under five years of age for any offence. As per the law then prevailing a children of such tender age should be nursed and educated with love and affection only. After the age of five, punishment may be given in some suitable form such as physical chastisement or rebuke by the parents, towards the later half of the childhood, punishment should be gradually withdrawn and replaced by advice. From the age of sixteen upwards sons and daughters should be treated as friends by the parents. Some Smritis, like the Brahd-Yama and the Sankha say that a boy over five and less than eleven, if guilty of some Patakas such as drinking Sura, has not to undergo penance personally but his brother, father or other relations or friends have to undergo for him and that if a 'child is less than five, then whatever the act may be, it is not deemed to be a crime nor a sin and the child is consequently not liable to any punishment (Maheshwari, 2016).

Children are greatest national asset and resource. They should be allowed and provided opportunity to grow up to become robust citizens, physically fit, mentally alert and morally healthy, endowed with skills and activations needed by the society. Children are expected to be obedient, respectful and imbibe virtues and good quality in them. Due to various reasons children do not follow settled social and legal dictum.

In recent years, it has become very clear that juvenile delinquency is the most important aspect of the subject matter of criminology. Delinquent behaviour has assumed serious forms among the juveniles, which is a sign of sick society. The disorder and destruction due to deviant behaviour, a worldwide phenomenon, is assuming alarming proportions.

The word delinquency is derived from the Latin word “delinquere” meaning de i.e. away and linquere i.e. to leave thus, meaning to leave or to abandon. Originally, the word had an objective meaning as it referred to parents who neglected and abandoned their children. In present day, it is used and applied to those children who indulge in wrongful and harmful activities.

Juvenile can be defined as a child who has not attained a certain age at which he, like an adult person under the law of the land, can be held liable for his criminal acts. The juvenile is a child who is alleged to have committed /violated some law which declares the act or omission on the part of the child as an offence.

Juvenile and minor in legal terms are used in different context. Juvenile is used when reference is made to a young criminal offenders and minor relates to legal capacity or majority.

In India, until passing of Children Act, 1960 there was no uniformity regarding age limitation of juvenile delinquent. Bombay Children Act 1948 defined “Child” to mean a boy who has not attained the age of sixteen years or girl who has not attained the age of eighteen years (Maheshwari, 2016).

Delinquency is an act or conduct of a juvenile which is socially undesirable. Juvenile delinquency generally means the failure of children to meet certain obligations expected of them by the society. The juvenile delinquent has even been defined as “a child trying to act like a grown up”. In fact there is a haze of vagueness and confusion surrounding the definition of juvenile delinquency and there is no single definition that may be acceptable to all.

The juvenile delinquency is expression of unsatisfied desires and urges. For a delinquent, his deviant act is a normal response to his inner desire. Like a non delinquent a delinquent is also conditioned by various attending and prevailing circumstances around him. A juvenile delinquent is a person who has been so adjudicated by a judicial court though he may be no different from other children who are not delinquent. Delinquency is an act, conduct or interaction which is socially undesirable. The concept of delinquency also varies with the point of view of the people who feel challenged by it.



According to a social worker, "delinquency consisted of socially unaccepted acts". A psychiatrist suggests that delinquent behaviour is activity which deviates from the normal. And a lawyer would say juvenile delinquency is what the law says it is. In the words of W.H. Sheldon, it is "behavior disappointing beyond reasonable expectation".

Cyril Burt says, delinquency occurs in a child 'when his antisocial tendencies appear so grave that he becomes or ought to become the subject of official action. According to Robison Holt, "we use the term delinquent as we sometimes use the term 'love' as though it were a simple concept whereas it actually embraces complex patterns of behaviour."

Delinquency, it is clear, is many things to many people. The man in the street is concerned chiefly with behaviour that interferes with his property, his person and his rights. He believes that the official label of delinquency is attached only when the behaviour is really harmful and has occurred repeatedly.

Frederick B. Sussmann presents a summary list of acts or conditions included in delinquency definition or description, viz, violation of any law or ordinance, habitual truancy, association with thieves, vicious or immoral persons, and incorrigible beyond control of parent or guardian and so on. Thus the term delinquency does not have a fixed meaning. However, there are two generally accepted approaches to the interpretation of the term, viz the sociological and the legal.

The sociological view gives a liberal interpretation to the term delinquency. This view is well expressed by the definition given by Clyde B. Vedder who says, 'juvenile delinquency refers to the anti-social acts of children and of young people under age. Such acts are either specifically forbidden by law or may be lawfully interpreted as constituting delinquency, or as requiring some form of official action. It means deviation from the normal behaviour.

According to Robison the legal term "delinquency" is an umbrella for a wide variety of socially disapproved behaviour that varies with the time, place and the attitudes of those assigned to administer the law. This behaviour may include such acts as , incorrigibility, disobedience, lying, running away from

home, frequent visits to the cinema, visiting places of ill repute and coming home late at night, habitually remaining truant from school, habitually using vile, obscene or vulgar language in Public Place, immoral conduct around school.

It will also include a child who is homeless, destitute and neglected. In short, delinquent in the sociological view is a child whose activities cause concern and alarm to parents and teachers and others responsible for his care and education (Maheshwari, 2016).

Based on all the above, it can be concluded that in the foreign criminological literature, juvenile is defined in a similar way. Legal and sociological approaches are dominant. The social response to juvenile delinquency is much more than legal norms. It is an investment in the future of society and the mission of all scientists and practitioners who encounter juveniles with delinquent behavior in their work.

## CONCLUSION

The first stage in the substantial exploration of a social phenomenon is the process of defining its conceptual determination. The terminological designation of a specific concept becomes even more consequential in view of the fact that juveniles may be active participants and perpetrators of various crimes and delicts (misdemeanors). Yet, it should be borne in mind at all times that the ultimate objective of the social and legal response to juvenile delinquency is rehabilitation and re-socialization of minors displaying delinquent behaviour rather than mere punishment; thus, punishment should never be administered as an end in itself (just for the sake of punishment) but as a means to an end i.e. rehabilitation and re-socialization (Kostić, Mirić, 2015:49).

As already mentioned, the legal understanding of juvenile delinquency has a number of advantages. The most important of these is a clear definition in the law. The disadvantage of this understanding is the inability to analyze all anti-social behaviors of minors.

On the other hand, the broader (sociological) understanding of juvenile delinquency has its advantages and disadvantages. Namely, by adopting this understanding, a number of anti-social behaviors (such as wandering or begging) can be legally sanctioned. The disadvantage of this approach is that it is quite diffuse and can lead to legal and normative uncertainty.

Which of these two approaches should be adopted? The answer to this question is not simple because it reflects all the complexity of juvenile delinquency. As with other criminological phenomena, the most precise is an eclectic approach that would take into account the positive characteristics of both approaches. Unfortunately, in the real circumstances in which our society finds itself, it seems that the application of an eclectic approach in penological, pedagogical and criminological practice would require additional financial investments in the modernization of treatment programs intended for juveniles with delinquent behavior.

Considering all the above, we may conclude that the concept of juvenile delinquency is a highly complex issue which may be approached in different ways depending on the scope and extent of illicit conduct it encompasses. In that context, the legal doctrine has made a distinction between the broader criminological and sociological approach, and the narrower formal/legal approach. This paper is not aimed at advocating either of these approaches and related concepts; rather, it underscores the complexity of the observed issues and calls for careful examination of the underlying implications.

It may be concluded that the concept of juvenile delinquency is hardly ever a matter of linguistic and terminological designation or definition of an unacceptable social phenomenon. As a rule, the specific designation has a significant impact not only on the overall social response embodied in the mechanisms of legal and social control but also on the attitude of individual members of the specific society towards the phenomenon. Therefore, we underscore that both conceptions of juvenile delinquency are highly relevant and that the proper application of related terminology depends on the subject matter, goals and the ultimate purpose of the specific research on socially unacceptable juvenile conduct.

Regardless of whether the broader or narrower conception of juvenile delinquency has been adopted, it is quite clear that this is not just a linguistic issue. The answer to the illegal behavior of minors, and thus the success of their resocialization, also depends on resolving this issue.

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**Filip Mirić<sup>2</sup>****RAZLIČITA SHVATANJA MALOLETNIČKE DELINKVENCije***Apstrakt*

*Predmet rada je pojmovno određenje maloletničke delinkvencije, njeno razgraničenje u odnosu na maloletnički kriminalitet i druga devijantna ponašanja maloletnika. Ovo je naročito značajno kada je reč o društveno negativnim pojavama kakva je svakako maloletnička delinkvencija, odnosno maloletnički kriminalitet. Nije namera autora da pledira za upotrebu određenog od ova dva termina za odredjenje protivpravnog ponašanja maloletnika, već da ukaže na činjenicu da njihova upotreba zavisi od obima i opsega protivpravnog ponašanja koji se njime želi obuhvatiti, odnosno pojmovno odrediti. Različita shvatanja pojma maloletničke delinkvencije biće prikazana prema dostupnoj srpskoj kriminološkoj literaturi.*

**Ključne reči:** *maloletnička delinkvencija, maloletnički kriminalitet, pojmovno određenje.*

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**BLACK LIVES MATTER AND THE THIRD WAVE  
OF BLACK LIBERATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

*Abstract*

*Paper analyses black movement in the USA through the landscape of three waves of “black liberation”, starting from the period of civil war 1861-1865 and following Reconstruction, through the period of segregation and the struggle to end it (which marked the beginning of the second wave) and especially the third wave which began in 2013 with the organization “Black Lives Matter” being formed. It emphasizes their role in the social movement in the last eight years in the America and points out the significance and social, political, cultural and every other influence their work has had on the American state and society. Special place and attention is given to the events that began in late May of 2020 with death of George Floyd and following riots, their importance for the November presidential elections, continuation of the “cultural wars” etc. In the end a brief summary and prognosis for future is given as a conclusion.*

**Key words:** *Black Lives Matter, black liberation, racially motivated unrests, African Americans, George Floyd, Donald Trump, white supremacy, cultural wars, systemic racism.*



## INTRODUCTION


Racially motivated unrests that shocked and rocked the US during the pandemic year of 2020 were, on one side, a response to the accumulated dissatisfaction and frustration of the African American community with the pandemic and the way it was being handled by the government, and on the other side, a result of racial, social, societal, economic, political and every other crisis in the country. These events indeed are an indicator of the future tendencies in the American state and society, due to the fact that they are still active to this day and their end is not visible in the foreseeable future. Priority in this period, in the technical and organizational sense, had the organization called "Black Lives Matter" (hereinafter BLM), a broad and heterogeneous coalition of various associations and influential individuals, which is primarily a symbol, trend, thought and the guiding idea, and only then all that is exponential and clearly visible in concrete action, primarily on the streets of American cities. This organization came at the dawn of the third era, the third wave of black liberation in the United States, which is a long-term process that has been going on since the Civil War of 1861-1865, and even before that event occurred.

The first wave was during and after this intra-American conflict, the second wave was during the 1960s and the third wave began, conditionally speaking, in 2013 with the emergence of BLM and the return of the racial (black) issue to the center and focus attention of the American and world public. Between these waves, which are difficult to fit into concrete time determinants, the processes of stabilization of newly created circumstances lasted and they reflect the "revolutionary" nature of these changes, which often, almost always, begin with great social tensions and conflicts and gradually climbed from those lowest levels to the highest and most powerful; legislative, i.e. political.

This paper will briefly describe the first two waves and give a more detailed description and analysis of the third and current wave, with all its specifics and significance for the present time and future of the United States, and thus largely the world, taking into account the fact that America continues to be the most influential and powerful country in the world.

## THE FIRST WAVE - HOW IT ALL BEGAN

The first period that we will look at is the one during and after the civil war, during the so-called "Reconstruction", when African Americans were formally freed from slavery but remained deprived of most human and civil rights. The first period begins during the American Civil War (1861-1865). The most notable was the engagement of Frederick Douglass (1818-1895), considered by many (along with W.E.B. Du Bois, who will be discussed later) to be the greatest thinker, intellectual, social worker and freedom fighter (in every sense) of African Americans. Even during the civil war, he used the opportunity to spread the voice of oppressed blacks in this conflict, which essentially concerned the issue of slavery and whose outcome would result in the improvement or deterioration of enslaved African Americans, and he struggled for them to be actively involved in gaining their freedom.



"Although not as a soldier, Douglas... in a direct way- by speaking, writing and what would be called lobbying in modern-day terms- participated in the American Civil War of 1861-1865 and, perhaps more importantly, directly helped in the ideological shaping of the meaning of this conflict as a war whose basic goal was the emancipation of slaves. Lincoln's Final Emancipation Proclamation, at the height of the war, was one of Douglas' great victories  in the same year when Lincoln declared his famous proclamation, in August Douglas met with him in the White House and arranged for black soldiers to be included in the Union Army. Douglas then addressed his people in a proclamation called, "Men of Color, To Arms!" This was not a small and insignificant help in the war because of the fact that the number of blacks in this army grew to 200,000 soldiers by the end of the war, which made up 10% of the total forces of the Union.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stevan Gajic, *From Slave to Citizen: The Fight of African Americans for the Recognition of Humanity*, Belgrade:

Catena Mundi, 2020, 27.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/1863-frederick-douglass-men-color-arms/>, available

5.6.2021 


The aftermath of the war was followed by the previously mentioned period of Reconstruction, which lasted until 1877. "This term implies the federal appeasement of the South, its economic recovery, and its gradual involvement in the political life of the United States.  This period saw a trend among the Southern states of building monuments to honor their generals and heroes from the war, those same controversial monuments that are being torn down and defended across America today; "Reconstruction to this day remains one of the periods in American history about which there is no generally accepted consensus. The experience of reconstruction as an occupation is a sentiment that has persisted even today in the collective memory of a large number of descendants of southern whites. This is evidenced by the erection of monuments to southern heroes from the civil war decades after the end of the war. Over time, these monuments themselves have become a point of controversy and fierce social conflict."

In the following period, the leading baton from Douglas was taken over by William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (hereinafter Du Bois), which he will hold until his death. He became the editor-in-chief of *The Crisis* magazine, which was the main newspaper of his organization NAACP (The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People<sup>5</sup>). He takes on a different approach to African-American liberation and places emphasis on politics, art, and culture. That is when the "Harlem Renaissance" began, when this part of New York, inhabited mostly by blacks, became the center of the explosion and expansion of African-American art. At the same time, his movement and newspapers are making significant progress; "The Crisis" became the main magazine for African-American issues, despite the fact that Du Bois initially thought that this magazine would attract the attention of only "talented tenth"<sup>6</sup>, but by 1920 the circulation of that monthly reached an incredible 100,000 copies. At the same time, the number of NAACP members grew to 90,000, which became the main

<sup>3</sup> Stevan Gajic, 46.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> <https://naacp.org/>, available on 5.6.2021.

<sup>6</sup> His concept, referring to the fact that he thought that for the uplifting of the African American community it  required to have at least 10% of their number with higher education and talents in arts etc.

organization of African Americans in the country<sup>7</sup> it is necessary to draw a parallel with the current problem of cultural content, whether of the current type or from the past, which in a controversial way represents the African American community and which a certain number of people want to remove from the "mainstream" culture. One of the first cases of mass opposition to this type of content was seen in the work of Du Boyce; "This was most clearly shown (in a movie very successful at the box office) by the 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation*, which portrayed blacks as raw and lustful." Du Boyce's biographer Levering Lewis claims that President Wilson was delighted with "*The Birth of a Nation*", while at the same time "*The Crisis*" magazine, NAACP and Du Boyce campaigned for the film to be banned.<sup>8</sup>

Du Bois's undisputed first place in the leadership of the African American community was briefly "shaken" by a newcomer; Marcus Garvey came to Harlem from Jamaica in 1916, and he was a "colorful" man who shook the African-American community with his tumultuous but short-lived actions, and made the headquarters of his Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA<sup>9</sup>) in Harlem. Garvey is also portrayed in the popular television series "*Boardwalk Empire*" as the charming doctor Valentin Narcisse. "He was the leader of "black nationalism" and had a vision to become "Black Moses" and move blacks from American slavery back to the African homeland (the "promised land"). Enthusiastic about his desire, he went to the extremes and even signed an agreement with the Ku Klux Klan, since they nominally had the same goal- the emigration of blacks from America to Africa. This move buried him politically and with the financial embezzlement of his company "Black Star Line" (for which he was imprisoned) made his influence disappear and confirmed Du Boys' dominance."<sup>10</sup>

It should be noted on this occasion that from the beginning (until today) there was disagreement in African American movement about the future of African

<sup>7</sup> Stevan Gajic, 61.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 62.

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/1922-marcus-garvey-principles-universal-negro-improvement-association/>, available on 5.6.2021.

<sup>10</sup> Stevan Gajic, 64.

Americans after their liberation, and there were two conflicting streams of thought, where one stream advocated for the integration of blacks into the American state and society, and the other was for either their emigration to Africa (in earlier times) or gathering in one part of the United States which would then become an independent and purely black state (today's tendencies). This debate dates back to the period of abolitionism when there was a division between integrationists and separatists. "Integrationists saw the future of African Americans within the United States as a political community, and separatists advocated for the territorial encirclement and separation of the 'black nation' or its emigration and the formation of a new nation in Africa, the Caribbean or elsewhere."<sup>11</sup>

In certain aspects of Du Bois's work, one can understand and explain, and find the "root cause" of a certain complementarity of black organization and action today with Marxist theory and "liberation theology". "In the novel "The Search for the Silver Fleece", Du Bois indicated that he was beginning to be attracted to the socialist idea. He connects the position of African Americans with the position of the Russian peasant and considers the socialist struggle to be an emancipatory struggle of the masses of all humanity. The idea of socialism only grew in him over time."<sup>12</sup> In the same way, he interpreted the church and the faith, very contrary to Douglas's position; "From the age of 30, I increasingly saw the church as an institution that defended evils such as slavery, discrimination based on skin color, exploitation of labor and war. I think the greatest gift of the Soviet Union to modern civilization was the dethronement of the clergy and the ban on preaching religion in public schools."<sup>13</sup> His support and visits to the Soviet Union and Mao's China cost him his freedom; he was imprisoned, his passport was taken from him several times and at the end of his life he demonstratively joined the Communist Party USA. He spent the rest of his life in Ghana, where he died in Accra on August 27, 1963, writing the "Encyclopedia of Africa" at the request of his friend and host, President Kwame Nkrumah.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 62.

<sup>13</sup> W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century*, New York: International Publishers, 1968, 286.

<sup>14</sup> Stevan Gajic, 68.

## SECOND WAVE- EQUALITY AND/OR EQUITY?


After a ten-year period of reconstruction (1867-1877) and "calming of the South", segregation was introduced in a large number of states in the American South, which meant legislative and practical separation of whites and blacks in almost all aspects of public life. Black Americans, in addition to being denied numerous political, human, and civil rights, were discriminated in everyday life and victims of frequent lynching and persecutions by racists and white supremacists gathered in and around the KKK (Ku Klux Klan<sup>15</sup>). The announcement of the fight against segregation until its abolition came quite unexpectedly from a person unknown until then. When Rosa Parks refused to stand up for a white man on a bus on December 1, 1955 in the city of Montgomery (state Alabama in the American South), she probably had no idea what the long-term consequences of that act are going to be. According to the "rules" of segregation, there were separate places in buses for blacks and whites, where whites sat in the front and blacks in the back. Parks violated this rule by sitting in a "white man's place" and then refused to stand up and give the seat away to a white man. Although she did this because there was no space in the back and because she was tired from work, the police arrested her for violating Article 6, section 11 of the City Rules of Montgomery. She was released from custody only later in the evening after paying the bail. On the day of her trial on December 5, African Americans boycotted public transportation and continued to do so for 381 days, walking for miles from home to work and back, until the US Supreme Court said that segregation in public transportation was unconstitutional. The following year, the "Jim Crow" laws were overturned, which started the general fight against segregation at the level of the entire United States.<sup>16</sup>

The fight against segregation was continued by Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and many others who found inspiration in their predecessors that we mentioned earlier, and in social liberation movements around the world, communist ideology etc. In terms of ideas and principles, the direct successor of Frederick Douglass was Martin Luther King (1929-1968), probably the most famous

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<sup>15</sup> <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/kkk-series>, available on 5.6.2021.

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.biography.com/activist/rosa-parks>, available on 5.6.2021.

African American of all time. Du Bois' anti-church tone was not pleasant to him, and he did not see anything controversial or restrictive about the founding documents of the USA (Declaration of Independence, the US Constitution, as well as Lincoln's Proclamation) for African Americans to fight for a better and fairer status in American society. He was "...much closer to Douglas, because, just like him, he was a firmly rooted Christian believer. Like Douglas, King saw nothing in the original principles of Christianity that could hinder the realization of black dreams of equality. In his most famous speech, "I Have a Dream," delivered in front of more than 200,000 people in Washington DC on August 28, 1963, King, just as Douglas would have done, referred to Lincoln's Proclamation of Final Emancipation, the United States Constitution, and the Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, which he called "glorious." A year later, the 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed, prohibiting discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, national origin, introducing equal access to public goods and employment, abolishing segregation in schools and increasing voting rights. That did not end discrimination, but a big step forward was made.<sup>18</sup> The following year, the "Voting Rights Act" was passed, which enabled African Americans to vote.<sup>19</sup>

King's assassination led to large-scale demonstrations and riots in Washington in March and April of 1968. Both before and after that, mass riots and violence accompanied the struggle for further empowerment and legal equalization of African Americans, so the situation from that period is very similar to the one today; "The Baltimore riot of 1968 was but one of many serious urban disturbances in the United States during the mid-and-late 1960s. The worst of them occurred in New York City in 1964, in Los Angeles in 1965, and in Newark, New Jersey, and Detroit in 1967. In 1967 alone, disorders occurred in 164 cities, large and small, across the country. Although the visible effects in many cases were not extensive, the aggregate costs of the riots were disturbingly high: eighty- three deaths, 1,897 injuries, and property damage thatran

<sup>17</sup> Stevan Gajic, 187.

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.nps.gov/articles/civil-rights-act.htm>, available on 5.6.2021.

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/voting-rights-act>, available 5.6.2021.



into the tens of millions of dollars.<sup>20</sup> In response to King's assassination, riots raged in the capital for days. The situation there was more catastrophic than anything seen in other cities. Especially on the day of his commemoration, the violence reached unprecedented proportions. Entire streets were on fire, shops were looted, there were clashes with the police, the army guarded vital state buildings and structures, and the violence did not subside for days. The violence lasted until April 12, with dozens dead, thousands wounded and arrested. It was also used for political purposes, of course. Then the Republican candidate for president and future president of the United States (Richard Nixon) said about the violence that the United States is a "society of lawlessness" that can turn into a military camp for 200 million Americans living in fear, and stressed that unrest and violence are more than national shame; they are a major national problem.<sup>21</sup> The end result of these riots was the signing of the "Civil Rights Act" of 1968, which expanded the rights and supplemented the 1964 document of the same name. This 1968 act, better known as the Fair Housing Act, prohibited discrimination on the basis of sale, rent, financing, or settlement (housing) based on race, religion, ethnicity, or gender.<sup>22</sup>

Unlike King, someone who deepened and radicalized his teaching in the footsteps of Du Bois's work, and someone whose approach to this problem largely corresponds to today's activities of the black movement in the United States, is Malcolm X (1925-1965). He not only rejected Christianity altogether, seeing it as a religion of slaves that kept black American in subjection, but he also converted to Islam, took the name El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, and joined the "Nation of Islam" (an African American Islamic religious movement that was founded on 4. July 1930 by Wallace Fard Muhammad and at the time of X's involvement led by Elijah Muhammad) and began his activism. Malcolm X was a black nationalist (even a black racist) and believed that armed struggle and nationalism is the path for African Americans to liberation. He criticized other black leaders like King for his Christianity and nonviolence. Disappointed

<sup>20</sup> Samuel Walker, *Most of I Street Is Gone: The Washington, DC Riots of 1968*, Oxford University Press, 2018, 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.thestoryoftexas.com/discover/artifacts/civil-rights-act-1968-spotlight-102414>, available 5.6.2021.



even with the "Nation of Islam", he left it and founded the Organization of African-American Unity.<sup>23</sup> His speech of April 3, 1964 is kind of his political credo, and the part we will single out is especially indicative for understanding today's situation, because today's actors on this issue (consciously or not) identify in many ways with him and his words and manner.

In that speech, entitled "The Ballot or the Bullet", Malcolm X said, among other things: "No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver -- no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare."<sup>24</sup> Members of the "Nation of Islam" killed Malcolm in New York on February 19, 1965, and there are serious indications that he planned to start an armed uprising soon, which he talked about all his political life, which brought many people to wonder whether his murder is done by somebody "from the system" (within the security structures), who estimated that he went too far and that X must be removed.

A year after Malcolm's assassination came a movement that was in many ways the organizational (and ideological) forerunner of the "Black Lives Matter" movement; The Black Panther Party. It was founded in 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seal to combat police brutality and lynching of blacks, typical of the time in the end of segregation. This was primarily a militant organization, because they created self-defense guards in Oakland (California) and other US cities, but over time it grew and began to deal with social, political and other issues of importance to the African American community. They were much closer to Malcolm X than Martin Luther King, and because of police brutality against members of the civil rights movement, they opted for a more radical approach. They associated their liberation with the liberation movements of Africa and Southeast Asia. Although they had only about 2,000 members at the peak, their activities were disproportionately noticed and represented, despite

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<sup>23</sup> Stevan Gajic, 188.

<sup>24</sup> [http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/speeches/malcolm\\_x\\_ballot.html](http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/speeches/malcolm_x_ballot.html), available 5.6.2021.

their numbers. They organized free food programs for over 20,000 people, helped schools, hospitals, provided legal aid and the like, resulting in great support for them within the African American community. Their activism also led to a campaign to reform the prison system, held training courses for people to vote, opened free clinics, and created "Schools of Freedom" in cities across the United States to educate and politically emancipate people.<sup>25</sup>

The more "controversial" part of their engagement is related to their ideology and violent manifestation of the same. The founders of the Black Panthers, Newton and Seal, were inspired by Marxist ideology in creating a political platform for their movement/party, called The Ten-Point Program. The Panthers were part of the broader Black Power Movement, an unconnected alliance of several larger and smaller black organizations formed on the basis of criticism of King's peaceful work by Malcolm X. The violent aspect of Panther's actions was ultimately the reason (or excuse?) for their systematic suppression and eventually extinction. According to the police, their founder Newton killed police officer John Frey in 1967, for which he was convicted in 1968, but the appellate court subsequently revoked the verdict. Eldridge Cleaver, editor-in-chief of the Black Panthers newspaper, and Bobby Hutton, the organization's treasurer, took part in a shooting with the police, which resulted in Hutton's death and the wounding of two police officers. "Hutton's death - just days after Martin Luther King - put the Panthers at the forefront of not only the Black Movement but also the New Left and the Anti-War Movement."<sup>26</sup> Next year, due to suspicion that he is a police informant, Panther member Alex Reckley was tortured and eventually killed by his comrades. Five years later, Betty Van Peter, the organization's accountant, was found beaten and dead, for which the party leadership was also accused. Because of all this, the FBI launched an intense and secret campaign against them. The first director of the FBI, John Edgar Hoover, called them "one of the greatest threats to our internal security" in 1968, and the following year, 1969, the organization was marked as communist and placed on the list of enemies of the government.

<sup>25</sup><https://nmaahc.si.edu/blog-post/black-panther-party-challenging-police-and-promoting-social-change>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>26</sup> Franziska Meister, *Racism And Resistance: How The Black Panthers Challenged White Supremacy*, Transcript Verlag, 2017, 13.

After several years of monitoring, undermining of their work, arrests, raids, the "Black Panthers" party was shut down in 1982.<sup>27</sup>

A New Black Panther Party in was formed in Dallas, Texas, in 1989, which both former Panthers and the New Panthers themselves say has nothing to do with the original movement and goals, except in certain respects. This new party lives and works to this day. One of her sympathizers is Micah Xavier Johnson, African-American and former member of the U.S. Armed Forces who killed 7 and wounded 5 police officers with a sniper in 2016, taking revenge for the murders of African-Americans by the police. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), a government agency that monitors extremist groups and movements, among others things, the new Black Panthers Party is a violent racist and anti-Semitic organization whose leaders have encouraged violence against whites, Jews and police officers.<sup>28</sup>

### **THE THIRD WAVE - BLM AND SOCIAL JUSTICE**

The third wave of African American "awakening" and the struggle for equalization is the one we are currently attending and which we can nominally mark that it began in 2013 with the creation of the organization "Black Lives Matter" and that it is going on without ending in site, as well as the ultimate goal and aspirations of the people gathered in and around this organization. Unlike the previous two cases, taking into account all the specifics of today's situation, it is difficult to create a hierarchy of significance, power and influence within the African American community and to determine who the bearers of the movement for change are.

The most important event in the United States when it comes to the racial issues in 2013 is the creation of the organization "Black Lives Matter". The assassination of Trayvon Martin had a decisive influence on the creation of this

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<sup>27</sup> [https://www.history.com/topics/civil-rights-movement/black-panthers#section\\_3](https://www.history.com/topics/civil-rights-movement/black-panthers#section_3), available 5.6.2021.

<sup>28</sup> <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/new-black-panther-party>, available 5.6.2021.

movement. "We knew we wanted to create something. We knew we wanted whatever we created to have global significance. Alicia invited her friend Opal Tometi, a dedicated organizer who leads the Black Alliance for Fair Immigration, based in Brooklyn, New York. Opal is a great communicator and has developed all the necessary digital components that we needed for people to start saying "Black lives matter", because for many, even those closest to us, those words were seen as separatist, as if it would isolate us. Opal created the architecture for our first website and Twitter profile, as well as for Facebook and Tumblr. We were determined to create a public and basic concept: that our lives mean something. That black lives mean. After a few days, I return to Facebook and start posting. I am writing to start organizing. I write: "I hope it will have more effect than we can imagine."<sup>29</sup> This is what two of the three women who founded this movement write in their memoirs; Opal Tometi, Patrisse Cullors and Alicia Garza. As they state for themselves, the organization was created as an ideological and political intervention on the state of affairs in which black lives were systematically and intentionally humiliated. They advocate for the affirmation of humanity within the black community, the contribution to the development of this society and the resistance to the deadly repression they suffer.<sup>30</sup> However, unlike other black movements, whose leadership is mostly male and heterosexual, they base their leadership on the empowerment of women, queers and transgender people and others, and want to move them from the margins to the center.<sup>31</sup> The movement especially strengthened in 2014, after the murder of Mike Brown by (white) police officer Darren Wilson in the city of Ferguson, Missouri. On that occasion, according to the organizers of the protest, an 18-year-old young man raised his hands in the air and told the policeman: "Don't shoot!" a few moments before he was killed. This encouraged mass protests in this and other cities, as well as a slogan that has since become one of the symbols of the organization; "Hands up, don't shoot!", where at the protests this is said loudly and in chorus with raised hands in front of the police officers who secure the protests. In 18 cities across

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<sup>29</sup> Bandele Asha, Patrisse Cullors- *When They Call You a Terrorist: A Black Lives Matter Memoir*, Canongate Books , 2018.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

the United States, a network of BLM boards has been established, called the Black Lives Matter Global Network Infrastructure.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to their "old" opponents, who are the government's negligence and disinterest in black communities and the police's brutality towards them, the three founders of this movement said that they now have a new opponent, white supremacy; "Now we have to deal with the new elements that are the vigilantes and the violence of white supremacists."<sup>33</sup> They states so in their interview for BBC, talking about their movement from 2013 to present day. They said they had a big role in the last US presidential election and the victory of Joe Biden, and that they see Kamala Harris as a great choice for vice president, as she is the first woman, black woman and person of Asian-American descent in that position.<sup>34</sup> In the meantime, the organization was registered in the United States under the name Black Lives Matter Global Network as a non-profit, and its support increased especially in 2020 in May, after the death of George Floyd, and since then received large donations and grants from various foundations and corporations, also becoming kind of pop-cultural phenomenon and symbol, which many around the world follow.<sup>35</sup>

The popularity of the movement is also reflected in the fact that "subcommittees" are formed and composed (sometimes exclusively) of whites who join this struggle and contribute to it in their own way. That the movement has outgrown its primary frameworks and goals is an opinion of one of the creators of several songs for the movement that are performed at all their protests, trumpet player from the band Day Dream Sessions, Eric Jackson: "It was really about police brutality and the effects of that on black people. But I think now it's a multilayered thing with feminism and LGBTQ and all these different things kind of coupled into it. I think there needs to be a little bit of refocusing. But Black Lives Matter as a message is one I still stand behind," he said.<sup>36</sup> Among the new goals of the organization, by Professor Melina Abdullah,

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-55106268>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-53273381>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>36</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-53273381>, available 5.6.2021.

who teaches Pan-African Studies in Los Angeles and is one of the founders of the movement, includes the deconstruction of the current police system and its replacement with something new, which is widely criticized in the American public sphere.<sup>37</sup>

In many ways, it is clear that BLM is a continuation and deepener of the "Du Bois" tradition of thought and action, to a certain extent even that of Malcolm X, which is quite clear when comparing his past and their current rhetoric. "Today, 'Black Lives Matter' has become a force to be reckoned with in America. Ignoring traditional hierarchical models of leadership, the movement cannot be identified with a single leader or group of leaders, despite the role of the Cullors, Tometi, and Garza in promoting this hash tag that will define our generation.

"Black lives matter" is rather an ideal that motivates, mobilizes and informs about the actions and programs of many local branches of the organization. Much like the way corporate franchises work, only without income and profits, "Black Lives Matter" is an open brand of social organization that can be adopted and used by any interest group that speaks and works against racial injustices."<sup>38</sup> This organization primarily requires reform of the police and judicial system, but as we have seen, the "list of demands" that they turn out is expanding and growing almost constantly, and in a way becoming endless, so the question is what does BLM want?

What is clear is the fact that the African American activist side today is acting from the obvious position of a victim. Elwood Watson of the University of East Tennessee writes: "In essence, according to the white majority society, you are guilty if you are poor, economically disadvantaged, a product of poor education, have limited, if any, employment opportunities and are routinely targeted by law, as opposed to systematic and institutional racism. This practice of inserting guilt is a strategy that has long been used by many groups histor-

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Christopher J. Lebron, *The Making of Black Lives Matter: A Brief History of an Idea*, Oxford University Press, 2017, Introduction.

ically hostile to blacks and other non-whites. In essence, it is an accepted and common practice among conservatives and the political right.”<sup>39</sup>

Thus, the main enemy has been identified: systematic racism embodied in white supremacy and white privilege. And the methods of this struggle and the most important thinkers and actors are described in the collection of papers and interviews called "How we fight against white supremacy; manual for black resistance". The preface clearly emphasizes that the book is in a sense "exclusive" and that it is not intended for "black conservatives". It is a book of the greatest current thinkers and activists in the modern American black movement. As stated in the preface: "We are fascinated by those who resist and create despite the obstacles created by white supremacy and its lackeys: sexism, homophobia, disenfranchisement, transphobia, colorism, ableism and others." From this it is clear that they do not follow at all the tradition of African American conservatives, which includes Douglas and King, even rejects their legacy and heirs today, which clearly shows to which "stream" they belong to; the one of Du Bois, Malcolm X, and the Black Panthers.

This may be because Douglas, unlike Du Bois and especially Malcolm X, emphasized the importance of patriotism even for African Americans in his 1894 text, *The Folly of Colonization*: "It is all nonsense to talk about the removal of eight millions of the American people from their homes in America to Africa. The expense and hardships, to say nothing of the cruelty attending such a measure, would make success impossible. The American people are wicked, but they are not fools; they will hardly be disposed to incur the expense, to say nothing of the injustice which this measure demands. Nevertheless, this colonizing scheme, unworthy as it is of American statesmanship, and American honor, and though full of mischief to the colored people, seems to have a strong hold on the public mind, and at times has shown much life and vigor."<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Sandra E. Weissinger, Dwayne A. Mack, Elwood Watson (eds.) - *Violence Against Black Bodies: An Intersectional Analysis of How Black Lives Continue to Matter*-Routledge, 2017, 27.

<sup>40</sup> Akiba Solomon and Kenrya Rankin - *How We Fight White Supremacy: A Field Guide to Black Resistance*-Bold Type Books, 2019, Introduction.

<sup>41</sup> <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/the-folly-of-colonization/>, available 5.6.2021.



That is the root cause of his idea that black Americans have to have a sense of patriotism; “In order to be a fully developed human being, Douglas held, someone must have a home, and in order to have a home, someone must have a state. Having a state in turn requires someone to cultivate a spirit of patriotism, specific identifications with one's country... For Douglas, nationalism is a natural human feeling and a characteristic of free people.”<sup>42</sup>



Contrary to his position, we saw what BLM thinks about this issue. For example, the black paramilitary organization The Not Fucking Around Coalition (NFAC) goes even further; they have a proclaimed goal of seceding a part of the United States and creating an independent state from which it would settle all African-Americans from the United States. This organization goes a step further than the BLM and considers them too "soft" and corrupt because they have a large number of white, radical-left activists in their ranks. On Independence Day, July 4, at the same time when Trump was speaking at Mount Rushmore, NFAC leader John Fitzgerald Johnson (better known as Grandmaster Jay) gave a speech at the first line-up and public presentation of armed NFAC members. On that occasion, he said: "Black Lives Matter does not represent the feelings of the black community. We distance ourselves completely from them. BLM does not believe in violence, we do. We chose American Independence Day to send the message that we were slaves when it happened; we were not members of this country. We tried to be here for 247 years, we had a reconstruction and they burned our cities, we got Jim Crow, they fed the dogs to us and told us that we couldn't sit next to them (whites) - we tried that with affirmative action and they reversed it. It's obvious they don't want us here."<sup>43</sup>


On that occasion, the leader of this organization stated the goal: "The solution is very simple. We follow the Declaration of Liberation, declaring that every African American who is a descendant of slavery is a political prisoner here in the United States ... We will take Texas and let us do our thing or don't stop us when we... go somewhere to take our own land to build our own nation ... We are all ex-soldiers. We are all much disciplined. We are all trained shooters.

<sup>42</sup> Stevan Gajic, 82.

<sup>43</sup> <https://orinocotribune.com/leader-of-radical-black-only-militia-nfac-believes-in-violence-wants-a-real-life-wakanda-for-every-black-person-in-america>, available 5.6.2021.



We don't want to talk anymore. We don't want to negotiate anymore. We don't want to sing songs. We do not bring slogans to armed confrontation. We are an eye for an eye organization."<sup>44</sup>

The attitude towards Christianity and the church is something that also greatly distinguishes today's actors from the former ones. Not even Du Boys and Malcolm X attacked Christianity and the Christian heritage of the United States in their actions as much as the new actors did during the protests under the auspices of the BLM from the end of May 2020 onwards. "What distinguishes the BLM from previous protests against police brutality and racism is the whole package of new, mostly radical feminist ideas. The character of the protest is, in addition to anti-white and anti-male, also- anti-Christian. During the spring and summer of 2020, in addition to demolishing a large number of monuments, protesters burned, demolished and graphitized dozens of Roman Catholic and Protestant churches across the United States and Canada, be-headed statues of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary and otherwise desecrated Christian shrines..." All this, along with the propagation of LGBT+ ideology, motivates their opponents to say that it is not a fight for black rights at all, but that this fight is being abused for a "final liquidation" of American values and a radical deconstruction of American identity, followed by the construction of a new one, and creating a different state and society.

This organization confirmed its leading role and became a planetary phenomenon at the end of May 2020, after the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis. The event that set America on fire came on May 25th. From that day, the name and surname that reached the center of the world public was - George Floyd. He is a 46-year-old African American, originally from Houston, Texas, who was arrested on May 25 on the report of an employee in whose shop he allegedly used a counterfeit banknote to buy cigarettes. During the call to the police, the employee said that it seemed to him that the customer (Floyd) was under the influence of alcohol and that he could not control himself. Responding to the call, the police came to the parking lot in front of the store where Floyd was

<sup>44</sup> <https://caldronpool.com/heavily-armed-black-militia-call-for-black-ethnostate-well-take-texas>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>45</sup> Stevan Gajic, 269.

with two friends. As they approached the car in which Floyd was one of the officers pulled out a gun. After a short discussion, he managed to get Floyd out of the car. Then Floyd became aggressive, resisting handcuffing and arrest. Police officer Derek Chauvin soon arrived, whose name will become notorious and infamous at the end of the day. After Floyd was handcuffed, they waited for him to be taken to the police station, and then officer Chauvin put his left knee on his neck while Floyd was lying on the ground. Over 7 minutes, the knee was on Floyd's neck, who shouted to the policeman several times during those 7 minutes: "I can't breathe"; "You're going to kill me, man." and finally he said, "I can't believe it, man. Mom I love you. I love you. Tell my kids I love them. I'm dead." He died soon after.<sup>46</sup>

Almost a year later, the police officer Chauvin was sentenced with 40 years in prison for second-degree murder, up to 25 years for third-degree murder and up to 10 years for second-degree manslaughter. His legal team requested a new trial.<sup>47</sup>

But more important, this event began a process that would bring America to a state similar to one of 1968. The video of the incident made by the witnesses present soon became "viral", traveled the world and began the largest and longest protests in the history of the United States. Floyd was pronounced dead an hour later, after his body arrived at the hospital. The next day, protests began in Minneapolis. Four police officers involved in the murder of Floyd were fired. Thousands of protesters in the streets vandalized police stations and police vehicles, writing graffiti around the city along the way. On the second day of the protest, the protests expanded to Memphis, Los Angeles, Portland and other cities. The gathered masses shouted: "I can't breathe!" which became a kind of regular slogan and the main feature of these protests. The Minneapolis police station was set on fire and police officers had to evacuate. By the sixth day of the protest, they had spread to over 75 cities, with over 5 dead and more than 4,000 arrested. Curfew and a state of emergency were being introduced to combat violence, looting and destruction of property. Floyd was buried on June 4, and those gathered held their "minute of silence" for over 7

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<sup>46</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-52861726>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>47</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-56989757>, available 5.6.2021.

minutes, as long as the knee was on Floyd's neck before he died. Until June 7, the protests spread to other countries and continents, so they were seen in Australia (Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane), France, Spain, Germany, Great Britain ... A monument to the 17<sup>th</sup> century slave owner was demolished in Bristol and thrown into the river.<sup>48</sup>

The main consequences of the May riots are: the creation of autonomous zones in American cities; increased demands for police defunding; the expansion of riots to the entire United States and their continuity almost to this day; the impact of these events on the presidential elections of November 3, 2020, and the continuation of "cultural wars". We will briefly analyze each of these phenomena and then in the conclusion give the final word and summarize everything presented.

1. Autonomous zones and police defunding: One of the more serious consequences of the murder of George Floyd is the creation of the so-called "Autonomous zones", organized by protesters gathered in the streets for weeks and months, with the aim of creating a "free zone" in the cities and a kind of "self-government" in them, similar to the former Paris communes and "free" insurgent territories in the cities, common for socio-economic protests in 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe. The most famous and largest zones of this type have been seen in Seattle<sup>49</sup>, Portland<sup>50</sup>, Washington<sup>51</sup>, Minneapolis<sup>52</sup>, Nashville<sup>53</sup> and other cities. In addition, the demand went hand in hand, which soon became an almost general trend; action to defund the police. Under the same name as the motto, groups, organizations, politicians and influential individuals across the country

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-53218448>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>50</sup> <https://www.wweek.com/news/city/2020/06/18/videos-portland-protesters-establish-patrick-kimmons-autonomous-zone-in-pearl-district-but-police-clear-the-streets-at-dawn/>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>51</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2020/06/23/bhaz-trump-dc-protests-police/>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>52</sup> <https://kstp.com/news/minneapolis-survey-shows-strong-desire-to-reopen-so-called-autonomous-zone-in-minneapolis-october-28-2020/5908712/>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>53</sup> <https://www.tennessean.com/story/news/politics/2020/06/12/nashville-capitol-hill-autonomous-zone-not-tolerated-gov-bill-lee/3176168001/>, available 5.6.2021.

advocated for defunding the police, deconstructing the police administration in a particular city or nationwide, and adequately replacing it with a different legislative force, as existing police are often seen as inherently and irreparably racist and oppressive, and in the service of "systematic racism" and the regime embodied in then-President Donald Trump. Thus, e.g. in Minneapolis, the city where Floyd was killed, city council members demanded the deconstruction and abolition of the Minneapolis city police and its replacement by community-led policing. Nine of the thirteen city council members advocated for this, despite opposition from Mayor Jacob L. Frey. The proponents of this initiative did not specify how the city would function without regular police. They said that they are still working out the plan and that they would like the money that went to the police, to go to help and empower local communities, social work and treatment of addiction.<sup>54</sup>

2. Some other "basic type" events, in relation to the murder of an African American and followed by protests and riots as a consequence, which occurred in the second half of 2020 in America, were further emphasized due to the catalyst of violence and riots in the shadow of the May events. All events of this type since then (since Floyd's murder) have received far more media and public attention, which of course contributes to the increase in violence on the streets of American cities. So it was e.g. in the case of Rayshard Brooks, a 27-year-old black man killed by Atlanta police in early June<sup>55</sup>; in the town of Kenosha, Wisconsin, where police intervened on a report of domestic violence, and there was the murder of Jacob Blake, a 29-year-old African American, and then the great riots that culminated when young Kyle Rittenhouse shot three men (all three were white, it must be noted) two of whom succumbed to injuries. While the three shot were at protests organized under the auspices of the "Black Lives Matter" movement, Rittenhouse was reportedly a member of the "Blue Lives Matter" initiative, which was created in 2014 to counter media defamation of police and the unpunished killing of police officers in the United States, as they

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<sup>54</sup> <https://www.fox9.com/news/defunding-the-minneapolis-police-department-would-likely-require-public-vote-to-change-charter>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>55</sup> <https://www.newsweek.com/atlanta-wendys-burns-demonstrators-block-interstates-after-police-kill-another-black-man-1510731>, available 5.6.2021.

say.<sup>56</sup> Let us also mention the situation from Floyd's Minneapolis, which shows how inflammable the situation is and how little is enough to stir up passions on the streets and turn them into violence and destruction. In that city on August 26, when, after the rumor that a local African American was killed while fleeing from the police, there were street riots and chaos. As the police later stated, the published video shows that the man committed suicide, but that was not too important then, since the ghost had already been released from the bottle and could not be returned. A curfew was imposed, over 100 people were arrested and more than 1,000 police officers were needed to quell the riots and disperse the protesters.<sup>57</sup>

3. The racial unrest, which gained new momentum and intensity at the end of May, certainly affected the presidential elections in the United States. Let's start with the commemoration of George Floyd and speeches given by many celebrities, of which we will single out two in particular. The first was held by then the presidential candidate Joseph Biden, who told the audience via a video link that there is absolutely "systematic racism" when it comes to the police, but also when it comes to housing, education and everything else, and that it must be opposed, it must end. During his speech, which came after Biden's, priest Al Sharpton condemned Donald Trump and his policy, thus clearly implying when African Americans should vote in the upcoming elections.<sup>58</sup> The campaign was openly joined by the brothers of the murdered Floyd, who joined the Democratic National Convention on August 17 via video link, talking about the need for police reform and justice for the murdered African Americans.<sup>59</sup>

Of course, the often mentioned movement "Black Lives Matter" gave its part of support to the Democratic Party in the elections, by publishing on their website

<sup>56</sup> <https://www.wsj.com/articles/jacob-blake-shooting-what-happened-in-kenosha-wisconsin-11598368824>, available  5.6.2021.

<sup>57</sup> <https://minnesota.cbslocal.com/2020/08/27/were-prepared-law-enforcement-lay-out-plans-to-protect-minneapolis-after-night-of-lawlessness>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>58</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2020/06/09/george-floyd-funeral-protests-updates>, available 5.6.2021.


<sup>59</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tC6986uYXHk&ab\\_channel=PBSNewsHour](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tC6986uYXHk&ab_channel=PBSNewsHour), available 5.6.2021.

content dedicated to the elections. They then emphasized to their sympathizers the importance of the election, and called on them to register and vote, so that the "black liberation" could continue in the right way. Back in January 2020, they helped Biden get a nomination by winning in Georgia, and with their (almost direct) actions in the second half of the year, they made it known who their chosen candidate for elections was.<sup>60</sup> Despite that, they felt forgotten and betrayed because the new administration refused for a long time to call them for a meeting in White House and fulfill the given pre-election promises, because of which they received support.<sup>61</sup>

4. Let us mention in the end the impact of racial unrest on the continuation of "cultural wars" in the United States. Cultural war can be defined as a conflict or struggle for domination between groups within or outside society, whose different views of the world, philosophy, ideology, religion and the like do not agree and, moreover, are opposed to each other.

Accordingly, the events since the assassination of George Floyd have left great consequences on the already started "trends" of dethronement and removal of monuments throughout the United States, and "reckoning" with the Confederate heritage on every level, even the symbolic one. For example, one of the main issues for the US military in early June was the renaming of 10 bases and military institutions named after the famous figures from the Confederate army, which was intended by Army Secretary Ryan McCarthy and Secretary of Defense Mark Esper. However, none of this came to be as President Trump vehemently opposed the proposal; "Our history as the largest nation in the world must not be touched. Respect our army!" he said and added that he would not even consider renaming the "disputed" bases and institutions named after the military commanders of the Confederation.<sup>62</sup> However, Secretary of Defense Esper published a list of permitted flags for display in the US Army in front of


<sup>60</sup> <https://blacklivesmatter.com/what-matters-2020/>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>61</sup> <https://www.blackenterprise.com/black-lives-matter-accuses-joe-biden-of-ignoring-their-meeting-request/> available  2021.

<sup>62</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2020/06/10/trump-says-army-bases-will-keep-confederate-names.html>, available 5.6.2021.

the Pentagon on July 17, and the Confederate flag was not on that list, which practically means that it has been banned for use and display in the US Army ever since. "We must always remain focused on what unites us, on our oath to the Constitution and our common duty to defend this nation." he said in the explanation of this decision.<sup>63</sup>

NASCAR, a popular American organization of car racing, announced on June 10 that it would ban the display of the Confederate flag at all its events and buildings. Numerous fans did not agree with this decision, who proudly displayed the Confederate flag after being asked by the organizers not to do so even 5 years ago. Bubba Wallace, the only black driver in NASCAR with "full time" job, wore a T-shirt the same weekend that read: "I can't breathe / Black lives matter", before the race in Atlanta. "My next step is to get rid of the Confederate flag. No one should feel uncomfortable when they come to the NASCAR race. So it starts with the Confederate flag. Remove them. They have no place here," he said in an interview to CNN.<sup>64</sup>

The list of controversial contents from modern, popular culture has become longer and longer. "For example, "Tom and Jerry" got on the "black lists" because of a black maid whose legs are only seen and her characteristic voice," Dumbo "is unsuitable because of the crows that sing to the hung-over elephant with black voices, alluding to Jim Crow, that is, the Jim Crow stereotype, the most scandalous in that sense "Lazy town" because it openly shows prejudices related to African Americans, "The Jungle Book" because in one scene the boy Mowgli dances and sings with monkeys to "swing" music (originally African American), and the monkey king sings in a black voice "I want to be like you", or as a "man", which will, implicitly, say like a white man  "Aunt Jemima" and "Uncle Ben's" rice, as well as the famous classic of cinema "Gone with the wind" because their content allegedly supports racist stereotypes.

<sup>63</sup> <https://thehill.com/policy/defense/507809-pentagon-effectively-bans-confederate-flag-display>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>64</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2020/06/10/nascar-bans-confederate-flag-at-all-events-and-properties.html>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>65</sup> Stevan Gajic, 244.



The government's response to the demolition of the monuments and the vandalizing of America's historical and cultural heritage was firm. On June 26, then-President Trump issued an executive order called the "Executive Order on the Protection of American Monuments, Memorials, and Statues and the Fight Against Recent Criminal Violence." It clearly states that anyone who destroys or vandalizes a public monument, memorial or statue will be prosecuted to the full extent of federal law. Thus, such behavior and actions have become a criminal offense, punishable by money or imprisonment, not only for the perpetrators, but also for local governments and cities that do not adequately deal with this type of violence on the streets.<sup>66</sup> However, despite this, the monuments continued to "suffer" and fall throughout the USA.

## CONCLUSION

As can be read and seen from this paper, the struggle of African Americans for equalization and social affirmation is long and went in several stages, phases, where ideas, organizations, charismatic individuals, methods and ways of acting changed, whose "feedback" affected the American state and society in whole, taking into account the fact that these processes have always been only a small part of the general social trends and changes. The first wave was "in the shadow" of the civil war and the "reconstruction" and reintegration of the South, the second wave "in the shadow" of great anti-war, hippie and other movements, and the sexual revolution, the echo of the European 1968 and the creation of the "New Left", and the ongoing third wave is marked by general social changes in the United States, which are characterized by a great social re-examination of the very essence of American identity, the American "heart and soul", the so-called normative American values. Indicative in this sense is the book written by Andrew Hartman (*War for the Soul of America: A History of Cultural Wars*<sup>67</sup>), which best describes these processes and can therefore serve as a starting point for a deeper study of this topic, which we did not

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<sup>66</sup> <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-protecting-american-monuments-memorials-statues-combating-recent-criminal-violence/>, available 5.6.2021.

<sup>67</sup> <https://journals.openedition.org/orla/2727?lang=en>, available 5.6.2021.



deal with too strictly, but only describing one aspect of it, represented in and around African American organizations and the "third wave" of their liberation. Accumulated social ambivalences and unresolved internal issues of racial relations will not go away or be resolved "on their own", so it is difficult to say that the processes that have begun will end in the foreseeable future. America is facing a period of deep "self-confrontation" and redefining its own internal role, which could potentially be followed by redefining its global position and strategy, which will of course have consequences for the whole world because, as stated in the introduction, despite all problems, flaws and shortcomings, the United States remains the number one planetary power whose global influence remains high and unparalleled.

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### Apstrakt

*U radu se analizira kretanje afroamerikanaca u SAD kroz pejzaž tri talasa „crnog oslobođenja“, počev od perioda građanskog rata 1861.-1865. period posle Obnove, kroz period segregacije i borbe za njeno okončanje (što je označilo početak drugi talas) i posebno treći talas koji je započeo 2013. godine formiranjem organizacije „Black Lives Matter“. U radu se analizira uloga ovoga pokreta u društvu u poslednjih osam godina u Americi, a posebno se ističe socijalni, politički, kulturni i svaki drugi značaj koji je njihov rad imao na američku državu i društvo. Posebno mesto i pažnja posvećuju se događajima koji su započeli krajem maja 2020. godine smrću Đorđa Flojda (George Floyd) i posle nereda, njihovom značaju za predsedničke izbore u novembru, nastavku „kulturnih ratova“ itd.*

*Na kraju se daje kratak rezime i prognoza za budućnost kao zaključak.*

**Ključne reči:** *Black Lives Matter, oslobađanje crnaca, rasno motivisani nemiri, Afroamerikanci, Džordž Flojd, Donald Tramp, supremacija belaca, kulturni ratovi, sistemski rasizam.*

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**"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 I*

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


Translated into English by Jelena Petkovic

**Belgrade, 2021.**

*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 they bring a certain result in the form of a new Polish state. However, the ambitions and plans of the then Polish elite were much bigger than they got and they continued with serious work on the territorial expansion of the state. That is why they are entering the war with the communists on the territory of Ukraine, and then secretly agreeing with the Third Reich for the purpose of dismembering Czechoslovakia, which de facto marked the beginning of a new world armed conflict. The failure of the agreement with the Nazi leadership on the division of the spoils and the attack 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 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". Apart from 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. However, as it is often the case in life, the plan had to be supplemented, changed and partially rejected, as new challenges emerged in the form of mass migrations from the Middle East, Asia, Ukraine and North Africa. Along with the mass use of digital technologies, radical ideologies, asymmetric armed actions, wars under other people's flags and new, hitherto unused forms of weapons, conflicts in the present have been given a new name, hybrid wars. The current Polish elite, in addition to the traditionally loyal ally in the Vatican and covert mentors in London, has publicly linked its geopolitical "Three Seas Initiative" to Washington, offering itself in the role of a possible military-political operator in Eastern Europe. It is obvious that the planners in Warsaw did not calculate in their calculations that the political paradigm and a serious political crisis could change in the United States, the causes of which are much deeper than the United States itself, and the consequences are historical. The collapse of the capitalist model of governance, the collapse of its ideological matrix and the catastrophic consequences that financial colonialism leaves behind, marked the last few years, especially 2020. The creation of the "Council for Inclusive Capitalism with the Vatican" in recent years, an attempt at a marketing and fictitious deviation from capitalism, while remaining in its favor for a privileged part of the global elite and a Polish maneuver by a strategic ally on the other side of the ocean, with a simultaneous commitment to transforming the EU into a European confederation, marked the beginning of 2021.*

 **words:** Black Lives Matter; black liberation, racially motivated



*unrests, African Americans, George Floyd, Donald Trump, white supremacy, cultural wars, systemic racism.*

**Keywords:** *Intermarium (Between-seas), Three Seas, capitalism, digital technologies, hybrid wars, migrations, colored revolutions, Eurasia, inclusive capitalism*


**The main hypothesis:** Does the Polish Plan of the Intermarium (Three Seas) fit into any of the known global geopolitical plans?

## BASIC TERMS OR INSTEAD OF AN INTRODUCTION

- "*Intermarium*" or "*Three Seas*", a Polish geostrategic plan for the unification of the three Baltic states, parts of Eastern and Central Europe and the Helm Peninsula<sup>1</sup>, with a predominantly Catholic population. Apart from Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Ukraine, Croatia is mentioned as a potential component of the project.

- *Migrant chaos*, an artificial and planned state in every society, established with the help of mass and at first glance uncoordinated migrations, with the ultimate goal of drastically changing the religious and national structure of Europe. In recent decades, it has been initiated on the basis of the global ideology of the anarcho-liberal elite, whose pursuit of unscrupulous personal enrichment has eliminated all until recently existing rules of functioning of capitalist society and valid social agreement, which Klaus Schwab defines in the form of "the problem of desynchronization between two groups of people" - managers and society.

<sup>1</sup> - Helm is European peninsula, to which the German historian Johann August Zeune (May 12, 1778, Wittenberg - November 14, 1853, Berlin) in 1809, for the foreign policy needs of Prussia and for the future political discrediting of that part of the Eurasian continent, introduced a new geographical term, Balkans, Balkan Peninsula. In his geopolitical opinion, it was necessary to stigmatize and politically separate this supposedly non-European from the European part of the continent. - see prof. dr. Ivan Pavrev, from the University of St. Clement of Ohrid, Sofia, <https://www.h-net.org/announce/show.cgi>

 Several millennia, the Slavic-Serbian name Helm, Hem has been used for this part of the world, ie in the Greek variant Hemios or in Latin Haemus;

- "*One Belt, One Road*" is a global geostrategic project within the concept of Great Unification (Schic Datun, Building a Society of Common Destiny<sup>2</sup>), where from the angle of Western Europe we can distinguish two geopolitical operational plans of the People's Republic of China "*New Silk Road*" (with a east-west direction) and "*Amber Road*" (with a north-south direction), aimed at placing capital and strengthening economic and political ties with countries gathered in the framework of interstate cooperation "17 + 1".

- *Relationships in a triangle*. The authors are of the opinion that all elementary relations of living beings and their organizations should always be viewed in their simplest form, and that is the triangle. Only in this way can we get the basic cause-and-effect information needed to select and synthesize facts that will help us to objectively understand the events and the world around us.

The Republic of Poland is a country with about 38 million inhabitants, it occupies an area of 312,679 km<sup>2</sup>, 93% of the population are ethnic Poles, and 87% of the citizens are Catholics by religion, while there are 1.3% Orthodox Christians. There are about 20,000 Muslims and about 5,000 Jews among the population. It is territorially organized into 16 duchies, counties (districts) of which there are 379 and municipalities of which there are 2,478. The Polish border is 3,511 km long, of which 440 km is the maritime border on the Baltic Sea. The climate in this country is temperate and occasionally shifts to continental. Poland has been in the NATO alliance since 1999, and since 2004 it has been in the European Union. One third of the able-bodied population works in industry, the average salary at the level of the republic is around 800 euros. The most important Polish economic partners are Germany, France, Italy, the Russian Federation, Great Britain and the Czech Republic.

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<sup>2</sup> - The People's Republic of China is a strategic trade partner with 130 countries, and an Agreement on Cooperation within the framework of the "Belt and Road" strategy was signed with 137 countries, said Van I, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, in his speech to members in early August 2020. French Institute of International Relations - IFRI.

## HISTORICAL HERITAGE

Some authors attribute the first attempt to implement the "Intermarium" (Polish "Miedzynorze") to Marshal Jozef Pilsudski<sup>3</sup> in the twentieth century, but there are very serious sources that certain influential circles with the help of Napoleon Bonaparte, in the early 19th century, tried to lay its foundations. Basically, the "Intermarium" Plan was conceived in order to, in the first stage, create a wall of a group of Catholic states towards the Orthodox Russian Empire, and in the second phase, to establish a quality bridgehead for its colonial conquest. The main operative for its implementation at that time was the Polish prince Adam Czartoryski<sup>4</sup>. With the infamous end of the Napoleonic era, this plan experienced an identical end, but not for long, because after organizing the failed Polish uprising in 1830-1831, with the help of France, where he emigrated, Czartoryski continued his efforts to realize the mentioned geopolitical plan<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>3</sup> - Józef Klemens Piłsudski, born in 1867, died in 1935 in Warsaw, the most influential person in Poland in the first decades of the twentieth century, in his youth, like most Polish politicians at the beginning of the twentieth century was president of Poland 1918-1922, first Polish marshal and statesman, promoter of the war with Russia 1920-1921. year, which in 1934 with A. Hitler signed a joint Declaration on the non-use of force (the so-called Piłsudski-Hitler Pact), among other things, decorated with the Royal Order of the Star of Karadjordje. Piłsudski considered the idol of Justice and Development (Polish: PiS), currently the ruling party in Poland

<sup>4</sup> - Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, 1770 - 1861, although he took part in the uprising of 1794 against Russia and was therefore interned and forced to live in Petrovgrad, in a magical way in 1801 Czartoryski entered the narrowest circle of trusted persons of the future Russian Tsar Alexander I. It is even more interesting that in 1803 he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire. For the next six years, he largely participated in shaping Russia's foreign policy. He devised a bold plan to reorganize Europe and conclude an alliance of the Russian Empire with Austria and England. Within that plan, he also advocated the creation of a Polish-Lithuanian state, which would have close ties with Russia, but his plan was thwarted in time. He was dismissed from the imperial service and in 1810 he left Petrovgrad and Russia. He wrote in his Memoirs "that Russia did not sympathize with the birth of Rzeczpospolita" - Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, "Memoirs", Moscow 1998, p. 361. The first Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth began with the Lublin Union, a Polish-Lithuanian community ruled by a privileged elite - the nobility. It was founded in 1569 and lasted until 1795, primarily for the purpose of creating a wall towards Russia, but also blocking German tendencies to the east.

<sup>5</sup> - from 1823, Czartoryski coordinated anti-Russian activities in Poland, and in 1830 he organized and participated in the Polish uprising against Russia, in which he was at

basically through an attempt its partial realizations first through Serbia, and later through Lithuania and the Carpathian Ruthenians (Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian Alliance from 1863).

Based on the initiative of Jozef Pilsudski<sup>6</sup>, the next time this plan saw the light of day after more than half a century. After the end of the First World War, the disappearance of three great empires, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the centuries-old protector of the Vatican, the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire<sup>7</sup>, ie 123 years after the disappearance of the First Rzeczpospolita (1795), another Polish republic appeared. As at the beginning of the 21st century in 20th century Poland, everything flourished under nationalist ideas. On that wave, many breakthroughs were made not only in the economy and state administration, but also in art, culture and the development of social relations. For example, under the leadership of Ignacy Moscicki<sup>8</sup>, the Polish chemical industry was created. They lived, created and fought on the nationalist wave, first with the

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the head of the self-proclaimed Government. After the uprising broke out in 1831, he emigrated to France, where he led Polish political emigration for the next 30 years and actively worked against the interests of the Russian Empire;

<sup>6</sup> - Józef Klemens Piłsudski, was a descendant of a rich noble family. He attended the First Gymnasium in Vilnius, as well as the famous left-wing revolutionary Felix Dzerzhinsky. A sincere follower of the idea of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the creator of the idea of Prometheanism, whose essence was the struggle to weaken and dismember any Russian state. In this context, 1904-1905. He cooperated with the Japanese intelligence service in carrying out "Operation Evening" and took part in organizing the uprising in Poland, in order to help the Japanese army in the Russo-Japanese war. Agency contacts were made through Witold Jodko-Narkiewicz and the Japanese residency in London. At that time, the Japanese government was offered the establishment of a "Polish Legion" which would be formed of Russian army soldiers, ethnic Poles, who were captured and would continue to fight in the Japanese Armed Forces, but official Tokyo rejected that plan.

<sup>7</sup> - the plan was devised at the beginning of the twentieth century, in order to preserve the capitalist model of governance and the place of Great Britain in the world order. It was carried out by the secret British society "Round Table"

<sup>8</sup> - Ignacy Mościcki, born in 1867, died in 1946, a scientist in the field of chemistry and after the recommendation of Pilsudski, whom he met in 1894 in England, from 1926 to 1939 the President of the Republic. An urn with his powder was transferred from Switzerland to Warsaw in 1993.

Ukrainians in 1918-1919. for Galicia, and then after an agreement with Symon Petliura<sup>9</sup> and the Soviets in 1920, for the territory of Ukraine. The signing of the Riga Peace Treaty in 1921 put an end to the ambitions of Pilsudski and his followers, aimed at forming a Polish-Lithuanian-Belarusian-Ukrainian federation, previously embodied in the "Intermarium" Plan. Pilsudski's political opponent, Roman Dmowski<sup>10</sup>, leader of the right-wing National Democratic Party (Endeavors, founded in 1897), advocated the idea of forming a Polish nation-state, but unlike Pilsudski, pragmatism in foreign policy. In 1923, Dmowski established diplomatic relations with the USSR as Minister of Foreign Affairs. How extensive Polish ambitions were at that time is also shown by certain refined details, for example Ferdinand Ossendowski<sup>11</sup> was allowed and financed to travel to Tibet in search of "secret knowledge and power".

That the topic of domination over other nations in the Polish elite was not completely closed even after 1926, is shown by the fact that the use of this plan for territorial expansion, in Poland's exit from the Baltic to the Black Sea, was discussed in 1937 by Herman Goering and his deputy. Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland Szembek.<sup>12</sup> Even in the years before the outbreak of the Second World War, Poland was actively preparing to significantly increase the territory

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<sup>9</sup> - ukrainian: СІМОН ВАСИЛЬОВИЧ ПЕТЛЮРА, born 1879-1924, Ukrainian political activist, head of the Directorate of the Ukrainian People's Republic 1919-1920.

<sup>10</sup> - Roman Stanisław Dmowski, 1864-1939 an occasional doctor at the University of Cambridge, had a great influence on the awakening of anti-Semitism 1920-1930, founder of the Polish nationalist political group "Camp of Great Poland" (Oboz Wielkiej Polski, 1926-1933). In 2003, Marcin Markowski formed a social movement under the same name in Wrocław.

<sup>11</sup> - Ferdynand Antoni Ossendowski, an engineer-technologist, travel writer, social worker and journalist, published the book "Beasts, Humans and Gods" published in 1925, which has been translated into many languages. The German translation before World War II has long been classified as a secret. In addition, Ossendowski was an active participant in the White Movement, he cooperated with the Russian Admiral A.V. Kolchak (many years later a confirmed agent of the British intelligence service) and General Baron von Ungern-Sternberg, the leader of the White Movement in the Far East.

<sup>12</sup> - source: several published diplomatic documents from the pre-war period, which President V.V. Putin made available to the public during the informal conference of the CIS president on December 20, 2019 in St. Petersburg. <http://special.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/62376>

of the Second Recipospolita. Therefore, together with the leadership of the Third Reich on October 1, 1938, they participated in the dismemberment of the Czech Republic, for that purpose they formed the Operational Group "Silesia" with the strength of 3 infantry divisions, 1 cavalry brigade and other tactical units intended for the occupation of Teshin area, carrying out terrorist attacks on Czech territory. In addition, they actively encouraged Hungary to secede from part of Slovakia, inhabited by the Hungarian minority. Estimates say that there were about 700,000 ethnic Hungarians in the southern parts of Slovakia at the time. At that time, the Polish government refused military cooperation with France, the guarantor of Czechoslovak security, and thus directly deprived the USSR troops of the opportunity to directly help it in its defense against the Third Reich. For his part, in 1938, Adolf Hitler had his own plans in the military strengthening of the country, attracting new allies<sup>13</sup> and potentially creating a bloc, whose aspirations were directed towards Russia and the countries that were its allies.<sup>14</sup> That is one of the reasons why Hitler, during the signing of the Munich Agreement,<sup>15</sup> among other things, acted in the role of the exclusive lawyer-protector of the geopolitical ambitions<sup>16</sup> of the then Poland and Hungary. No one from the current Polish elite mentions the Polish-German negotiations on a possible joint attack on the USSR in 1939, whose fate was sealed by excessive Polish appetites, because they demanded Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine and access to the Black Sea, with which Germans agreed, but the Polish ultimate request for Danzig,<sup>17</sup> was the last straw and negotiations failed. The Germans immediately launched plans to attack Poland, which counted on the

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<sup>13</sup>- at the session of the Polish Government in January 1939, President Ignacy Moscicki spoke out against making any concessions to Germany.

<sup>14</sup>- Ibidem,

<sup>15</sup>- concluded on September 30, 1938 to decide the fate of the Sudetenland. It was signed by A. Hitler with Prime Ministers Neville Chamberlain and Edouard Daladier.

<sup>16</sup>- at the Nuremberg Trials, geopolitics was condemned as a tool of the Nazi Third Reich to provoke World War II

<sup>17</sup>- today's city of Gdansk and its wider territory, then with about 200 settlements and about 408,000 citizens, called the Danzig Republic, which from 1920 to 1939, based on the decision of the League of Nations was then under its administration, as an independent territorial unit, with its currency, without an army, separated from Germany and Poland. The foreign policy, whose 95% of the population (54.7% were Protestants,



help of France and Great Britain, but that did not happen. The French General Staff<sup>18</sup> stated that there was no point in starting a war because of the attack on Poland, when it was no more. The British did the same. After the withdrawal of the Government and the General Staff abroad, the latter issued an order to the remnants of the Polish armed forces not to enter into a conflict with the Red Army,<sup>19, 20</sup> which on 17 September i.g. entered Poland. After the German occupation of Poland, Ukrainian nationalists were released from prison on Abwehr's orders, forming the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists - OUN, known as "Bandera", after the leader Stepan Bandera<sup>21</sup> and later the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukrainian abbreviation UPA), remembered in history. for numerous crimes against the civilian population. Until their release from Polish prisons, they were a minor political group in relation to other political parties in Ukraine. By investing money and political influence, the Nazis made them an important political factor in Ukraine.

In 1944, Polish nationalists raised the Warsaw Uprising. Uprising and the Home Army (Armia Krajowa)<sup>22</sup> was commanded by the British favorite Polish general

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34.5% Catholics) considered German language as their own, pursued through Great Britain.

<sup>18</sup> - France even promised in writing that it would immediately go to war with Germany, by bombing its territory by air. The Poles, relying on the Western Allies, calculated that they would withstand the German attack for two weeks, until the Allies intervened more seriously. At the time, they planned to mobilize their army reserve and launch offensive operations, to conquer Berlin in a few months.

<sup>19</sup> - Yaakov Kedmi, former director of the Israeli special service "Nativ" (Hebrew: ביח), on TV Rossiya 1, in the show "Pryamoy efir", published on August 14, 2017;

<sup>20</sup> - after the Second World War, primarily thanks to the Red Army, whose 530,000 members died for the liberation of Poland, this country was given large territories in its west, which were previously part of Germany. Based on this and other activities (eg the Helsinki Accords of 1975), Poland renounced war reparations from Germany in 1953.

<sup>21</sup> - ukrainian: Степан Андрійович Бандера, 1909-1959 "Right Sector" and the group "Svoboda" are on January 1, 2021, marking the 112th anniversary of the birth of Stepan Bandera. In Kiev (about 1,000 people gathered) and several cities in western Ukraine, they held rallies with torches. At the end of the meeting of ultranationalists in Kiev, Bogdan Beniuk, the deputy head of the association "Svoboda" and the People's Artist of Ukraine, performed.

<sup>22</sup> - at that time, there were two resistance movements in Poland, the Armia Krajowa, politically linked to the West, with the ideology of Poland "from sea to sea" and the



Tadeusz Komorowski. Immediately before the uprising, he issued an order to the Poles with the following content: "The Bolsheviks are in front of Warsaw. They claim to be friends of the Polish people. That's a broken lie. Our regions, Vilnius and Lublin, are calling for revenge. The Bolshevik enemy will encounter such a relentless struggle, which shook the German occupiers. Activities in favor of Russia are a betrayal of the homeland. The time of the Polish uprising has not yet come. I cancel the orders of the Soviet units. The commander of the Armia Krajowa orders that any attempt to provide assistance to the Soviets be suppressed. The Germans are fleeing. Get ready to fight the Soviets. Long live free Poland." Fulfilling Hitler's direct order in 63 days and nights, the SS literally exterminated over 200,000 Warsaw residents. In early October 1944, Komarowski surrendered to SS General Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski (after his mother, a Pole, surname Szymanskaja), with whom he later "chatted amicably" many times in the POW camp near Nuremberg, after all, as did Gestapo officers, who visited him often. It was then that Dem Bach described Goering best, saying: "He is the most accursed murderer in this devil's campaign." The liberation of Poland from Nazi occupation in the Second World War is an indisputable result of the Vistula-Oder strategic upcoming operation of the Red Army<sup>23</sup> and units of the Polish Army<sup>24</sup>, which began on January 12 and ended on February 3, 1945.

During the Cold War, the essence of the project was preserved in the West through a new name, the "Prometheus" Project, conceptually oriented towards the offensive disintegration of the USSR. This period can be conditionally

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Armia Ludowa (People's Army), politically linked to Moscow. It is an interesting detail that there were no Jews in the Armia Krajowa, on the contrary, they dealt very brutally with those who escaped from concentration camps or were members of the Armia Ludowa. Thus, e.g. On August 17, 1944, in the Siekierzyńsk Forest, a unit of the Armia Krajowa, under the command of Lieutenant *Kazimierz Olchowik*, shot about 60 people. <https://www.fondsk.ru/news/2021/01/18/poljakam-napomnili-o-godovschine-vislo-oderskoj-operacii-52714.html>

<sup>23</sup> - from the Baltic Sea to the Carpathians, 35 German divisions were destroyed and 150,000 enemy soldiers were captured

<sup>24</sup> - formed on July 21, 1944 by the Armia Ludowa (military wing of the Polish Workers' Party) and the 1st Polish Army

divided into two parts, from 1946 to 1972 and from 1972 to 1989. The first period is characterized by the undoubted victory of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact over the collective West, and in 1972, instead of the United States, transnational companies (TNC) took over the role of the main competitor with the East without advertising. Conducting a hybrid war with the Moscow-led socialist camp, which did not recognize that a qualitatively new opponent had been brought into the conflict, nor did it deign to make significant adjustments to its ideology and strategy, declare victory in the Cold War and modify strategic plans and political marketing, brought the TNC, that is, the collective West behind which they hid, victory in that hybrid conflict in 1989<sup>25</sup>.

In our time, the West is implementing the NATO plan "Anaconda" with an identical idea, ie. an attempt to blockade the Russian Federation and its allies by land, for the purpose of its destruction, the fragmentation of its territories and the plunder of wealth, or more precisely, for the purpose of colonial conquest.

After the pro-Western, right-wing forces came to power in Poland, a special legal act (dated 18 December 1998) was established by the Parliament (Sejm) to establish the Government Institute of National Remembrance - Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation.<sup>26</sup> Its basic publicly proclaimed tasks are to collect, process, educate and keep the documentation necessary for criminal prosecution in crimes committed against the Polish nation. Essentially, it deals with the documentation and activities of the state security bodies in Poland from July 22, 1944 to July 31, 1990, but also with the documentation of the Third Reich and the USSR. Since 2007, it has been doing the lustration of all persons whose activity, in their view, was "against the Polish nation." It is about aggressive advocacy of the right-wing political thesis about the "two occupations" of Poland, Germany (1939-1945) and Russia (1945-1990).<sup>27</sup> It is the basis of waging a psycho-historical war with all

<sup>25</sup> - some authors, Diego Fusaro and others call this period the Third World War

<sup>26</sup> - Instytut Pamięci Narodowej - Commission Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu (IPN) <https://ipn.gov.pl/> except the headquarters consisting of the Administration, the Main Commission and three bureaus (1. publishing and archiving, 2. education and 3. lustration) , 11 Departments (in cities with the seat of the Courts of Appeal) and 7 sections of this institution are active throughout Poland

<sup>27</sup> - The Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance exists in Ukraine on identical political grounds

dissidents in the country and abroad and the formation (current and in the near future) of political attitudes and determinations in Polish society, resulting from a purely subjective view of events in history. The indisputable results of this body are the Law on Decommunization and numerous renamings of squares, streets, historical monuments and everything that could now and in the near future remind us of the common Slavic history. The Institute promoted only those whose views did not differ from the point of view of Pilsudski or Komorowski.

Historically, until 2020, there were 5 divisions of Polish states. Considering that a serious amount of material on this topic can be found in the historiographical material, it will not be exhibited on this occasion.

## THE PRESENT

Visegrad group<sup>28</sup> a state consisting of the Republic of Poland, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Hungary, under the baton of Poland, in May 2011, formed a special combat group, with the direct command of the Polish General Staff. The conclusion that Poland wants to be turned into a military-political operator<sup>29</sup> for this part of Euroasia is self-evident. The mentioned forces are declaratively not part of NATO and can be seen as one of the stages in the implementation of the "Intermarium" Plan, which can also

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<sup>28</sup> - was established on February 15, 1991 in Visegrad, Republic of Hungary, in order to improve the conditions for the accession of Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia to the European Union. The joint Declaration was signed by Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel and Jozsef Antall. <https://web.archive.org/web/20140824082057/http://www.visegradgroup.eu/2011/the-bratislava>

<sup>29</sup> - according to the Russian mathematician Denisov, the military-political operator is a local state education with adequate territory, whose closure is guaranteed by international agreements and national sovereignty, with the presence of a powerful army and intelligence structure and nuclear weapons, ie other types of weapons of mass destruction. Such territories are constantly used around the world to deploy special operations forces. There are already several such military-political operators on the territory of Eurasia. In the territory of the Russian Federation, it is Chechnya, in Eastern Europe, the United States wants to impose that role on Poland, in South-east Asia, it is North Korea, and others. - Andrey Fursov, "The world is preparing for the great facts of war", <https://youtu.be/ilxofuDTsXg> ; Some authors use the term operational agent instead of a military-political operator for identical purposes.

be called "Warsaw - Fourth Rome". Together with the increased influence of diplomacy and the newly established media in the Polish environment, they are a kind of "soft power" whose task is to promote exclusively Polish strategic goals from this Plan through a hybrid way of warfare. This is confirmed by the inaugural speech of Polish President Andrzej Duda on August 6, 2015, which on that occasion announced the construction of regional cooperation through the implementation of this geopolitical concept, but also the appearance of the then Polish Foreign Minister Witold Waszczykowski<sup>30</sup> during his official visit to Washington in late April 2017. On that occasion, Waszczykowski gave the old-new plan a new name - "Three Seas", symbolically hinting at the intentions of the new, this time pro-Atlantic Polish elite, to rule in the territory between the three seas, the Baltic Sea, with the help of the USA, its exclusive overseas ally, Black in the southeast and Adriatic in the southwest. The fact that due to the very uncertain perspectives of the EU and the euro, an additional initiative was launched on the necessity of thinking about other ways of developing the existing The Fourth Polish Republic, shows that these are not mere fantasies and constructions of playful Polish geopoliticians. The introduction of a common currency for the area of "Intermarium" is fraught with several difficulties, and if it moves in that direction, it could predetermine the collapse of the current German foreign economic policy led by anarcholiberal politicians, the collapse of EU policy and the euro as a whole.<sup>31</sup> Given that it is in the long run, we will eventually return to it if the situation on the ground requires it.

Regarding the announced dislocation of troops, the US Secretary of Defense Mike Esper stated in mid-October 2020 that the US goal "is not the intention to reduce the number of our troops. Simply put, deployment plans are linked to threats to Europe from Russia and China." In that context, he pointed to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.<sup>32</sup>, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria, ie the back-

<sup>30</sup> - Witold Jan Waszczykowski, Polish politician, member of the Sejm and the European Parliament, from 2015-2018. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland

<sup>31</sup> - see "Polonia Christiana", June 2016. Krakow, Poland;


<sup>32</sup> - Major General Martin Herem, Commander of the Estonian Defense Forces, told the media in early 2021 that it was necessary to increase defense spending to 6.5% of Estonia's GDP, <https://rus.err.ee/1608083437/herem-rashody-na-oboronu-nezavisi-moj-v-voennom-otnoshenii-jestonii-dolzny-sostavljat-6-5-vvp>

bone of the territories in the "Intermarium Plan". We have no doubt that the unilateral withdrawal of the USA from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF Treaty). A few days later (October 26), Russian President Vladimir Putin reaffirmed the Russian Federation's commitment to a unilaterally announced moratorium on the proliferation of medium-range and short-range missiles and proposed measures to reduce tensions in Europe. They would include "Aegis Ashore" missiles and Mk-41 launch cells, under the control of NATO and US forces in Europe, or Russian 9M729 missiles and launch pads for them, deployed in the Kaliningrad region.<sup>33</sup> Due to daily provocations by groups of strategic bombers, which imitate an attack on this Russian area in the air, in the north of the Russian Federation, Moscow was forced (Nenets Autonomous District, is as part of the 45th Army of the Russian Air Force), to install new radars systems of the "Nebo-M" type, for the protection of its own territory and the Navy (Northern Fleet). They serve for the successful detection of aircraft with the so-called stealth technology. In addition, in December of the same year, a decision was published on the formation of another division, stationed in the Kaliningrad region. In addition to motorized infantry, it will include independent regiments of mechanized artillery, missile technology and an independent tank regiment.

On November 11, 2017, it became obvious who playful Polish geostrategists were counting on. It is estimated that about 60,000 participants resigned from the extreme right. There were also slogans about the Holocaust for Muslims, various nationalist slogans and a Europe reserved for whites. Polish nationalism has been quietly and carefully nurtured for many years. The big question is whether its creators and directors can control it to the extent that they assumed it would succeed or significantly overestimated their capabilities.

The situation after the so-called corona virus pandemics (read media information-psychological-medical hoax<sup>34</sup>) layed the role of catalyst of all processes<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> - <https://ria.ru/20201026/deeskalatsiya-1581550139.html>

<sup>34</sup>  those who doubt our assessment should ask themselves a simple question: Who got rich in the pandemic? That is, let them use the logic of Seneca's famous sentence, "Cui prodest scelus, is fecit."

<sup>35</sup> - according to the IMF estimates announced to the public on January 26, 2021 by the chief economist Gita Gopinath, it is estimated that in the period from 2020 to 2025 the global economy (although the real name of these processes is chrematistics) will lose about 22,000 billion

and increased tensions among EU members. The apple of discord was the decision of the European Central Bank (abbreviated ECB, based in Frankfurt) to print 1.35 trillion euros of euro banknotes (the so-called "corona fund") and buy shares in the economy of EU member states. The fact that the decline in production in the euro zone, caused by inflated psychological hysteria called the "corona virus", and essentially the crisis of the capitalist model, which is no longer able to bring its masters the desired and undeserved financial income, was used as a formal occasion. The Netherlands, a country under the financial colonial relations of Great Britain, continued to threaten to leave the EU zone and in that direction led the so-called the "northern wing" of the members, who also expressed their unwillingness to follow this policy. The first report of the European Commission on the state of the rule of law in the EU member states<sup>36</sup> and the Brussels initiative to link the granting of financial aid from the "corona funds" to the rule of law in individual EU member states quickly found their Polish answer. Following their plan to conquer the future and responding to pressure from Brussels, Polish and Hungarian Foreign Ministers Zbigniew Rau and Peter Szijjarto agreed at the end of September 2020 to build a joint institute for assessing the rule of law in EU countries. Adding to this the fact that Berlin, which held the EU presidency, came out with a softened proposal, to assess violations of the rule of law in the future and asked for the consensus to be replaced by a simple majority, ie representatives of 15 countries whose population is 65% EU (ie qualified majority). , we will get a picture of the increasingly open conflict between Poland and the members of the Visegrad Group<sup>37</sup>, with EU members. The situation between the members of this group

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USD, and <https://www.dw.com/en/coronavirus-global-gdp-to-sink-by-22-trillion-over-covid-says-imf/a-56349323> the sites were visited on the same day

<sup>36</sup> - in the 25-page annex, the mentioned Report mentions Poland 30 times, Bulgaria 19 times, Austria 16, Romania 15, Hungary 12, Slovakia and Slovenia 8 times, the Czech Republic 7 times, and Croatia 3 times.

<sup>37</sup> - before the Summit "17 + 1" with the People's Republic of China, a meeting of Andrzej Duda, Milos Zeman (Czech Republic), Zuzana Caputova (Slovakia) and Janos Ader (Hungary), President of the Visegrad Group, was held on February 9, 2021 in Jurata, Poland. The main topic of conversation was economic cooperation and strengthening mutual integrations. A week before the meeting, Duda stated that the topic would be "joint opposition to challenges from the East and the West." Already on February 17,



and their relationship with the rest of the EU and the US will be further complicated by the decision of the Swedish supervisory body in October 2020 to ban the use of Chinese "Huawei" equipment to which Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Szijjarto reacted by announcing that the aforementioned Chinese technology giant will open a research and development center in Budapest, which will create new jobs for 100 Hungarian engineers. Since 2005, this Chinese company has invested around 500 million euros in Hungary. We have no dilemma that this, but also other similar decisions of the Hungarian Government, will in a very specific way reflect on the realization of the "Intermarium" plan. It is very important to point out that for some time (according to some sources from 2013), intensive negotiations were conducted between the People's Republic of China and the EU, formed through the Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI) and completed in early 2021. At the 51st (this time virtual) World Economic Summit in Davos in 2021, German Chancellor Angela Merkel stated that "A new quality has been introduced into our relations"<sup>38</sup>. Without the consent of Berlin, Paris and Brussels, Warsaw voluntarily proposed that the United States be included in the negotiations, which caused open dissatisfaction of the allies within the EU.

#### 4. HYBRID WARS, IN AND AROUND POLAND?

In Poland, there is a strong and well-coordinated commitment to use its own historical, economic and political concept, known to the public as the "Intermarium Plan". It represents the starting point for building an alternative future in which it is possible to use the common currency for Ukraine, some Balkan countries, the Baltic states,<sup>39</sup> Czech Republic, Belarus, Romania, Hungary and

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2021. a meeting of the prime ministers of the mentioned countries was held in Krakow, at which a joint declaration was adopted. Among other things, the results on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the project were discussed. The meeting was also attended by the President of the European Council, Charles Michel.

<sup>38</sup> - Tanja Vujić, "Some global companies have gained too much power", "Politika", no. 38499, section "Svet", p. 3 t.

<sup>39</sup> - since leaving the USSR in 1990, ie in 30 years, the three Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia have lost over 21% of the most productive part of the population and this tendency continues from year to year



Slovakia. This potential alliance would have a little less than one hundred million inhabitants, and Poland would play the most important role in it due to its economy, geographical position and size, according to the creators of the Plan. The Poles want to pay special attention to their neighbors, Ukraine (or parts of its territory<sup>40</sup>) and Belarus, because through rapid economic integration with them, they could immediately progress in the realization of their ideas. Like any idea, this one has its difficulties, because the existing Polish elite is hesitant about the authorities in Minsk. Advocating the so-called "Democratization" of the Belarusian political scene, with the implied use of anti-Russian (anti-Slavic) policy, following the example of the current coup in Kiev, before possible integration processes, not only delays the implementation of geopolitical ideas, but in case of another "colored revolution" in Belarus<sup>41</sup>, for a certain period, it completely rejects the "Intermarium Plan". The reality of the relationship of political forces in Minsk in 2020 told us that the conspirators of the coup, and then financial colonization and the introduction of the occupation system in Belarus<sup>42</sup>, at this time have little chance of realizing their plans<sup>43</sup>. After the presidential elections in this country, which were undoubtedly won by Alexander Lukashenko, with over 80% of the vote, the global colonizer, through his financial terrorists, launched its perpetrators of various levels and purposes, is started another "colored revolution" on the European continent. Another ideological conflict continued, because modern Belarus<sup>44</sup>, with the preserved elements of socialism, was and remains an ideological bone

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<sup>40</sup> - for 5 Black Sea areas and the Crimean peninsula, there is allegedly a plan to secede from Ukraine, in order to form the so-called "New Khazaria"

<sup>41</sup> - in this country, according to the plan drawn up in the West, they tried to report a coup d'etat or "colored revolution" in 2006, which was called "Jeans Revolution" in the media.

<sup>42</sup> - in the Polish public there were calls for the occupation of the Belarusian areas, Brest and Grodin, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V1HWhz28q7Q> 06:10

<sup>43</sup> - this assessment is indirectly confirmed by the Vatican's attitude towards official Minsk

<sup>44</sup> - in the global hysteria whose cause was found in the Covid-19 virus, Belarus did not apply measures to isolate healthy people and had a percentage of 8 times fewer victims than the United States or 12 times less than Belgium. Even the protests of the so-called the opposition was without a mask, and no one was punished for such behavior.

in the throat of the dying post-capitalist West<sup>45</sup>. Preservation of traditional morality, stable state ideology embodied in the equality of all its citizens, absence of oligarchy and organized crime (and terrorist groups), absence of income inequality, existence of about 3,000 state-owned enterprises<sup>46</sup>worth between 120 and 150 billion euros, modernized economy<sup>47</sup>and agriculture, simply contradict and defy the anarcholiberal dogma of financial terrorists and colonizers. There are other reasons for the insolent aggression against sovereign Belarus. They concern the strategic ties of the Armed Forces of this country with the Russian Federation<sup>48</sup>, but also the participation of Belarus in the Moscow project "Eurasia" and the Chinese plans united in the global initiative "One Belt, One Road". Due to that, the colonial administrations in the colony of the second level<sup>49</sup>, in Poland, the third level in Lithuania and Latvia and the fourth level in Ukraine, received a plan from their political protectors abroad to conduct special, informational and psychological operations against Belarus. The authors are of the opinion that the comment of the Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Belarus, Ruslan Kosigin, dated December 6, 2020, should be viewed in that light: "activity of NATO<sup>50</sup>in certain neighboring coun-

<sup>45</sup> - <https://www.fondsk.ru/news/2021/02/13/lukashenko-atakovat-nas-budut-postojanno-52921.html>

<sup>46</sup> - which produce about 70% of the country's industrial products

<sup>47</sup> - Belarus owns the world's leading factories of trucks, tractors, phosphorus and nitrogen

<sup>48</sup> - near Baranovichi (Brest region) there is an observation-acquisition radar with a range of about 5,000 km, which is part of the early warning system of the Russian Federation, and in Vileyka (Minsk region) there is the 43rd Maritime Communication Center, whose task is to provide communications with Russian fleet around the world.

<sup>49</sup> - capitalist social relations take on different forms over time, but in essence do not change. It is the same with colonialism. Over time, it has evolved and adapted, but it has not changed its essence. From classical colonialism, through imperialism, technological, to financial and digital colonialism. In order to disguise their goals and their easier realization, the metropolis and the trans-national corporation (TNC) managed to create different relations with the colonies. On that basis, all modern colonies can be divided into: deluxe colonies and colonies of I, II, III, IV and V levels. You can read more:<http://media1.naukaidrustvo.org/2020/12/broj-12-simeunovic-raskazov.pdf>

<sup>50</sup> - during talks with foreign military envoys, Deputy Minister of Defense and Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation Valery Gerasimov

tries indicates preparation for the possibility of using force against the Republic. Nikolai Shchokin, head of the Institute of Sociology at the Belarusian Academy of Sciences, openly told BelTA: "Warsaw and its satellites are not ready to stop their expansion towards our country. By presenting the idea of direct intervention, they are once again trying to start a civil war mechanism. The statements of the alternatives about the allocation of grants (several tens of millions of euros) to a "civil society", calls for the introduction of sanctions against their country, are unconstitutional and anti-historical and aimed at overthrowing the state."<sup>51</sup>The main goal of the planners is the destruction of the Belarusian statehood, the introduction of colonial administration, the destruction of industrial capacities and the plunder of finances, the economy and all the citizens of this free country<sup>52</sup>. In order to motivate the widest possible base among Polish citizens, a multi-layered, strongly supported dream of "Greater Poland" or "Poland from sea to sea" was initiated. The activities of special forces from Ukraine<sup>53</sup>, Lithuania<sup>54</sup> и Latvia, were coordinated on the ground by the Polish Central Group for Psychological Actions (Centralna Grupa Działan Psychologicznych)<sup>55</sup>, directly subordinated to the Headquarters of the

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underlined on December 24, 2020 that the General Staff noticed an open anti-Russian nature during NATO training and growing provocation near Russia's borders. Repotred TASS and Tanjug

<sup>51</sup> - IA Regnum, "Belarusian Academy of Sciences accused Poland of "preparing for direct intervention", published on December 7, 2020, the site was visited on the same day, <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/3135021.html>

<sup>52</sup> - about 80% of Belarusian imports and exports, worth about 4 billion USD, are related to cheap raw materials from Russia

<sup>53</sup> - special forces of the Republic of Ukraine trained 450 mercenaries to carry out a coup d'etat in Belarus in the cities of Nikolaev and Chernigov, - Igor Panarin, "World Politics"

<sup>54</sup> - according to Ivan Tertel, President of the Belarusian KGB, every year this service manages to keep 5-6 spies from Lithuania and Poland

<sup>55</sup> - Centralna Grupa Działan Psychologicznych – CGDP, is part of the RP Special Operations Force, and consists of the Headquarters and the Central Directorate for Psychological Operations, based in the city of Bydgoszcz. It consists of the Command, the Intelligence Center and four Subcentres (with directions of work Poland, West, East and seismic areas). The Internet resources "Nexta TV" and "Nexta Live" function under it. The main administrator of these channels is Protosevich Roman Dmitrevich, born.

Ground Forces of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces. Judging by the events in the information sphere, at the strategic level, they were supported by the 77th Brigade for Special Actions of the British Armed Forces, which is deployed in Great Britain, the Kingdom of the Netherlands and Cyprus. With such an information background, it is not surprising that the alleged "Belarusian cyber partisans" continued to attack digital resources in Belarus. Alluding to the undoubted popularity of the partisan movement in the Second World War in Belarusian society, Western curators, on the one hand, disguised their incriminating activities with non-existent hackers, and on the other tried to reach patriotic citizens in order to deceive them. Among the interesting details are the public call for the citizens of Belarus to withdraw funds from state-owned banks<sup>56</sup>, which they plan to attack en masse on October 9, 2006. that is, advanced programs for recognizing faces and connecting with identity in order to discourage members of the Belarusian forces from preserving public order. Due to the involvement in the organization, participation and execution of the coup attempt from Belarus on November 9, were expelled two British diplomats, Lisa Tamwood, deputy ambassador and military attache Timothy White. As in other countries where "colored revolutions" were carried out earlier, the dirtiest part of the field activities (terrorism in the form of murders, kidnappings, blackmail, beatings, intimidation, arson, etc.) was left to extreme rightists, neo-Nazis and neo-fascists. In the case of the attempted coup d'etat in Belarus in 2020, it was neo-Nazis from Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Belarus, or extreme right-wingers (ultra-Catholics and neo-Nazis) from Poland.

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In 1995, he was an activist of the radical nationalist group "Young Front" since 2011. Already in 2014, Protosevich went to Ukraine to take part in the fighting. At the suggestion of the Ukrainian Igor Guzj, the ultra-right "National Alliance" joined the neo-Nazi battalion "Azov", where he underwent basic and specialist training as a saboteur. At the end of 2015, he became the deputy commander in charge of communications in the 2nd Assault Company. Continuing his "career" in 2017, he was accepted into "Radio Svoboda" in Prague, and then he was trained in the USA. He participated in the Polish and American financing of the "Azov" battalion. Since 2020, he has had political asylum in Poland, and since January 2020, he has become the administrator of the mentioned channel.

<sup>56</sup> - hypothetical question: Why were private western banks, which are in competition with the state-owned banks of Belarus, not the target of the attack?

According to Stepan Putilo, editor-in-chief of the TV channel "Nexta"<sup>57</sup>, ie those paid by the Government of Poland,<sup>58</sup> at no time did the number of demonstrators in Belarus exceed 7 - 10,000 demonstrators.<sup>59</sup> At the end of September 2020, Polish Foreign Minister Rau, after meeting with his Hungarian counterpart Sijart, stated that Poland intends that if the EU does not want to impose sanctions on certain persons from Belarus, Poland will do so together with countries from the region. This indirectly confirmed the fact of a "two-speed Europe", but also an open dilemma about the existence of a multi-vector Europe, ie, if the situation continues to develop in that direction, about the inevitable disintegration of the EU as we know it today. Trying to take control of events in Belarus, and thus in the region, from Poland, France and Germany tactically accept her initiative to promote false results during the attempted coup in Minsk. Activities of Paris (September 29) and Berlin (October 6, 2020) aimed at trying to give political legitimacy to Svetlana Tikhanovskaya<sup>60, 61</sup> one of the Belarusian opposition, who is being treated as "president", although on the other hand they do not recognize the Belarusian elections, which is nonsense in itself. On October 7, 2020, Moscow responded to the tendency to involve both the Russian president and the Russian Federation in its illegitimate activities through Tikhanovskaya<sup>62</sup> issuing an international arrest warrant for him, due to several committed crimes. The forces of the West, which are behind

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<sup>57</sup> - three criminal acts were filed against the founders of this channel in Minsk and an international arrest warrant was issued for them. By a diplomatic note, on November 16, 2020, Belarus officially asked Warsaw to extradite Stepan Putilo and Roman Protasovich, the founders of the TV channel Nexta, and on February 6, 2021, it repeated the request

<sup>58</sup> - in order to carry out the colored revolution, apparent organization "Belarusian House" was created, also financed by Poland and the West

<sup>59</sup> - Nikita Mikhalkov, "Parade of Mice", "Besagon TV", from October 3, 2020

<sup>60</sup> - after talks with Chancellor Angela Merkel, Tikhanovskaya gave an interview to Spiegel magazine, owned by billionaire Bill Gates

<sup>61</sup> - continuing her game in the role of "useful idiot" S. Tikhanovskaya asked her protectors in the West to exclude Belarus from the SWIFT system of international bank payments. The system consists of about 11,000 financial organizations from about 200 countries.

<sup>62</sup> - regarding the introduction of Lithuanian sanctions on the state company "Beloruskali", former Lithuanian ambassador to Belarus Petras Vaitiekunas publicly commented

the mentioned terrorist, continued with her promotion in the media, and she thanked them "for active moral and technical support", ie "for the efforts of the current US administration, which recently expanded sanctions against Belarusian officials". Among other things, attention was paid to her appeal of December 5, 2020, for the US Senate to pass a law that would enable the president of this country to impose sanctions on Belarus.<sup>63</sup> On the same day, Tikhanovskaya, through the Apostolic Nuncio to Lithuania and the Vatican State Secretariat, addressed Pope Francis publicly. The letter allegedly contains her subjective interpretation of the situation in Belarus. More than 100 MEPs have formulated a proposal to the President of the European Parliament, David Sassoli, to open a permanent office of the Sakharov Prize laureate at this House. In 2020, the winner of the award is the Belarusian opposition, led by Tikhanovskaya (their competitors were Iraqi Archbishop Najib Mikhael Moussa and environmental activists from Honduras). For her part, Tikhanovskaya continued to show her true face, but also the intentions of those behind her. In an interview with Deutsche Welle (DW) on December 15, 2020, she asked the EU to form a joint platform for "open dialogue with Russia." According to "her" opinion, "Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine and all leaders of democratic states should definitely be at the table". That this is a well-coordinated behind-the-scenes international game is indicated by the reaction of Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytriy Kuleba, who said in an interview on December 18, 2020, that "Tikhanovskaya should have a precise position on Russian aggression against Ukraine. This is in her interest, because, conditionally speaking, if she comes to Ukraine and starts talks with the media, the first question will be - Whose is Crimea? And any inaccurate answer will play against Mrs. Tikhanovskaya herself. That's why I care more about her here than about myself. "As in the case of the so-called poisoning of the Skripal family, the affair with Navalny and in the "Tikhanovskaya project", apart from naked colonial appetites, continued use of force and justification of actions of financial terrorists, the only media meaning is in the continuation of the "strategy of absurdization of society", until its complete zeroing.

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on Tikhanovskaya: "Tikhanovskaya is not a leader, she is a random opposition symbol, which serves the Belarusian KGB." political scientist Marius Laurinavicius.

<sup>63</sup> - <https://ria.ru/20201205/tikhanovskaya-1587816734.html>



Minsk responded to the aggression of its neighbors in an adequate, hybrid way. Among other things, Belarusian citizens are banned from trading in Polish border centers. Until recently, Belarusians left about 500 million zlotys in cash and 250 million taxes on purchased goods to Polish traders a year. Lithuania was punished in a similar way, through whose port of Klaipeda the traffic of Belarusian goods went. The annual budget decline in Vilnius will be around 11% and to this should be added the losses of jobs, ports and transport capacities. About 10 million tons of goods produced in the company "Belkali" will be taken over by Russian ports<sup>64</sup>. In one word, President Lukashenko and his administration hit where it hurts the most.

Probably no one could have expected the aggressive intentions of Warsaw and its mentors on the other side of the English Channel<sup>65</sup> against Belarus and the presidential elections held there in 2020, very quickly turned against itself. All the seriousness of the internal political situation in Poland, in which the ruling majority has only 235<sup>66</sup> out of the 460 members of the Sejm, is demonstrated by the creation of the Committee on State Security, headed by Deputy Prime Minister Kaczynski at the end of September 2021. The Ministries of Justice, Interior and Defense will fall under his direct authority. The serious question is whether he will be able to make the existing government more functional or whether there will be two focuses in it. Immediately after the announcement of the decision<sup>67</sup> of the Constitutional Court on complicating the criteria for performing abortion, the movement "Women's Strike"<sup>68</sup> began mass demon-

<sup>64</sup> - on February 16, 2021, the President of Belarus, Lukashenko, signed a Decree transferring the transport of Belarusian goods from the Baltic to Russian ports. <https://youtu.be/qxMhozmtPFU> и <https://www.fondsk.ru/news/2021/02/10/pribaltijskij-korabl-durakov-naletel-na-belorusskie-rify-52898.html>

<sup>65</sup> - economic indicators in the UK for 2020 show a general decline in wages by 4.5% and is the largest since 1975. The fall in the annual British gross domestic product (GDP, GDP) is 14% and is the biggest for the last 100 years! On the other hand, in Belarus in the same year, GDP grew by 5.5%.

<sup>66</sup> - 19 mandates belong to the Christian-conservative party "Solidarna Polska", under the leadership of Zbigniew Ziobro

<sup>67</sup> - in the "Official Gazette" of the Republic of Poland

<sup>68</sup> - "Strike Kobiet" organized strikes throughout the Republic of Poland. In addition to dissatisfied women, representatives of the LBGT population and feminists participated



strations across the country. The protests were organized for two weeks in more than 400 cities, with the active participation of several hundred thousand people. The deep division in Polish society became obvious to everyone and the hidden accumulated negative energies came to light. When the "colored revolution" scenario began to materialize in Poland itself, local politicians suddenly forgot about democracy and political pluralism. Starting with Jarosław Kaczyński, who tried to intimidate the protesters with his energetic speech, to the comments of the Prime Minister and various ministers. That the things have become serious was shown by the development of the situation, the continuation and massification of demonstrations, but also the open letter of 212 retired generals and admirals from all organs of state power (army, police, services, judiciary, navy, border guards, etc.). In their address to the Sejm, the Senate and the Government, they "expressed their deep concern over the development of the situation in the country." They also pointed out that "in the time of the growing corona virus pandemic, the threat of the collapse of the health care system and the economic crisis, solutions are being made that lead to huge social dissatisfaction. The tightening of the abortion law has provoked public opposition and mass street protests. Continuing escalation, spreading and irresponsible behavior of politicians will lead to tragic and irreversible consequences. Sometimes emotional outbursts and uncontrolled developments can end in bloodshed."<sup>69</sup> Calling on the organizers and participants of the protest to refrain from any form of violence, the signatories of the letter expect the authorities to immediately start negotiations with all parties in order to find a compromise. Former head of the National Security Bureau, General Stanisław Koziej<sup>70</sup> added that he hopes that the police officers and soldiers who read the statement will draw the right conclusions and accept it as the voice of the whole society in uniform. The SJI commented that the authors of the letter, including General Adam Rapackij<sup>71</sup>, initiated the active composition of the army, police and navy to join their initiative, and that the generals saw themselves in the

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in them

<sup>69</sup> - <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/3105899.htm> 

<sup>70</sup> - Stanisław Marian Koziej, Brigadier General, PhD of Military Sciences, 2010-2015. year, the head of the National Security Bureau of the Republic of Poland

<sup>71</sup> - Adam Grzegorz Rapacki

role of a potential "National Salvation Council". In parallel with the events in the public, the Polish media report on the sharp decline in the popularity of the ruling party and Kaczynski himself. For her part, Chancellor Merkel, when asked by journalists about the situation in Poland, answered that "the right to demonstrate must be preserved."<sup>72</sup>The reaction of the Government arrived very quickly, to postpone the publication and implementation of the Decision of the Constitutional Court, because the leaders need time to find an adequate solution. The protests continued with undiminished mass (around 100-120,000 demonstrators) and fierceness, despite threats of arrest and the Government's decision to introduce additional restrictions on social life in Poland from November 7, 2020. The uncompromising nature of the government in the current situation was demonstrated by Piotr Andrzejewski<sup>73</sup>, the deputy chairman of the State Court. Addressing the Prosecutor General and the Minister of Justice, Zbigniew Ziobro<sup>74</sup>, he asked to check the data on whether there was external influence in the mass anti-government demonstrations, because according to him, "the nature of these events indicated their previous organization and structural preparation at the local and national level"<sup>75</sup>, comparing them to recent demonstrations in the United States. In his interview, Andrzejewski stated that the possible goal of the organizers of the demonstrations was an attempted coup d'etat in Poland. Already on November 11 this year, as in previous years, Polish nationalists and other right-wingers, members of the so-called "National Guard", to celebrate the "March of Independence", ie the 102nd year since the independence of the state. At this point, it should be remembered that in 2018, Andrzej Duda<sup>76</sup>, Mateusz Morawiecki<sup>77</sup>, Jaroslaw Kaczynski<sup>78</sup> and other representatives of the North Atlantic elite actively participated in this march. Despite the ban on gatherings, about 50,000 of them

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<sup>72</sup> - The same

<sup>73</sup> - Piotr Łukasz Andrzejewski, lawyer and politician

<sup>74</sup> - Zbigniew Tadeusz Ziobro, law graduate

<sup>75</sup> - the Catholic newspaper "Nasz Dziennik" broadcast an interview with Peter Andrzejewski

<sup>76</sup> - Andrzej Sebastian Duda, Law PhD

<sup>77</sup> - Mateusz Jakub Morawiecki, Polish politician and banker

<sup>78</sup> - Jarosław Aleksander Kaczyński, leader of the party "Law and Justice"

walked, shouted, beat citizens, threw torches and attacked the police in 2020, and they retaliated with arrests, batons and pepper spray, although in several cases it was used in isolation (with a smooth pipes) weapons. In addition, the protesters opposed the EU and tried to set fire to the apartment along the road, on the balcony of which was the flag of the so-called LBGT population. The European Parliament, in its Resolution<sup>79</sup> of November 26, 2020, condemned the decision of the Polish Constitutional Court<sup>80</sup> to tighten the conditions for performing abortions. Opponents of restricting women's right to abortion continued to protest, and on December 5, 2020, farmers took to the streets. Their reason for the protests is contained in the low prices of agricultural products and the lack of systematic financial assistance to this part of society by the Government. Residents of Poland, respecting the idea of a weekly gathering, on Sunday, December 13, went out to mass anti-government protests. As early as January 27, 2021, the Constitutional Court confirmed its verdict and published its explanation, and the public's voices about its illegitimacy became stronger, because it was not properly formed and due to the fact that it is dominated by members of the Law and Justice party. The former president of the mentioned court (2010-2016), Andrzej Rzepliński, commented, "It is complete chaos ..."<sup>81</sup> After Kaczynski called the protesting women "evil", Władysław Marcin Kosiniak-Kamysz, president of the Polish People's Party (Polish: Polskiego Stronnictwa Ludowego, PSL), a member of the Sejm and a candidate for president in the 2020 elections, called his behavior an act of "ideological war"<sup>82</sup>. On February 10, 2021, the editorial board of *Gazeta Polska* announced that it had unanimously chosen Jarosław Kaczyński for the "Man of the Year - 2020" award. Authors, readers and members of the editorial board participated in the analysis of candidates. On that occasion, it was underlined that Kaczyński is "an authority and a guarantee that Poland's activities are moving in the right direction." On the same day when the verdict of the Constitutional Court was confirmed, new demonstrations of the dissatisfied part of the population began. Among the complex responses of the authorities to the women's strikes were

<sup>79</sup> - the document has the character of a recommendation and is not obligatory for fulfillment

<sup>80</sup> - of October 22, 2020

<sup>81</sup> - <https://euobserver.com/justice/150752>

<sup>82</sup> - The Same

criminal charges against Marta Lampert, one of the leaders of the Women's Strike movement, who was read charges against her on February 10, 2021 in the Warsaw District Prosecutor's Office<sup>83</sup>. She faces up to 8 years in prison for insulting a police officer.

Unstable political and catastrophic economic situation in the neighboring Republic of Ukraine, uncontrolled activities of the so-called volunteer and penal battalions (the most famous among them are "Azov", "Ajdar", "Asker", "Islamic Battalion of Noman Celebicihan", etc.), which consists of the largest number of indicative or confirmed persons by their criminogenic and terrorist activities, the activities of numerous groups of foreign mercenaries, the feudalization of the region with clear indications of their mutual and separation from the center, as well as other political and economic reasons, allegedly forced Poland to recently change its military doctrine. In the next few years, Poland, although it has an external debt of over 310 billion USD, plans to increase the number of its army by over 50%. In 2016 alone, three new territorial defense brigades were developed in the east of the country. According to the "French Press" from June 2, 2016, the formation of one brigade is planned in each of the 16 voivodships, and in the central area of Masovian, two new volunteer brigades are planned. A total of 35-55,000 new volunteers are expected to be hired, with 2,500 of them being the backbone of these forces and receiving a salary from the Ministry of Defense. Due to the lack of financial resources, the volunteers paid for their uniform, weapons and military training in advance. The growing militaristic enthusiasm of Poles should be additionally encouraged by the fact that in the future, every volunteer from the Polish state will receive a monthly compensation in the amount of 120 euros.

On November 6, 2016, former Polish Minister of National Defense Macierewicz<sup>84</sup> assessed that the abolition of military training in schools in 2012 was a mistake and announced the introduction of basic military training in all schools, and the operationalization of the militaristic plan was left to the Ministry of

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<sup>83</sup> -"Tanjug", February 11, 2021, site visited on the same day, <http://www.tanjug.rs/full-view.aspx?izb=629803>

<sup>84</sup> - Antoni Macierewicz, member of the "Law and Justice" party, Minister of Defense in the Government of Beata Szydlo

Education. After that, in the form of a pilot project for over 300 Polish schools, military training was introduced, the so-called "uniformed classes", additional sports classes, lectures on national history and patriotism were ordered.<sup>85</sup> That Poles are not the only ones is shown by the fact that patriotic education of children and youth has been returned to Ukrainian schools since 2015. The main emphasis is on glorifying Nazi military and political collaborators from World War II, Stepan Bandera<sup>86</sup> and other war criminals, which has further strained relations with the western neighbor, Poland, but also with Russia, Hungary and Slovakia. The fact that the Hungarian ICJ launched an offensive towards the Ukrainian direction in the early spring of 2020, activating its potential allies in Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria and other countries, shows that thinking in that direction is by no means unfounded. One of the problems they are trying to impose on Kiev is its alleged attitude towards national minorities, which Budapest is using as a blockade to deepen Ukraine's integration into NATO<sup>88</sup>. For its part, the official Sofia, by a decision of the Parliament of May 20, 2020, protested against the administrative reorganization in Ukraine, demanding the preservation of ethnically clean Bulgarian regions around Odessa (consisting of a total of 250-300,000 citizens in the south of Odessa region, which should be divided into five parts by the reform).

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<sup>85</sup> <http://www.dw.com/en/paramilitary-groups-ready-to-defend-poland/a-19325101#>;

<sup>86</sup> - based on the director's approval, the CIA published its documents in January 2020, which show that Stepan Bandera was Adolf Hitler's personal agent.

<sup>87</sup> - during his official visit to Kiev, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan greeted the guard of the Ukrainian army with the Nazi salute "Glory to Ukraine!". In addition, he promised to buy weapons from official Kiev, and to build 500 apartments for Crimean Tatars in Crimea, which is part of the Russian Federation, and to annex Ukraine to the TANAP gas pipeline. Ukrainian President Zelensky has vowed to help boost bilateral economic co-operation from the existing \$4 billion to \$ 10 billion a year, in part through the purchase of Turkish weapons and military equipment. Special attention was paid to the Turkish BPLA, e.g. Bayraktar-TB2, manufactured according to Israeli and Chinese models. In August 2020, Turkey imposed tariffs of 15-20% on more than 100 Ukrainian items.

<sup>88</sup> - although the Ukrainian army accelerated its transformation by NATO standards in 2020, the Slovak media Dennik.N, based on competent sources, published an article stating that Ukraine has no chance of joining NATO at all.

The arguments for cutting off the smuggling of weapons of various types and calibers to the European Union, which was officially used in the media by the Polish government under the leadership of Beata Szydło, in order to strengthen their military potentials, are naive and prosaic. For something like that, it would be enough to intensify intelligence, police and customs activities. It is obvious that the geopolitical and territorial ambitions of the neo-Atlantic Polish elite grew exponentially, in relation to the instability in Ukraine, the second largest country in Europe. According to the Polish information source, the weekly "Wprost", although it planned to increase the number of the Armed Forces from 95,000 to 150,000 in the near future, in cooperation with the National Guard of Illinois (USA), the Polish Ministry of National Defense<sup>89</sup> is creating Territorial Defense, the fifth branch of its army. Its formation, which began in the eastern part of the country, will be represented in all regions and will be made up of volunteers. In addition, for a modern anti-aircraft project called Vistula ("Wisła"), which includes the purchase of 8 batteries of American air defense missiles type "Patriot"<sup>90</sup> (product of the corporation "Raytheon"), medium range, which will be reinforced with missiles GEM-T and PAC-3 MSE, Poland plans to spend \$ 4.75 billion in the coming years. In the history of Poland so far, that is the largest amount spent on the purchase of weapons. In the history of Poland so far, that is the largest amount spent on the purchase of weapons. At the beginning of February 2020, at the Demblin base, a Polish delegation led by President Andrzej Duda signed a contract for the purchase of 32 American F-35A<sup>91</sup> fighters for conventional takeoff and landing from the manufacturer of the American corporation Lockheed Martin, worth 6, \$ 4 billion.<sup>92</sup>. he agreed price is for a plane without combat equipment, and an

<sup>89</sup> - Polish: *Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej*, <https://www.gov.pl/web/obrona-narodowa>

<sup>90</sup> - how effective this system is is shown by the devastating attacks on oil plants in Saudi Arabia, which protected 8 "Patriot" batteries and missile strikes by IR Iran on US forces in Iraq in January 2020, when none of the 42 cruise missiles were shot down.

<sup>91</sup> - a part from the mentioned American plane, European countries do not have a fifth generation plane. Only in 2040, the sixth generation of the Future Combat Air System (FCAS) aircraft is expected to appear in the military aviation, as part of the "Permanent-ly Structured Cooperation" among the 25 EU members.

<sup>92</sup> - the media reported that the Kingdom of Belgium bought 34 F-35 fighters from the United States for 3.8 or 4.25 billion USD.

hour of its flight will cost taxpayers \$ 40,000. It is estimated that Poland will have to pay at least another \$ 1 billion for the purchase of weapons, training of pilots and technical personnel. It is important to point out that neither the deputies of the Sejm, nor the members of the Defense Committee in it, received details about the financial aspects of this Agreement, the potential participation of the Polish military industry in this business and what is especially interesting, no tender was announced for the said Agreement.<sup>93</sup> The delivery of the aircraft will be done from 2024 to 2030, and the first 16 F-35 aircraft will start flying only in 2026. The current Polish Minister of National Defense, Mariusz Blaszczak,<sup>94</sup> made sure that this event would not pass without cheap marketing tricks, by stating that the mentioned planes were "an element of the Polish intimidation strategy".<sup>95</sup> Apparently not understanding the mentality of its great eastern neighbor and apparently without intending to work on it, the Polish leadership continues to move in the direction of "intimidation", persistently repeating calls from the United States to eventually deploy nuclear capabilities from Germany or Turkey on their territory. By voluntarily renouncing sovereignty in the name of the dream of greatness, the ruling comprador minority is increasingly going against the interests of its citizens. It is not just new loans for the construction of non-existent infrastructure for storing nuclear capacities, nor an open desire to be big at any cost, the most problematic in their whole idea is that they marked the people, infrastructure and territory as the first target for a mass nuclear strike. For those who live in that territory ultimately it does not matter whether it is preventive or reciprocal.

In addition to participating in the military-technical cooperation of the EU countries, called "Permanent structured cooperation", Poland plans to do the technical modernization of its armed forces immediately. That activity should last until 2035, with unprecedented financial expenditures of 524 billion zlotys (131 billion USD), but apart from wishes, things are much different in that

<sup>93</sup> - Radio Slobodna Evropa, January 31, 2020. <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/30410422.html>

<sup>94</sup> - Mariusz Blaszczak

<sup>95</sup> - Radio Slobodna Evropa, January 31, 2020. <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/30410422.html>



issue. Thus, in the "Ikril" Program, the production of a self-propelled howitzer on 155 mm caliber is ambitiously planned, in the "Badger" ("Borsuk") Program the production of a new tracked infantry vehicle, in the "Babab" Program a rocket system of remote launch, the "Narew" air defense system. The "Wolf" ("Wilk") program envisages its own production of a new tank, the "Raven" ("Kruk") program production of a new helicopter, the program of its own production of 6 corvette for the Navy (in 17 years of planning and work they only managed to produce the patrol ship "Slazak"), the program "Harpy" new aircraft for the Air Force, etc. Due to the impossibility of realizing the mentioned megalomaniac plans, it was recently decided to modernize about 100 T-72 tanks, Russian-made, in the Army, which are in a state of emergency. About \$ 500 million has been approved for this purpose.

On the western borders of the Republic of Ukraine,<sup>96</sup> its neighbors Hungary, Poland and Romania have received several hundred thousand Ukrainian citizens in the regions of Transcarpathia, Bukovina, Galicia and Volhynia in recent years, thus creating a potentially important basis for joining those countries. These are territories with a higher percentage of the Greek Catholic population, traditionally loyal to the Vatican. Former Chief of the Main Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff of Ukraine, Army General Mykola Malomuzh<sup>97</sup> confirmed the activities of the mentioned countries and said in an interview with the newspaper "Novini Zakarpattya": "In a negative version, our neighbors can accept some Ukrainian regions." This is unofficial, but such variants are not excluded. Poland, Romania and Hungary are considering options for joining the western regions of Ukraine."<sup>98</sup> Riding in a redesigned nationalist dream of annulling the Trianon Peace Agreement<sup>99</sup>, Budapest wants to take advantage of the unstable political situation in Romania, in order to eventually annex the Szekely region, where, statistically speaking, Hungarians are the majority.

<sup>96</sup> - Eastern European country with over 45 million inhabitants, an area of 603,628 km<sup>2</sup>, with a border with Poland in the length of 535 km, which controls the so-called. "Carpathian Gate"

<sup>97</sup> - Ukrainian: Микола Григорович Маломуж

<sup>98</sup> - „Новини Закарпаття“, Uzhgorod, Ukraine, september 2016;

<sup>99</sup> - since 2010, June 4 has been declared the Day of National Unity of Hungarians and all Hungarians living in the so-called "breakaway territories".

For all those who have dilemmas about which forces, except ultra-rightists, neo-Nazis and irredentists, stand out from such political ambitions in Hungary, a clear answer arrived on June 4, 2020. The bells of the Catholic churches under the jurisdiction of the Hungarian Catholic Bishops' Conference (HCBC) rang for 100 seconds<sup>100</sup>, that day at 4.30 pm, symbolizing the first century since the signing of the Trianon Peace Agreement. On the occasion of the centenary of the Treaty of Trianon, the Hungarian Prime Minister is in the town of Satoraljaiújhegy, near the monument "100 state flags", in the north of Hungary and near the border with Slovakia, discovered the "Centurion Monument Turul". This move of the Hungarian Prime Minister, erection of the hundredth monument to Turul (note - a monument to Turul, the totem falcon, protector of the Turanian (Turkish-linguistic) peoples to which the Hungarians allegedly belonged, who twenty years ago renounced their Finno-Ugric origin) directly indicates that he after all, like the regime of Miklos Horthy<sup>101</sup> in the 1930s, he continued to publicly advocate for the promotion of Greater Hungary's ambitions throughout the region. To all countries with which they have established an internationally recognized state border! Previously, in 2017, on the mentioned monument "100th flags" by the "Patronus Foundation"<sup>102</sup> (Hungarian: - Patronus Alapítvány, address: Budapest, Kisfaludy u. 18, 1188 Hungary, author's note) was placed a memorial plaque with borders former Austro-Hungarian. Today's territories of Slovakia, Croatia, Romania, Austria, Slovenia, Ukraine and Serbia are shown as part of Hungary, which openly expresses territorial claims to all neighbors from year to year by Orbán's<sup>103</sup> government.<sup>104</sup> This time without

<sup>100</sup> - A. Isakov, "One Hundred Years of Trianon", "Politika", no. 38267, dated 6 June 2020, p. 11. Following the signing of the Trianon Document (concluded within the framework of the Paris Peace Conference) on the basis of Articles 61 to 66, the option of choosing citizenship and place of residence for minorities was provided. About 14,000 Serbs, the so-called The "optant" moved from Hungary to the territory of the then Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

<sup>101</sup> - Horthy Miklós, born 1868 in Kenderes, died 1957 in Portugal

<sup>102</sup> - <http://www.patronusalapitvany.hu/>

<sup>103</sup> - Viktor Orbán, Hungarian Prime Minister

<sup>104</sup> - magazine "Danas", on June 8, 2020, transmitted the reporting of the Betaagency, <https://www.danas.rs/politika/ambasador-madjarske-orban-nije-otkrio-spomen-plocusa-mapom-velike-madjarske/>

Berlin and Vienna, but with political reliance on the Turkish-speaking world (neo-Ottoman strategy "Road to Great Turan"). According to the words of the Ambassador of Hungary in Belgrade, Attila Pinter,<sup>105</sup>, who reacted to the Serbian media coverage of Viktor Orbán's foreign policy activities, the "National Unity" monument with the names of 12,500 cities, villages and municipalities that belonged to Austria-Hungary before the Trianon Peace Agreement<sup>106</sup> is located in Budapest and not yet (until June 8, 2020) open.<sup>107</sup> The growing foreign policy ambitions of Orbán and his like-minded people are confirmed by information about his strengthening of ties with Germany during 2020, through the purchase of weapons and military equipment in the amount of about 1 billion euros, which was announced by the Minister of Defense of Hungary, Tibor Benkó.<sup>108</sup> In addition to the air defense system, the purchase of German tanks "Leopard 2" is announced, as well as participation in the German-French production of new generation tanks, and such an offer was sent to official Warsaw during the official visit of German Defense Minister to Poland in mid-July 2020. On December 8, 2020, on the occasion of marking the 50th anniversary of the historic move of Willy Brandt<sup>109</sup> in Warsaw<sup>110</sup>, German Minister Heiko Maas<sup>111</sup>, confirmed that this is a well-thought-out and long-term foreign policy of managing the eastern borders of the EU by the Federal Republic of Germany and systematically encouraging anti-Russian (but also anti-Slavic) attitudes and ways of thinking in the countries of the former Warsaw Pact. On that occasion, Maas said: "Many of our partners in Eastern and Central Europe look at Russia critically - and German foreign policy is obliged to take the fears of our neighbors seriously. That is why, together with the continuation of the

<sup>105</sup> - Attila Pinter, accredited ambassador of the Republic of Hungary in Belgrade

<sup>106</sup> - in addition it, the Versailles Peace Treaty with Germany, the Sevres Treaty with Turkey, the San Germain Treaty with Austria and the Neuilly Peace Treaty with Bulgaria were signed within the framework of the Paris Peace Conference (November 27, 1919).

<sup>107</sup> - Ibidem

<sup>108</sup> - dr Benkó Tibor

<sup>109</sup> - Willy Brandt, born in 1913 as Herbert Ernst Karl Frahm, died in 1992

<sup>110</sup> - Willy Brandt knelt on his knees and asked for forgiveness at the site of the former Warsaw Ghetto.

<sup>111</sup> - Heiko Maas,

dialogue, a precise German policy towards Moscow is important, in order to preserve the trust of Eastern Europe. Continuing reconciliation with our eastern neighbors, especially with Poland, remains our great task. We are committed to Brant's legacy. "

Based on political events on both sides of the border from 2016 onwards, it is evident that the period of "infatuation" between Ukraine and Poland has passed. After the Polish decision to declare July 11 as the Day of Remembrance of the genocide committed against the people of Kysylyn<sup>112</sup>, in the Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada, the delegate Oleg Musij initiated the proposal to declare March 24 in Ukraine the Day of Remembrance of Ukrainians, victims of genocide allegedly committed by the Polish state from 1919 to 1951. On the Polish side, the implementation of the Agreement on Small Border Crossing with Ukraine was immediately stopped, and Ukrainians promptly responded to their activities with political actions aimed at disclosing data on Operation Vistula, conducted after the Second World War.<sup>113</sup>.

At the beginning of October 2018, Marek M. Meissner's book "Time of the Losers" (Polish "Czas straceńców") was published in the Republic of Poland. Based on Russia's reactions in Syria and Ukraine, Meissner assumed that the Russian Federation would intervene militarily and conquer all of Poland in two months, while NATO would not be able to help it for objective reasons (there is not enough armored vehicles, infantry, aviation, naval forces). etc.). On the other hand, Stanislaw Stremidowski, the head of the IA Regnum editorial office, publicly advocates the formation of a military-political alliance between Poland and Russia, because according to him, Ukrainians are no longer able to be another nation for the construction of a new federal state, and Poles still can.

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<sup>112</sup> - according to historical data, about 130,000 Polish civilians were killed, mostly children, women and the elderly. To this number should be added the mass extermination of tens of thousands of Jews and Orthodox in those areas, so it is realistic to talk about about 200,000 killed

<sup>113</sup> - in which the Polish communists deported tens of thousands of Ukrainians and members of their families, because during the occupation they supported Stepan Bandera, ie the 14th SS Division "Galicia", with a strength of 24,000 volunteers, sworn allegiance to Hitler and the Third Reich.

The authors of this paper came to the conclusion that the mentioned variant of Stremidlovski is a kind of strategic conceptual ambush. Even if we agree on the assessment that the population of Ukraine<sup>114</sup> in the short term no longer has the building capacity, viewed from a conceptual point of view, the mentioned idea with the Poles for the Russian Federation is certainly a better alliance with the Germans<sup>115</sup> and Chinese<sup>116</sup>, and they know it best in perfidious Albion and in Washington, which is why they have been fighting against such an alliance for at least two centuries with undiminished fervor!<sup>117</sup>

It has been noticed that in Poland, since the beginning of 2016, the number of demolitions of monuments erected to OUN-UPA<sup>118</sup> members in previous years (since Ukraine's independence) has been growing.. The Polish authorities attribute these activities to groups of vandals, and not to the strengthening of the influence of right-wing parties in Poland. That they are wrong is shown by another political provocation committed on 29/30 July, 2020 in the town of Legnica, by stealing a monument to Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky, whose weight was over 500 kg, and by a symbolic beheading. This marshal was one

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<sup>114</sup> - it should always be borne in mind that 25-30 million people in Ukraine are ethnic Russians

<sup>115</sup> - the Non-Aggression Pact was signed between the Third Reich and the USSR in August 1939, and the Treaty of Friendship and Border in September 1939. However, with skilful intelligence-diplomatic manipulations of London, Berlin fell into a conceptual ambush and found itself at the head of the anti-Comintern bloc.

<sup>116</sup> - the beginning of the Strategic Command of the British Armed Forces, General Patrick Sanders, in his interview with the "Sun" newspaper on December 15, 2020, called the People's Republic of China the greatest strategic assumption of the UK, due to the "changed paradigm" in leadership. Their technology uses 5G, space military potential, hypersonic weapons, automatic weapons systems and other technologies that cause anxiety in Britain.

<sup>117</sup> - a stable military-political alliance of the Federal Republic of Germany with the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China, ie the alliance of the continental nations of Eurasia, would bring peace and prosperity on the Eurasian continent in a short period of time, and then in the world. By inertia, France, Italy, Greece and Spain would join him in a very short time, which would stabilize the situation in Europe, and Britain would be and remain, which is what it should be, apparently a group of marginal islands in the Atlantic Ocean.

<sup>118</sup> - Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists – Ukrainian Insurgent Army

of the celebrated commanders of the Red Army and a long-term Minister of Defense of the People's Republic of Poland.<sup>119</sup> On the other hand, the ruling coalition, led by Law and Justice in 2018, introduced criminal prosecution for persons who publicly blame the Polish people or its segments for the suffering of Jews during the Holocaust.<sup>120</sup> Warnings from the top that such activities are not in line with democratic principles came from the United States, the EU, Israel and other countries. Jan Grabowski<sup>121</sup>, Polish-Canadian professor at the University of Ottawa, a specialist in Polish-Jewish relations and the Holocaust in Poland, wrote in his book "Hunt for the Jews. Betrayal and Murder in Germany-Occupied Poland, published in 2011, said cit. "There were no Holocaust observers. Everyone was involved in one way or another." He emphasizes the members of the Polish so-called "Blue police" (a total of about 18,000) who were cit. "A murderous and criminal organization, which was a key element in the implementation of the Final Solution ... Without the Polish police, the Germans would not have succeeded in their plan." Through his research of documentation from the period of the Second World War, Grabowski came to the data that the number of Jews killed on the territory of Poland, with the direct or indirect involvement of Poles, could have been over 200,000.<sup>122</sup>

The situation is no better in other areas of international cooperation. Explaining that it wants to help the Republic of Ukraine in establishing energy stability,

<sup>119</sup> - <http://www.tanjug.rs/full-view.aspx?izb=578424>, originally from a Polish father and a Belarusian mother, who commanded the Victory Parade in Moscow on June 24, 1945.

<sup>120</sup> - in his book, the American Frank Bleichmann, a participant in the Polish resistance movement in the Second World War, openly accused the Armia Krajowa of widespread anti-Semitism in Poland. There were no Jews in this organization, while there were a certain percentage of them in the Armia Ludowa, and for the sake of comparison, let us mention that over 500,000 of them fought in the Red Army and the resistance movement associated with it, and 305 of them were generals and admirals. of which 38 were killed in combat).

<sup>121</sup> - Jan Grabowski, born in 1962 in Warsaw, a scientist of Jewish-Catholic origin, during the 80's activist of the "Solidarity" movement, co-founder of the "Center for Holocaust Research in Poland", his main work is „*Judenjagd. Polowanie na Żydów, 1942—1945. Studium Dziejów Pewnego Powiatu*“, Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, Warszawa 2011. 282 s. ISBN 978-83-932202-0-5

<sup>122</sup> - "Politika" no. 38280, Pogledi p. 20, Boško Jakšić, "Polocaust or Anti-Polishism"



Poland announced plans to connect its own with Ukraine's gas network, appropriating for itself the place of a gas hub in the region. In that way, gas, which is in Polish warehouses, could be transported to Ukrainian consumers. It was delivered from Qatar and is 70% more expensive in Poland than in Russia, and the price according to users in Ukraine will certainly be even higher. The joint forces of the USA, Ukraine and Poland are planning an attack on the Russian-European gas pipeline "North Stream - 2", while Poland, for its part, plans to build its own gas pipeline "Balitic Pipe"<sup>123</sup>, which would deliver Norwegian and American gas to Poland via Denmark. Using already worn-out phrases of concern for European energy security and the like, Polish and Ukrainian Foreign Ministers Jacek Czaputowicz and Dmitry Kuleba agreed on July 27, 2020 in Warsaw to continue joint activities in the blockade of the mentioned gas pipeline, which was announced by the Press Service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. Continuing activities in that direction, at the beginning of October 2020, the Polish antitrust regulator made a decision to fine "Gazprom" with 7.5 billion USD for alleged violation of the law during the construction of "North Stream-2".

On August 7, 2020, the Turkish agency "Anadolu" reported that on July 28, 2020, the foreign ministers of Poland, Ukraine and Lithuania met in the Polish city of Lublin. On that occasion, at the initiative of the Polish side, the Agreement on Cooperation of the mentioned countries was signed, publicly called "Lublin Triangle".<sup>124</sup> Immediately after the creation and immediately before the presidential elections in Belarus, it was pointed out that this coun-

<sup>123</sup> - the project began in 2001 when the Danish company DONG and the Polish PGNiG signed an agreement on the Polish gas supply from Denmark. The construction of a 275 km long two-way gas pipeline is planned, with an annual capacity of 10 billion m<sup>3</sup> from Norway to Denmark and 3 billion m<sup>3</sup> from Denmark to Poland. The Norwegian state company Statoil (TNC) has one third of the participation in the joint project.

<sup>124</sup> - essentially identical scenario was applied in 1569, when a union was formed in Lublin to continue the process of disintegration of the once entire national, religious and cultural space of the Slavs and the blockade of their parts in the east, united under the leadership of Emperor Ivan. The union, also called the First Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, lasted until 1795. Its territory is divided between Prussia, Austro-Hungary and the Russian Empire. It is interesting that Germans and Austrians have not been reprimanded by Poles for participating in such activities over the past centuries.



try can join the project, and that the main priorities of the gathered countries are a collective response to security challenges and threats, ie coordination of their activities to "counter hybrid threats from Russia". The "Anatolia" agency reports that the long-term goal of the Agreement is the annexation of the territories of Belarus, Ukraine, Lebanon, Latvia, Estonia<sup>125</sup> and Moldovato Poland<sup>126</sup>. In this way, the pro-Anglo-Saxon Polish elites in the first phase want to get closer to the formation of a kind of "backbone of the territory" based on the "Intermarium Plan". The second phase will depend on the success of the work started in the first phase and would obviously aim to integrate all territories that could be annexed politically or with the help of a hybrid method of warfare (eg Croatia, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, etc.). According to the reports of some analysts behind the formation of the so-called The "Lublin Triangle" stands for British intelligence and diplomacy. In this context, Oleksiy Danilov, head of the Ukrainian National Security and Defense Council (Ukrainian: RNBO) and Pawel Solokh, head of the Polish National Security Bureau (Polish: BBN), jointly assessed the decision of the Moldovan authorities to raise the status of the Russian language in Moldova as "very dangerous." During the negotiations between Danilov and Solokh, on December 17, 2020, as part of the NATO summit in 2021, aspects of activating cooperation and potential involvement of Romania in the activities of the "Lublin Triangle" were discussed. On July 17, 2020, British Prince William visited Europe for the first time, as a guest in Warsaw, where he met with the Polish President. In addition, William visited the shipyard in Gdansk<sup>127</sup>, where "Solidarity" was formed four decades ago, and on August 10, 2020, strikes began. About 20 members of the MI6 intelligence service came to Warsaw with the British prince, who in mid-July formed a headquarters in this city to carry out a "colored revolution" in Be-

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<sup>125</sup> - from 2022, Estonia plans to increase the budget for its defense by 46 million euros from the existing 20 million euros a year. The main goal is the shores of the Baltic Sea, its closure with minefields and surface-to-sea missile systems.

<sup>126</sup> - Igor Panarin, PhD, "World Politics", no. 686, "Lublin Triangle", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CkEZqZj80kY> site visited on August 9, 2020

<sup>127</sup> - from 1920 to 1939, the city was part of the Danzig Republic, which was under the protectorate of the League of Nations, and conducted foreign policy through Great Britain

larus, after the presidential elections on August 9, 2020.<sup>128</sup> Speaking in public, Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko accused three countries of rioting in Minsk on August 9, 2020: Great Britain, Poland and the Czech Republic. Speaking in public, Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko accused three countries of rioting in Minsk on August 9, 2020: Great Britain, Poland and the Czech Republic. The British ambassador to Warsaw, Jonathan Knott<sup>129</sup>, was especially engaged in the mentioned anti-Russian geometric-geopolitical task. The role of the Trojan horse in the new failed Belarusian "colored revolution" was played by the Belarusian Catholic Bishop Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz.<sup>130</sup> In his interview with the Polish Catholic Information Agency in Warsaw, among other things he said: "that he would like the Polish government to take on the role of mediator, as well as the entire EU, so that the conflicting parties will eventually move to the negotiating table."<sup>131</sup> It is quite unclear who authorized the priest to interfere in politics and to absolve violent protesters from criminal responsibility, ie to try to give them the role of interlocutors in political processes, while consciously passing over the fact that no one has ever delegated their will to them. In order to create a more complete picture, it is worth noting that the Vatican was also engaged in attempts to interfere in the artificially externally caused Belarusian crisis, whose detonator in this country was an attempt to carry out a coup d'etat, ie the so-called "colored revolutions"<sup>132</sup>. Polish President Duda, although he was indirectly aware that the United States

<sup>128</sup> - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gxFov9LKNnQ&t=118s>

<sup>129</sup> - especially emphasized in public as an active protector of the LBGT population

<sup>130</sup> - ethnic Pole, after a visit to Poland, the Belarusian authorities, by annulling his personal travel documents, decided on August 31, 2020, not to allow Kondrusiewicz to return to the country. At the request of Pope Francis, President Lukashenko allowed Kondrusiewicz to return to Minsk on December 24, 2020.

<sup>131</sup> - Stanislaw Stremidowski, "Pope Francis is disturbed by tensions in the Eastern Mediterranean", IA Regnum, <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/3049642.html> site visited on September 2, 2020

<sup>132</sup> - on January 3, 2021, Pope Francis accepted the resignation of Bishop Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz, who turned 75 on the same date. Bishop Kazimir Velikoselets was appointed in his place. It is obvious that with the mediation of Moscow, Minsk and the Vatican managed to agree on the continuation of coexistence, and Kondrusiewicz was sacrificed as one of the trump cards in the game, which should be expected from other episodic players in the last Belarusian "colored revolution". It is interesting that an identical as-

would indirectly recognize the election results,<sup>133</sup> visited the Vatican on September 25, 2020 and used the opportunity to continue interfering in the internal political affairs of his neighbor. Reiterating the already worn-out demagogic theses about "fair elections" and "human rights" in Belarus, Duda obviously tried to find protection from the pope from the winds that are blowing harder and harder towards Poland. That there may have been other topics in the official protocol is also shown by the presence of the Chief of the Polish General Staff, who was in a military uniform during the official audience. The direction in which the Holy See will conduct its foreign policy speaks volumes about the fact that on September 16, 2020, in Solin, Croatia, Croatian Bishop Ante Jozic<sup>134</sup> was ordained a cardinal.<sup>135</sup> In his interview with the Croatian Catholic agency IKA, he stated that the Holy See does not set any preconditions in the development of relations with official Minsk. The events in the coming years will show in what form the official Warsaw received this signal and whether there is a hidden subtext.

When it comes to Ukraine, the events in the last five and a half years, unfortunately indicate that the contours of the so-called fallen state<sup>136</sup> are being drawn and at certain moments that fallen state had certain similarities with the so-called the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant. Especially when it comes to

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assessment can be given for the relations between Moscow and the Vatican in the Caucasus, Syria, Helm and some other meridians.

<sup>133</sup> - since Duda's visit to the Vatican, it was already known that the new US ambassador to Minsk, Julie Fisher, had passed through the Senator's Committee on Foreign Policy and was preparing for the upcoming trip to Minsk.

<sup>134</sup> - born January 16, 1967 in Trilj, Croatia, ordained a priest on June 26, 1992, Doctor of Civil and Canon Law, attended the Pontifical Ecclesiastical Academy from 1995 to 1999, has been in the diplomatic service of the Holy See since 1999. He served in India, the Russian Federation, Hong Kong and the Ivory Coast. On May 21, 2020, he was appointed nuncio to Belarus. During his stay in China, he actively participated in reaching an agreement with the authorities of the People's Republic of China. It is interesting that Archbishop Mitja Leskovar, a native of Kranj, Slovenia, who previously served in Germany and India, was appointed nuncio to Baghdad on May 1, 2020. His main task is to prepare the Pope's visit to Iraq, scheduled for 5-8. March 2021, who is to visit Erbil, and in the holy city of Najaf he is to meet the grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani.

<sup>135</sup> - the main guest was Pietro Parolin, Cardinal and Secretary of State of the Holy See

<sup>136</sup> - favorite euphemism of the Western anarcho-liberal elite, which through the Colored Revolutions, as a rule, participated in the disintegration of such state creations

transnational organized crime (TOC), instrumentalized plunder of the population and the use of various forms of terrorism to achieve their political goals. Thus, the American "The Nation" reported that Ukraine had been turned into a real illegal arms market. \$ 780 million in US aid and \$ 2 billion in credit guarantees were used by Kiev to buy US weapons (drones, Hamer armored vehicles, anti-artillery systems, etc.), allegedly to end war operations in the east of the country. However, a significant amount of arms is exported, even to countries that are banned from exporting by an international agreement, such as South Sudan.<sup>137</sup>

For its part, Warsaw, with the help of the United States, is working intensively on the realization of the "Intermarium" strategy set for the 22<sup>nd</sup> century, which should provide it with an exclusive position, while Kiev, due to its central geographical position, sees itself as the epicenter of the "Baltic-Black Sea Rainbow". (but also the anti-Eastern, anti-Chinese and anti-Islamic) alliance, essentially aimed at preventing the development of BRICS projects in Central and Eastern Europe, but also the "New Silk Road" outlined in the "One Belt - One Road" strategy. The experiment in Ukraine began with the formation of a joint Lithuanian-Polish-Ukrainian battalion, which should serve as a standard for the establishment of the new Baltic-Black Sea Armed Forces.<sup>138</sup> In July 2016, in that context, Kiev hosted the Conference on Building the Baltic-Black Sea Alliance. The big question is whether and how German geopolitical plans, strengthening the Bundeswehr and the German government's plan to deploy a contingent of about 1,000 soldiers in Lithuania can fit into these Polish-Ukrainian intentions, which is obviously just a continuation of its own strategic goals related to the Baltic, Eastern and Central Europe.

The intentions of the Polish elite, together with neo-Ottoman politicians in Turkey, nationalists in Hungary and neo-Nazis in Ukraine, to reaffirm the "Intermarium" Plan, using them as they see fit, are not as simple as they seem at first and may lead to the spread of existing conflicts in Europe. and opening

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<sup>137</sup> - into which machine guns and helicopters were exported

<sup>138</sup> - Ukrainian newspaper "Sivershchina", Chernigov, June 2016

new hotspots. In the first part, between the followers of Stepan Bandera<sup>139</sup> in Ukraine<sup>140</sup> and the admirers of Jozef Pilsudski in Poland, it is uncertain whether what is left of the regular Ukrainian military force will peacefully observe such a conflict from the sidelines or will voluntarily or under some form of coercion join the defense of borders, people and what is left of the state. The inclusion of other countries, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania, which have different types of unresolved foreign policy issues (southern Slovakia, Transcarpathia<sup>141</sup>, Transylvania, Moldova, etc.) and unresolved territorial disputes, will only further complicate relations between actors on the scene.

It is worth mentioning that Poland, together with Sweden,<sup>142</sup> is the initiator of the foreign policy project "Eastern Partnership" aimed at the former Soviet republics of Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, Moldova and Ukraine, whereas in the part of the Polish political elite there is a seriously ill tendency to always directly and falsely blame the Russian Federation for all the failures of the European Union and armed conflicts in the region. After all, that is a common feature with their curators from London and on the other side of the Atlantic.

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<sup>139</sup> - the fact that Bandera was a union does not prevent the clergy of the so-called PCU from organizing prayers for him, and even proposing the adoption of the official order of Ukraine with his name

<sup>140</sup> - details can be found in "Volyn massacre and brutal mass murder" of 100-130,000 Poles or "Bloody Sunday" on July 11, 1943, when members of the OUN-UPA attacked over 150 civilian settlements. On July 7, 2016, the Polish Sejm declared July 11 the National Day of Remembrance of the Genocide against Kresovians in the period 1943-1944

<sup>141</sup> - for years, Hungary has been fueling irredentism in the border municipalities with Ukraine. The Law on Education, which was adopted by Kiev on September 28, 2017, served as a special apple of discord. It reduces the opportunities for education of minorities in their language in Ukraine. Following accusations that Hungary was openly interfering in the Ukrainian elections on October 25, 2020, due to the singing of the Hungarian anthem in 2020 during the swearing in of municipal delegates, the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) filed several crimes against members of the country's territorial integrity and betrayed by the state.

<sup>142</sup> - in which, with the aim of forming the Fourth Reich, members of the German Nazi party NSDAP founded 230 companies from 1943 to 1945.

It is interesting that in the potential geopolitical line Warsaw - Kiev - Ankara, none of the actors on the international scene wants to be in the background. Ankara continues to implement its geostrategic plan "Road to Veliki Turan", aimed at uniting all Turkish-speaking peoples in the neo-Ottoman Empire and sees both capitals as gravitating entities, with preference given to the Republic of Hungary, whose political elite in the last 10 years again, as on the eve of World War II, advocates belonging to the Turanian peoples.<sup>143</sup> The beginning of 2020 brought the aggravation of the situation in the Middle East. Although the most popular Iranian soldier from the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps was killed at Baghdad airport on January 3, Major General Qasem Soleimani, the legendary commander of the elite unit of Quds, Iran as a strategic rival of Turkey, showed firmness and determination to defend itself. And thus his reputation in the Muslim world increased significantly.<sup>144</sup> Not even three failed Turkish military operations carried out in Syria and Iraq have brought stability to the Turkish government. On the contrary, legitimate Syrian forces are close to liberating the entire SAR territory, Kurdish movements in Iraq and Syria and existing armed formations<sup>145</sup> have not been destroyed, and strategically, the situation in Iraq is controlled by numerous and well-armed Shiite militias subordinated to Tehran. The internal political and economic situation in Turkey is becoming increasingly difficult, and signs of systematic cessation of media space to right-wing elements<sup>146</sup>, are being seen again, which, according to the reputation and experience from the Cold War, advocate violence, war

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<sup>143</sup> - the authors are very skeptical about the compatibility of Hungarian Christian Democracy and the concept promoted by the Turkish elite, relying on neo-Ottoman ideas, Pan-Turkism and imperial ambitions

<sup>144</sup> - the decisions of Tehran not to recognize the American initiative of naming Jerusalem the capital of Israel and the rejection of the so-called "Agreement of the Century", by which the United States tried to legalize the Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights and the West Bank, ie the colonization of the Jewish population in the mentioned territories and the expulsion of Palestinians and Arabs contributed to that too

<sup>145</sup> - largely led, armed, and trained by the United States and Israel

<sup>146</sup> - the parties of the national movement (Turkish: MHP, at the beginning of 2013 had 363,393 members) and their neo-Nazi youth organization "Gray Wolves" (Ulkuçuluk or Idealists). In the 2015 Turkish parliamentary elections, the MHP won a record 2 million votes and won 80 seats in the Assembly with the support of 16.3%. Since that period, the ideological rapprochement of the party with the ruling Justice and Development



and terror. Therefore, it can be stated that in mid-February 2020, the situation outside Turkey and the homogenization based on neo-Ottoman ambitions in it, is reminiscent of what was already seen before the downing of the Russian Su-24<sup>147</sup> fighter and the murder of Ambassador Andrei Karlov<sup>148</sup>. The spring and autumn of 2020, in addition to the Turkish military intervention in Libya, also brought new adventures in the armed conflicts in Yemen and Nagorno-Karabakh (Armenian: Artsakh), in which Turkish soldiers and at least 4,000 international terrorists from northern Syria and Libya were engaged to fight at the expense of Azerbaijan.

Together with its new strategic partners, Poland played the "Kurdish card" in the Middle East, aware that it was disrupting relations with Ankara, China, Tehran and Moscow. Formally following the Middle East policy of its overseas ally and Israel, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland received a delegation of Iraqi Kurdistan at a high level on May 29, 2017. Deputy Foreign Minister Joanna Wroniecka then greeted the guests, emphasizing that Poland strongly supports Kurdish autonomy in Iraq, as well as the United States and Israel. The visit of the Kurdish delegation was allegedly organized at the request of the Polish consulate in Erbil.

## **5. POLAND AS A NEW MILITARY-POLITICAL OPERATOR IN EASTERN EUROPE?**

The huge ambitions of the existing pro-American Polish elite to become a US military-political operator in the region are visible at every step<sup>149</sup>. Among other things, an intergovernmental agreement was made with Bulgaria, according

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Party has been noticed. The 2018 parliamentary elections resulted in the MHP with 49 deputies in the Assembly. It is led by Devlet Bahçeli.

<sup>147</sup> - November 24, 2015, to mark the birthday of the great Russian military leader Alexander Suvorov

<sup>148</sup> - December 19, 2016, to mark St. Nicholas, a great Orthodox saint and during the opening ceremony of the Center for Russian Contemporary Art in Ankara

<sup>149</sup> - Andrzej Duda congratulated Joe Biden on his election on December 15, and at the end of December 2020, Polish diplomats and the administration stated that in the event



to which the Polish Air Force together with the Bulgarian Armed Forces will guard the airspace over this country. This means that Polish officers will operationally protect not only the American missile shield in Poland (Redzikowo, near Slupsk), but also the one above the missile base in Deveselu<sup>150</sup>, Romania, not far from the border with Bulgaria and the nuclear power plant. Kozloduy, made by Russian nuclear technology. This humiliating act forced the then commander of the Bulgarian Armed Forces, General Rumen Radev, to resign at the beginning of August 2016. Profiling his political career in the direction of strengthening traditionally good ties with the East, Radev, as an independent candidate, won the presidential elections in Bulgaria on January 22, 2017. In addition to great and unconfirmed ambitions, the Polish Air Force has huge problems with F-16 aircraft, which joined the Armed Forces from 2006 to 2008. For 13 years of exploitation, their modernization has not been done, nor have funds been approved in the budget for that purpose.

After the 2015 elections, the ruling party changed the law, which allowed it to change its leadership and appoint loyal people in the media public service Telewizja Polska (TVP). The current political elite in Poland, promoted by the USA, is leading an aggressive media campaign in which it claims that their country is in danger from its eastern neighbor, although there is no fact that speaks in favor of that. That is the reason why they refuse to cooperate with

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that Biden came to power, they did not expect major changes in the American attitude towards Poland.

<sup>150</sup> - both mentioned bases, with small modifications of the projectile, performed in a very short time, can be used to carry out offensive actions against Russia. It should be noted that the complete European territory of the Russian Federation is available from these two positions. USA using ship and ground variants of the "Aegis Ashore" system placed in Mk-41 launch cells, in which it is possible to place any modification of SM-3 missile interceptors, but containers with strategic cruise missiles BGM-109 can also be placed quickly and efficiently. It is an improved version of the Tomahawk missiles, otherwise "well-known" to the citizens of Serbia from the war of conquest in 1999, of the land-sea and land-land type, with new guidance technology, increased range, up to 2,500 kilometers, which can carry and a nuclear warhead. The United States is thus unilaterally violating the Agreement on Medium-Range and Short-Range Missiles, which prohibits the expansion of missile systems with a range of more than 500 kilometers.

the French<sup>151</sup> and Austrian<sup>152</sup> right-wingers, whose connections with the Russian state-building parties are known to the public. At the same time, it served as an excuse for the establishment of new units of the Polish Armed Forces. Allegedly, in the name of the defense of the Polish state, they intimidate their population through the media almost every day, calling on the United States, but also NATO, to strengthen their presence in the form of new military bases. Polish President A. Duda has repeatedly said that a possible US military base in his country could be called "Fort Trump", and that its construction and maintenance worth 2 billion USD<sup>153</sup> will be paid for from the Polish budget<sup>154</sup>. On August 1, 2020, the Polish Ministry of Defense announced that, in accordance with the agreement between the two presidents, D. Trump and A. Duda, as of June 12, 2019, permanently deploy an additional 1,000 members of the U.S. Armed Forces in Poland.<sup>155</sup> On November 9, 2020, the President of the Republic of Poland, Andrzej Duda, ratified the Agreement on Enhanced Military Cooperation with the United States (from August 2020). It implies the dislocation of the 5th Corps of the US Army to Poland, as well as the construction of infrastructure for serving 20,000 soldiers and a base for the use of BPLA. An even bigger dilemma is whether the existing Polish elite will succeed in convincing its public that American soldiers need to be given immunity from prosecution during their stay in their country, which is an explicit request of the Pentagon for permanent permanent stationing of its force. How Polish politicians are seen from the other side of the ocean can indicate the appearance of Biden, the candidate for the presidency of the USA, during the meeting with the voters: "NATO is on the verge of collapse, because the allies doubt whether we are there. You see what is happening from Belarus, to Poland and Hungary - the rise of totalitarian regimes ... " - Joe Biden underlined.

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<sup>151</sup>- The party "National Unification", led by Marie Le Pen, has repeatedly offered cooperation to the Polish Party of Justice and Development and the Hungarian Fidesz. In addition, Le Pen advocates economic cooperation in the Eurasian space.

<sup>152</sup>- Freedom Party of Austria

<sup>153</sup> - the authors are of the opinion that the mentioned amount is not enough to cover all the costs of the potential stay of American soldiers in Poland

<sup>154</sup> - regulated by the Decree of the Sejm no. 573

<sup>155</sup> - <http://www.tanjug.rs/full-view.aspx?izb=578444>

Military exercises of the Polish Armed Forces with NATO are also frequent, such as the recently performed "Crystal Arrow 2020"<sup>156</sup> and "Protector of Europe 2020"<sup>157</sup>. In the exercises that NATO recently conducted, the scenario of destroying the Baltic Fleet of the Russian Navy and playing a quick occupation of the Kaliningrad region with the participation of B-52 strategic bombers, which were transferred to Great Britain in 2019 (6 of them), was worked out. After tripartite consultations in Warsaw, the foreign ministers of Poland, Romania and Turkey called for the strengthening of missile defense in these countries,<sup>158</sup> without explicitly declaring when they intend to "defend". Truth be told, in previous years, the pseudo-argument of the defense against Iran was used, but it simply wore off because it did not pass even the first logical test. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland has publicly advocated the strengthening of US and NATO forces on the eastern wing of the Alliance. At a joint session, NATO defense ministers agreed to send four NATO battalions to the three Baltic states and Poland on a rotating basis, with one such unit stationed in Romania.<sup>159</sup> The essence of these exercises also speaks of the intentions of their creators. Namely, the rapid reaction forces of several countries practiced conducting airborne operations, and these types of activities are certainly not defensive, but offensive tactics. NATO's verbal promises to Russia not to expand to the east, the continuation of the average disarmament and the sweet rhetoric about democracy, human rights and the anarcholiberal economy proved to be empty promises in practice. During the autumn of 2020, a group of experts was tasked with making recommendations on NATO reform. In early December, some experts began commenting on the 138 recommendations made to the Alliance. In this context, Anna Fotyga<sup>160</sup>, former Minister of Foreign

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<sup>156</sup> - started on March 2, 2020, with the participation of 2,500 soldiers from 11 countries. In parallel with this military exercise, maneuvers of 9 NATO members with the participation of 15,000 soldiers began in Norway.

<sup>157</sup> - from April 20 to May 20, 2020, with the participation of 40,000 soldiers from 17 NATO countries

<sup>158</sup> - part of NATO's anti-missile shield has been operating in Turkey since before

<sup>159</sup> - Tanjug, <http://www.tanjug.rs/full-view1.aspx?izb=251829> It is interesting that a few years ago in Romania in the public opinion poll respondents to the question "When was the best in Romania?" In 63% stated that it was in the time of Nicolae Ceausescu

<sup>160</sup> - Anna Elżbieta Fotyga

Affairs of the Republic of Poland, currently a delegate in the "Law and Justice" party in the European Parliament, also appeared in public. Her position is that there can be no return to old jobs and that restrictions should be introduced on any dialogue with Moscow<sup>161</sup>. The Polish press periodically comments on the need to establish closer ties with Berlin, following the example of Wladyslaw Studnicki<sup>162</sup>, a Polish geopolitician from the beginning of the 20th century who openly advocated an alliance with the Third Reich.

A contingent of about 4,500 soldiers<sup>163</sup> of the American Armed Forces are deployed on a rotating basis in the west of the country, in the Polish cities of Skwierzyna, Zagan, Swietoszow and Boleslawiec, ie not far from the border with FR Germany<sup>164</sup>. If the Polish-American claim available to the public is correct, that these forces are in Poland due to the so-called The "Russian threat", which Poland does not border with, there is an interesting question, what are they doing next to the border with Germany?<sup>165</sup> There are so few of them and they are far from the border with the Kaliningrad region<sup>166</sup> and Belarus<sup>167</sup>. They are

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<sup>161</sup> - Stanislaw Stremidowski, "As in 1939: Poland is being pushed again with Germany, against Russia", IA Regnum, December 4, 2020, the site was visited on the same date, <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/3131722.html>

<sup>162</sup> - Studnicki openly advocated the establishment of a military pact with Berlin and a joint attack on the USSR. He is the author of the work "Poland and the Political System of Europe", published in 1935. He warned of a great economic disproportion, which led to the defeat of Poland in the conflict with the Third Reich. He died in London in January 1953.

<sup>163</sup> - B. Vukasović, "Fort Trump is rocking even before it was built", "Politika", no. 38273, dated June 12, 2020, p. 2

<sup>164</sup> - it is interesting that according to the data of the German Left Party, in the last few years alone, Germany has legally exported over 250,000 tons of waste to Poland, without paper and plastic. No one knows the actual quantities of illegal medical waste, sludge and unsorted waste brought into Poland. <https://www.dw.com/en/polands-growing-problem-with-illegal-european-waste/a-55957224>

<sup>165</sup> - the common border is 467 km long

<sup>166</sup> - the common border is 210 km long

<sup>167</sup> - the common border is 418 km long

too far from the strategically important Suwalki corridor<sup>168</sup>, the only potential land connection of Russia (provided that the Belarusian forces miss them) with the Kaliningrad region, but also NATO connections with the Baltic states<sup>169</sup> and such thinking is devoid of operational meaning.<sup>170</sup> The explanation that the Americans, in order to strengthen these forces, will send another battalion, with a force of about 350 soldiers, whose location will be near the Belarusian border, insults the intelligence. The suggestion of the Russian media is that these forces will in fact be a deterrent to a possible German aggression on Poland,<sup>171</sup> and that is why they are so close to the German border. In that case, it would be logical for them to be somewhat deeper in the territory, and it would be normal for them to be much more numerous. The closest thing to the truth is that American forces in that part of Poland are intended to provide bridgeheads for the potential quick and safe transfer of forces from Germany to the east.<sup>172</sup> We should also keep in mind such trifles as the fact that Abrams-type

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<sup>168</sup> - a hypothetical land corridor on Poland's northeastern border with Lithuania, 96 km long, that could connect the Kaliningrad region with Belarus. It is estimated that there are about 4,000 NATO soldiers in the region of the city of Suwalki. The Polish General Staff renewed the 14th Suwalki Regiment of anti-armor artillery in this direction, and by introducing armored personnel carriers OBT RT-91, it is rapidly modernizing the 16th mechanized division of the Armed Forces.

<sup>169</sup> - with Lithuania, the common border is 104 km long, and the supply lines of Russia and NATO intersect in the Lithuanian city with a symbolic name, Kalvarija, 40 km north of the Polish city of Suwalki. The results of the secession of the three Baltic states from the USSR and life in the EU are devastating. Half of the population lives in misery, and all who could have already emigrated.

<sup>170</sup> - in the exercises "Saber Strike 2017" soldiers of 20 NATO countries practiced the defense of the Polish and Lithuanian sides of the Suwalki corridor


<sup>171</sup> - it should be borne in mind that between 70-80,000 American soldiers are deployed in Germany;

<sup>172</sup> - which was practiced in the military maneuvers "Enhanced Forward Presence", in which 25,000 NATO and US soldiers participated. In May and June 2021, the most massive NATO military exercises in the last 30 years, "Defender Europe 2021", are scheduled. It will be realized with the additional forces of the 1st Cavalry, 82nd Airborne Division and the 53rd Infantry Brigade of the US Armed Forces. The scenario of the exercises includes an assault on the Kaliningrad region, a blockade of the western parts of Russia and the repulse of a Russian counterattack. Special attention will be paid to Eastern and Southern Europe. In addition to the so-called Kosovo, Albania, Monte-

tanks, weighing 53 to 64 tons, depend on the model, and are not adapted to conduct armed battles on the European continent, because with the slightest rain, on wet ground they fall into the mud. In addition, in the Polish state, the bridges over which they could cross can be counted on the fingers of one hand. In support of absolute unpreparedness or a completely different reason for delivery, they say that tanks, transporters and armored vehicles were delivered to Poland with protective paint for warfare in the desert, and not in any of the green or camouflage green variants needed for the European continental climate. Although there is no indication at this time that Moscow is ready to challenge NATO, the Atlantic Council published a report in late July 2016 in which former NATO Deputy Commander for Europe, British General Sir Richard David Shirreff and former Adviser to the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Maciej Oleksa-Szczytowski, argued that in the event of an attack on Poland, Poland must publicly announce the retention of the right to counter-attack in the depths of Russian territory. Civilian targets have been proposed, including Kaliningrad and the Moscow metro<sup>173</sup>. In addition, these authors suggested that Poland focus its efforts on inclusion in the scheme of tactical nuclear potential within NATO, so that its F-16 fighters could be carriers of tactical nuclear missiles. This time, Russia's response to these mindless and unprovoked threats was quick and unambiguous. Iskander hypersonic missiles were soon deployed in the neighboring Kaliningrad region, which can also carry tactical nuclear warheads, with a variable flight trajectory, with a range of 500, and according to some sources it is a newer, improved variant of these missiles, with a range of up to 700 kilometers<sup>174</sup>.

The aggravation of Poland's relations with Russia continued on July 4, 2016, with the unilateral decision on the moratorium on small border traffic. It sus-

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negro, Bulgaria and Romania will participate, while  Hungary will play the role of background. The Russian-Belarusian response will be the "West-2021" military exercises, planned for September of the same year..

<sup>173</sup> - because of such attitudes, which are approved by Kaczynski's party, it is still open or silent, it is simply impossible for the Russian Federation to step down from the position of guarantor of Polish sovereignty and external protector of its statehood

<sup>174</sup> - in Russian military magazines the answer is called "2-22", because "Iskanders" from Kaliningrad to Warsaw need only 2 minutes and 22 seconds



pends the agreed processes on the implementation of the Agreement on Local Border Crossing between the two northern Polish voivodships and the Russian Kaliningrad region. It is strange that the Polish authorities did that contrary to the usual international practice, ie without announcing the validity of the moratorium. The official explanation of the Polish authorities that this was done due to the NATO summit in Warsaw and the gathering on the occasion of marking the World Youth Day in Krakow, where the security zone of these events in the mentioned cities has nothing to do with the mentioned Russian area. Krzysztof Zagozda, the leader of the conservative-patriotic movement "Blue Poland", died on July 2, 2006. for IA "Regnum", he commented on the political situation in Poland, saying: "There is great unrest. It feels like we are on the brink of disaster."<sup>175</sup>

For all those who have a dilemma as to what policy and on whose behalf official Warsaw is pursuing, the fact that the Polish Sejm on June 22, 2017, the day of marking the Third Reich's brutal attack on the USSR in 1941, decided to remove all its monuments liberators, members of the Red Army, which liberated them from the Nazi horde. The authors of these lines emphasize that we must not forget that 530,000 Red Army soldiers gave their lives for the liberation of the Republic of Poland in the Second World War.

During the fall of 2020, three departments in charge of Europe were separated from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and a special ministry was created from them, in charge of "European direction", headed by the former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Konrad Szymanski. The beginning of 2021 brought the continuation of the geopolitical game for the development of the "Three Seas", but also the diffusion of foreign policy activities. Following the example of the National Security Bureau (Polish: BBN), the Bureau for International Affairs (Polish: BDM)<sup>176</sup> was created by the members of the Law and Justice,<sup>177</sup> headed

<sup>175</sup> - Stanislaw Stremidlowski, IA Regnum, site visited on July 2, 2016

<sup>176</sup> - Krzysztof Szczerski, from the position of Head of the Office of the President of Poland, has been appointed as the person who established the Bureau for International Affairs

<sup>177</sup> - a significant part of the party leadership in the local is controlled by the party's vice president Joachim Brudzinski



by Radoslaw Fogiel, the former deputy press secretary of this party. The newly created bureau will deal with contacts with parties whose policy is similar to the Law and Justice party. One of the basic tasks is to intensify efforts to activate and popularize the International Democratic Alliance, an organization of parties with right-wing, liberal and Christian-Democratic ideology, while relying heavily on volunteers.

**ТЕОДОР СИМЕУНОВИЋ И СВЕТОЗАР С. РАКАЗОВ****"PROJEKAT „MEĐUMORJE“,  
HIBRIDNI RATOVI I MIGRANTSKI HAOS,**

**- geneza, aktuelnosti i njihova sinteza, viđeni kroz prizmu  
potencijalnih perspektiva razvoja događaja"**

***Part I***

*„Istorija nije učiteljica, već kontrolor, ona nas ničemu ne uči,  
ali surovo kažnjava za nepoznavanje pređenog gradiva.“*

**Belgrade, 2021.**

***Apstrakt***

*Početak XIX veka je pod dirigentskom palicom Adama Čatorijskog doneo neuspeo pokušaj stvaranja Druge Rečipospolite, koja je u zametku osmišljavana kao velika država između dva mora, Baltičkog i Crnog. Sa takvim naporima je nastavljeno tokom celog XIX veka, ali tek nakon Prvog svetskog rata oni donose određeni rezultat u formi nove poljske države. Međutim, ambicije i planovi tadašnje poljske elite su bile mnogo veće od dobijenog i oni su nastavili sa ozbiljnim radom na teritorijalnom proširenju države. Zbog toga i ulaze u rat sa komunistima na teritoriji Ukrajine, a zatim i tajne dogovore sa Trećim rajhom radi komadanja Čehoslovačke, što je de facto označilo početak novog svetskog oružanog sukoba. Neuspeh dogovora sa nacističkom vrhuškom oko podele plena i napad Trećeg rajha na Poljsku su označili kraj Druge Rečipospolite. Na krilima Crvene armije poljski komunisti nakon Drugog svetskog*

*rata postavljaju temelj nove države, Treće Rečipospolite, sa značajnim teritorijalnim proširenjima na uštrb nemačkih teritorija. Pobjeda transnacionalnih kompanija nad Varšavskim ugovorom i SSSR-om, 90-ih godina HH veka, je donela promene i u Poljskoj. Na političkoj osnovi desnog centra i katoličkog konzervativizma, država je započela svoju unutrašnju transformaciju u Četvrtu Rečipospolitu. Jedan od njenih direktnih produkata je reanimirani i redizajnirani „Plan Međumorje“, sada pod imenom „Plan Tromorje“. Osim neposrednog geopolitičkog okruženja pojavile su se neskrivene ambicije gospodarenja, ovog puta teritorijom i narodima između tri mora, Baltičkog, Crnog i Jadranskog. Međutim, kako to u životu često bude, plan je morao biti dopunjavan, menjan i delimično odbacivan, jer su se pojavili novi izazovi u obliku masovnih migracija sa Bliskog istoka, iz Azije, Ukrajine i sa severa Afrike. Uz masovno korišćenje digitalnih tehnologija, radikalnih ideologija, asimetričnih oružanih dejstava, ratovanja pod tuđom zastavom i novih, do sada ne korišćenih formi naoružanja, sukobi u sadašnjosti su dobili i novi naziv, hibridni ratovi. Aktuelna poljska elita je, osim tradicionalno vernog saveznika u Vatikanu i prikrivenih mentora u Londonu, svoj geopolitički „Plan Tromorje“ javno vezala za Vašington, nudeći se u ulozi mogućeg vojno-političkog operatera u Istočnoj Evropi. Očigledno je da planeri u Varšavi u svoje proračune nisu ukalkulisali da u SAD može doći do smene političke paradigme i ozbiljne političke krize, čiji su uzroci mnogo dublji od samih SAD, a posledice istorijske. Kraha kapitalističkog modela upravljanja, rušenje njegove ideološke matrice i katastrofalne posledice koje finansijski kolonijalizam ostavlja za sobom širom planete, obeležile su poslednjih nekoliko, a pogotovo 2020. godinu. Stvaranje „Straže inkluzivnog kapitalizma sa Vatikanom“ u poslednjih nekoliko godina, pokušaj marketinškog i fiktivnog otklona od kapitalizma, uz ostajanje u njegovim blagodatima za privilegovani deo globalne elite i poljski manevar od strateškog saveznika sa one strane okeana, sa jednovremenim zalaganjem za transformisanje EU u evropsku konfederaciju, obeležili su početak 2021. godine.*

**Ključne reči:** *Međumorje, Tromorje, kapitalizam, digitalne tehnologije, hibridni ratovi, migracije, obojene revolucije, Evroazija, inkluzivni kapitalizam*

**Glavna hipoteza:** *Da li se poljski Plan Međumorje (Tromorje) uklapa u neki od poznatih globalnih geopolitičkih planova?*

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## **MANAGEMENT SECURITY CRISIS ARISED TRAFFIC IN THE PROCESS OF ABUSE OF TRAFFIC LIGHTS**

### ***Abstract***

*Traffic light signalization is nowadays one of the most reliable means for regulating public traffic in all major cities in the world. Relying on traffic police officers who regulate traffic at intersections or respecting the so-called the rules on the right represent long-forgotten methods of regulating traffic. Traffic lights are part of the so-called smart systems that have their own electronic systems that control their operation. Therefore, the traffic light can be the target of cyber-attacks, all in order to create traffic problems, which result in congestion of large city streets, which can be a suitable terrain for committing certain terrorist acts, as well as other crimes. Therefore, in this paper, the traffic light is considered not only as a device for regulating traffic, but also as a means suitable for manipulation and abuse by criminal and terrorist organizations.*

**Keywords:** *traffic light, signalization, traffic, sabotage, terrorism.*

## INTRODUCTION

Traffic light signaling and intelligent traffic signaling systems are undoubtedly an important component in the evolution of the so-called. smart cities. They are important in the process of planning and regulating traffic and traffic jams, which are becoming one of the biggest problems in the functioning of almost all world metropolis. These complex traffic systems include first vehicles, then lights signaling, sensors and traffic infrastructure. In order to overcome the growing traffic problems, modern cities are developing efficient innovative applications of intelligent signaling systems with the task of directing and regulating traffic jams. Optimal traffic control, raising traffic safety, regulating traffic at major intersections, as well as raising the quality of emergency reporting, in terms of traffic collapses or accidents, are imperative tasks of modern signaling, surveillance and monitoring systems for public traffic in large cities.

In this procedure, traffic lights have the most important role. The coordination of traffic lights and their harmonization enable a good flow of vehicles, unnecessary stopping and slowing down of movement are reduced, and the circulation of vehicles itself and other traffic participants is of better quality and more fluid. Traffic light signaling and electronic traffic regulation in cities works according to the principles of hardware, which are specially made for these needs. They enable accurate and precise regulation of vehicle movement, while respecting certain principles that first guarantee safety for all traffic participants. On the other hand, these systems are vulnerable to cyber-attacks. Specifically, the hardware of these devices can be subject of cyber-attacks and sabotage, which could result in destabilization of traffic safety on one or more roads in the city.

Attacks on traffic lights could first contribute to shifts from factory to inaccurate settings, traffic lights could be permanently disabled for work or provide inaccurate information to traffic participants. Information technology experts point out that the sabotage of traffic lights and signaling devices from nowadays aspect is not a very complex and demanding undertaking. These systems can be influenced relatively easily and without major material investments. Although these types of attacks are not frequent and for now we can talk more

about them from the aspect of theory, the fact is that the safety of light and traffic lights system should be discussed in a little more detail and analyzed, especially if we take into account that the Road Safety Strategy of measure development of any country can be seen through the level of achieved development of the traffic system.

To that end, it is necessary to assess the risk of attacks on traffic lights and light signaling as an effective means of assessing the security implications of the vulnerability of these systems, with proposals for defensive measures against potential attacks. The competent bodies of the traffic police, as well as experts in the field of synchronization and installation of traffic lights and light signaling must participate in making the assessment. They must be in constant readiness from cyber-attacks on these devices, with the present awareness of the possible consequence if the attack itself occurs. Also, a good theoretical framework is needed, through which all possibilities of cyber-attack on traffic lights and other signaling devices would be processed, with starting points on the importance and necessity of traffic light and other light signaling in traffic regulation in large cities, the fact that these electronic systems for traffic regulation are vulnerable and may be a potential target of terrorist attacks and other persons aimed at destabilizing traffic safety, with the aim of maximally optimizing cybernetic traffic safety and recognizing the priority of defensive measures to mitigate the risk of cyber-attacks on signaling devices.

### **FUNCTIONING OF TRAFFIC SIGNALS**

In large cities, where the traffic frequency is expressed, the traffic is regulated with the help of traffic lights and light signaling. Signals at intersections are coordinated by light systems, which function according to certain principles. Adjustments of these systems are made through the harmonization of traffic cycles, which are adjusted by phases, their order and duration. Traffic light signaling is synchronized in repeated cycles, and the cycles consist of several sequential phases. For example, it is necessary to synchronize a longer phase in those traffic directions where a weaker flow is expected, because this helps to encourage it, while proper shifting of cycles and sequence of phases is needed

when trying to shorten the waiting time for departure at intersections. During this synchronization, special attention must be paid to all permitted directions of movement at the intersection, and each phase must refer to certain movements in certain directions.

Traffic light signaling determines the waiting time at the intersection directly, that is, indirectly affects the traffic density and its flow. Traffic light signaling must be understandable to every traffic participant, it must be accessible and it must enable good communication of all traffic participants. Traffic light signaling is a significant factor when calculating the route, as well as the speed of reaching the destination, which is calculated by GPS devices. Good synchronization of these devices enables more accurate calculation of the required time interval to reach the destination, with less deviation.

In relatively light traffic systems, which are characterized by lower traffic frequency, each available route is equally acceptable to traffic participants and whichever one they choose, it needs the same or similar time interval to arrive at the destination location. In contrast to this situation, the behavior of traffic participants must be absolutely different in traffic systems that are congested and overloaded. The choice of a bad route leads to traffic jams, congestion of certain roads and to the non-functionality of the traffic system in the city. In such systems, it is best to choose the routes of movement in fragments and, if possible, on the basis of estimates that refer to the gradual easing of the frequency of the given roads.

As a significantly aggravating factor in the regulation of traffic in large cities with the help of traffic lights and other modern devices, there is an interdependence of all significant traffic routes, which are intertwined, connected and dependent. The burden of one significant direction therefore means the burden of other directions, which are in a mutual relationship of dependence. According to some ideal ideas in theory, in such situations the existence of a system of special observation of the traffic network in the city would lead to the existence of an advisory device in each vehicle, which would suggest to drivers which route to choose at a given moment to avoid traffic jams and congestion of given roads. Ideally, all drivers should follow the given instructions and



follow the recommended routes, which would lead to maximum compliance with the given time intervals for arriving at the destination location and enable optimal traffic flow. The system of advice to drivers would be provided by a system of monitoring the movement of all vehicles, and would be notified of any deviation from the route and would arrive as a notification to other traffic participants, to plan potentially new routes or to calculate a new time interval for arriving at the destination.

In addition to intersections where traffic is evenly distributed along the routes, in almost all areas there are a number of intersections where one direction (street) is significantly more congested than the other direction. For such intersections, it is necessary to develop digital hardware that enables the maximum flow of vehicles in the direction that is more loaded with vehicles. The basic requirement that such a digital device should meet is to allow a minimum duration of the permitted passage (green light) on the main street of 25 s and to maintain such a state until the vehicle arrives on a side street. The arrival of vehicles in a side street initiates a change in the situation at the traffic lights, so that the arrival of arrived vehicles is enabled. The duration of the allowed passage in the side street is until the passage of all vehicles coming from the side street, and for a maximum of 25 s. This means that during the continuous arrival of the vehicle from the side street, the traffic light works in the normal mode, with the same duration of the state "allowed passage" and "stop" on the main and side street. Between the "allowed passage" and "stop" states there is a "warning" state (yellow light on the traffic light) that lasts 4 s.

## **SECURITY ASPECTS OF TRAFFIC LIGHT SIGNALING ABUSE**

In order to be able to analyze in detail the possible safety endangerment to traffic through the misuse of traffic lights and other signalization, it must first be explained from a technical point of view only the functioning of traffic lights as a device. The traffic light consists of: 1) controllers, which regulate light conditions, 2) sensors, which detect traffic conditions, 3) unit for managing possible system errors.

Controllers have a particularly important role for the functioning of traffic lights, because they directly condition the changes of light signals, which directly affects the functioning of traffic. As a rule, a certain light signal (red, yellow and green pain) lasts as long as it is programmed, in precise time intervals. In addition to standard signals, there may be semi-activations or directions that must always be included, such as an indicator of a conditional passage through an intersection, popularly known as a "green arrow". The controllers receive information from sensors, which activate the states of change of light signs in the optimal and pre-programmed time interval.

The controllers are physically located near the intersection and traffic lights in special metal cabinets, which are kept locked. These cabinets contain controllers with sensors, which send information about changes in light signals on traffic light devices. It clearly follows from the above that this type of storage of controllers and sensors does not belong to the category of the most efficient. Especially since the cabinets can be easily opened and their contents accessed without authorization. It logically follows that persons who have adequate technical knowledge and skills can influence the operation of traffic lights directly and traffic safety indirectly. If this type of sabotage were carried out continuously at a larger number of intersections in the city, which are in a relationship of interdependence, it is clear that a larger security problem could be caused.

The most sensitive and primarily targeted by potential attackers would be controllers, because they could be used to influence changes in light signals at traffic lights. The attack is carried out by denial the service to the operating systems, which in turn reflects on the change of light signals at the intersection, bringing traffic safety into question and in a state of endangerment. The influence of these attackers is primarily manifested on the commands for adjusting the light lamps on the traffic light device.

The essence of the attack is the negative impact on the control process and the rhythmic change of light signals at the traffic light. Sending incorrect information to the controller leads to a longer delay of the vehicle, by keeping the red light for example or a situation where all traffic participants would be allowed to pass at the same time, which would undoubtedly lead to traffic accidents at

that intersection. This situation is in direct opposition with a goal number 1 within the framework of the first Pillar of the Traffic Safety Action Plan. In such conditions, the controller works with incorrect information and sends incorrect commands in changing the light signals, and the sensors function as part of a modified system adapted to the needs of the attacker. The attacker made a backup engineering of the software protocol and used all the problems during the authentication in the network, so that the modified software would react to the information it received from the sensor.

Traffic light systems can also be the target of physical attacks. Then the hardware of these devices is directly endangered. Damage and disabling of hardware in light signaling systems leads to the configuration of dangerous light and signal conditions, which can cause the extinguishing of certain light signals, their too short or too long emission or simultaneous emission of the same light signals to all traffic participants, which inevitably leads to crisis situations.

### **SECURITY RISKS OF TRAFFIC LIGHT ABUSE**

It is an indisputable fact that traffic light systems are an easily vulnerable category. The reason for that is, as already mentioned, first of all in the easy accessibility of the systems of these devices, which are mostly located at intersections, or their immediate vicinity, without adequate protection. Also, it was stated that the systems that directly affect the operation of traffic lights at intersections are easy to read for those who know the technique, and that their work can be influenced without major difficulties. Any influence that is not from the competent services can be very dangerous for traffic safety and traffic participants.

In order to prevent such safety risk situations, it is necessary to perform a safety assessment, which is the basis for considering the safety position of these light signaling devices. Also, it is necessary to build awareness of the danger of negative impacts on traffic light signaling at those bodies that deal with traffic safety, and that among the priority issues is the issue of traffic light safety and their protection from potential attacks. At the moment, it is very difficult to

predict all the modalities of possible attacks on traffic lights in all developed cities in the world. The possibilities are really great and the attackers have a wide range of mechanisms of influence on these devices, their disabling and putting into function of a terrorist attack or some other harmful and dangerous event. In order to be able to answer the question about the possible modality of the attack in detail, it is necessary to do a detailed analysis of all sources of attacks, as well as to realistically look at the vulnerabilities and weaknesses of these systems.

Any unwanted situation, which is the result of traffic light obstruction, can be defined as a degradation of traffic management performance. It can be the result of an attack on traffic light signaling, and the harmful consequences of that attack can be manifested through negative results, such as congested and impassable roads, the longer time required to reach the destination location, frequent traffic accidents and the like.

When assessing the security risks of misuse of traffic light signaling and attacks on these systems, the consequences that occur under different circumstances must be differentiated with maximum anticipation of potentially worst consequences, which is in line with the horizontal framework of the European Critical Infrastructure Protection Program. Also, it is necessary to anticipate potential events that may occur as a result of the attacker's actions, with anticipation and the effects they want to achieve through the realization of the attack itself. The attackers act by trying to discredit the existing traffic light and signaling system, by modifying that system and changing the rhythm of the light signals that are emitted. This inevitably worsens the performance of traffic management on the one hand and affects the behavior of traffic participants on the other hand, which has the ultimate effect of redirecting traffic to a certain side. It is logical to conclude that the attacker's goal is to group as many vehicles and traffic participants in one place, which is, for example, the subject of a terrorist attack, because the mass of victims is one of the most important features of terrorism and terrorist acts.

Also, the problem of traffic destabilization through traffic light obstruction and light signaling can be observed from the aspect of the already mentioned

GPS system and navigation system, which calculates the shortest and fastest route to the destination location for the needs of the driver. When entering driver preferences, in terms of destination location, the system calculates the shortest and fastest route, giving an optimal time frame. In the calculation of the time frame, the essential component consists of traffic lights and retention on them, which can be determined with greater or lesser precision by mathematical operations. Traffic light obstruction automatically means extending this time frame, forcing participants to abruptly and unplanned route changes, all of which can result in congestion of certain road routes and reduced traffic safety for traffic participants.

### **MECHANISMS FOR SOLVING TRAFFIC SIGNAL SAFETY PROBLEMS**

The problem of traffic safety, which can be violated through the negative impact on the operation of traffic lights and traffic signaling must be approached from the aspect of complex consideration and solution. The complexity of traffic as a system, composed of several elements, must be taken into account, with all the unpredictability of traffic participants and the existence of situations that can be characterized as risky.

In order to ensure a minimum of traffic safety, in the process of making and designing traffic systems, special attention must be paid to the safety moment. Manufacturers of traffic lights and other signaling devices must also keep in mind the possibility of cyber-attacks on these devices and the impact on their safe operation when making them. There are essential changes in the design of the controller in order to aggravate and disable unauthorized access, as well as disabling unauthorized influence on the debug port, which is otherwise very suitable for affecting the device system memory, as well as the ability to re-configure the system.

One of the very common oversight is leaving factory codes on the devices. Manufacturers generally enter the same factory codes into all systems, and it happens that all traffic lights in the city have the same code. By detecting the

code at one traffic light, the codes were detected at all the others, which significantly facilitates the position of the attackers and gives unimagined possibilities. It is recommended that the codes are changed regularly, that they are not left at the factory settings, but that each traffic light has its own authentic codes, as well as that these codes are reset and changed at a certain time interval.

At the same time, network communication within these signaling systems must be encrypted, which would provide more efficient and secure exchange of information and data. The dangers of unauthorized access to the system of communication, eavesdropping and retrieval of information between two or more controllers would be eliminated. Sensor software must be designed so that any arbitrary and unauthorized change is impossible. Also, the communication system between the sensor and the controller must be time-marked, which in practice means the impossibility of repeated attacks and sending already sent information.

In theory, there are advocates who do not support the application of these measures of protection the safety and efficiency of traffic light and signal devices. There are theories that indicate the obligation to level these safety measures with the needs of traffic, with the specification of priorities and the application of combined measures for traffic safety and traffic signaling. Adequate security measures can minimize all weaknesses in these signaling systems and devices.

In the application and implementation of traffic safety measures and traffic lights and signaling devices, there are three active participants: traffic management body, attackers and traffic participants.

The traffic management authority applies security measures to ensure signal and traffic light devices at intersections in cities, with maximum reduction of the potential for a possible attack. Attackers easily overcome the obstacles of insufficiently protected traffic light and signal devices, subordinating them to their needs and ideas, all with the aim of destabilizing traffic and introducing insecurity. Traffic participants, driving their motor vehicles, are constantly searching for the most passable and fastest routes to their final destinations.

The interests of traffic management authorities and traffic participants are compatible. Attackers have opposing interests, and it can be said that the body and participants must act in a coordinated manner in order to thwart the attacker's intentions, because the realization of the attacker's intentions endangers the interests of traffic management bodies and traffic participants. While attackers look for system weaknesses, the traffic management body and traffic participants must minimize these weaknesses and act compactly in implementing measures that raise traffic safety to a higher level.

The problem of the vulnerability of traffic lights and traffic light signaling in traffic was pointed out in 2013 by the US Department of Homeland Security in the Critical Infrastructure Protection Plan. Traffic lights and signaling lights which is used to regulate traffic are classified as critical infrastructure, which has become an important and essential part of national security, and its protection is one of the priorities of every country. On that occasion, all potential modalities of the possibility of endangering the safety of traffic signals were theoretically elaborated, with special reference to cyber-attacks and sabotage of traffic lights. At the same time, the key problems of traffic safety and the weakest points in the work of traffic lights and signalization were marked. These are the already mentioned problems of obsolete factory codes and the openness of the debug port.

That the protection of traffic lights and other signalization is necessary is already indicated by some successful attempts at attack. This primarily refers to a relatively cheap and easily accessible device, which enables wireless sensor change of light signals on the traffic light, whose creator is Cerrudo. Another example of an attack and disabling of a traffic light was noted when changing the time configuration of the controller, which is most often divided into working and weekend days as well as summer-winter periods, which directly jeopardized the traffic light mode .

The focus of the research on the vulnerability of traffic light signalization is the assessment of the safety and resistance of traffic systems, which especially includes optimal control and preparedness for a potential cyber-attack. Of particular importance are the components for monitoring and control, as well as



the permanent analysis of the existing network performance and its resistance to potential attacks. The goal of the research is to determine the vulnerability of traffic systems in the conditions of unauthorized cyber-attacks, which have the task of disabling those systems and subordinating them to their needs and the realization of their plans. At the same time, in addition to cyber-attacks, the analysis should provide an answer to how these systems would react in the conditions of natural disasters and whether they would be resistant to that type of influence, which does not come from humans, but from some higher force.

Also of great importance is the analysis of the work of traffic lights, which are related to the work of ramps, which control the possibility of traffic flow. The system of measuring the time for the openness, ie the closure of the ramp, is based on the techniques of optimal traffic management in optimal conditions. Disruption of ramp operation metrics clearly endangers traffic safety, because enabling the crossing in conditions when it is not safe, directly endangers all traffic participants.

## CONCLUSION

In a period when terrorist activities are in significant expansion, special attention must be paid to every possible form of terrorist act. Through the process of analyzing the risk of terrorism and terrorist attacks, all potential weaknesses of the different systems that may be the target of attacks must be highlighted.

Traffic is generally has great security potential due to the whole set of circumstances that mark it as high-risk. Motor vehicles themselves, their use, movement and the performance they have, represent a sufficiently clear safety risk. This is supported by data on more frequent and more intensive traffic accidents with a big fatal outcome, as well as big consequences for the lives and health of people, participants in traffic.

Traffic infrastructure, its maintenance and renewal, also have a strong security risk. Bad traffic infrastructure is often the cause of traffic accidents, and old and insufficiently well-maintained roads, poorly marked and visible roads

must be mentioned as a problem, especially when driving in difficult traffic conditions, such as fog, rain, snow or in the dark. The problem of removing traffic signs, their theft and destruction should be mentioned here, which greatly endangers traffic safety and makes it difficult for traffic participants to drive motor vehicles.

Traffic and traffic light signaling have a particularly important place in the work, and they are observed from the aspect of their technical-technological equipment, their performance and work model, as well as from the aspect of their potential to endanger traffic safety. Although designed to be the most important trump card in regulating traffic and raising traffic safety, by malicious use and influencing the regime of their work, they are becoming a powerful weapon in the hands of terrorists and attackers. The paper itself points out the weaknesses of these traffic light systems, and clearly marks the weaknesses in their work and points to the potential possibility of their abuse.


Raising the security of these devices can be achieved at the technical-technological level, which is a priority task of manufacturers of traffic lights and other signaling equipment, raising security protection of these devices, as well as disabling potential any unauthorized access that would disrupt factory set work process. Better protection of these devices can be achieved by full digitalization of traffic lights, based on wireless communication in traffic light components from the central system, which would not be easily accessible and visible.

The current situation in all large cities, where traffic light systems exist, does not meet the minimum-security criteria in the least, and these systems can be characterized as easily vulnerable and suitable for a possible attack. The paper itself points out the vulnerabilities of this system and gives certain suggestions in order to raise security to a higher level. There is a special emphasis on the problem of factory-determined codes that are universal for all traffic light systems, the problem of their easy understanding, which then opens up the possibility of influencing the entire system.

Also, the paper points out all the potential consequences of such cyber and terrorist attacks on traffic lights and signalization in large cities. The entire

behavior of all traffic participants is subjected to changes if the manipulation of traffic lights is successfully carried out. This can result in congestion of important city roads, endangering the safety of traffic participants and creating a suitable situation for the execution of some activities that could endanger the lives and health of a large number of people.

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**УПРАВЉАЊЕ БЕЗБЕДНОСНОМ КРИЗОМ РЕГУЛИШУЋИ  
САОБРАЋАЈ У ПРОЦЕСУ ЗЛОУПОТРЕБЕ САОБРАЋАЈНИХ  
СВЕТЛА**

*Апстракт*

*Семафорска сигнализација данас је једно од најпоузданијих средстава за регулисање јавног саобраћаја у свим већим градовима света. Ослањање на саобраћајне полицајце који регулишу саобраћај на раскрсницама или поштујући такозвана правила десне стране представљају давно заборављене методе регулисања саобраћаја. Семафори су део електронских система којима се контролише саобраћај. Стога семафор може бити мета сајбер напада, а све у циљу стварања саобраћајних проблема, који резултирају загушењем великих градских улица, које могу бити погодан терен за вршење одређених терористичких аката, као и других кривичних дела. Стога се у овом раду семафор не сматра само уређајем за регулисање саобраћаја, већ и средством погодним за манипулацију и злостављање од стране криминалних и терористичких организација.*

**Кључне речи:** семафор, сигнализација, саобраћај, саботажа, тероризам.

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**A ONE VIEW ON WORK ETHIC  
AND POLICE INTERNAL CONTROL**

***Abstract***


*The paper deals with the analysis of the relationship between work ethic and police internal control. In the first part of the paper, we will give a brief overview of the concept work ethic in correlation with the characteristics of police profession and organization. The second part of the paper will include an analysis of the relationship between work ethic and internal control in police. The basic thesis is that the efficiency of work (police) ethics reduces the need for internal control. The aim of this paper is to point out that work ethic is conditioned by the application of rules and Code of Ethics. The author concludes that the internalization of ethical principles, as well as the perception of punishing illicit and unethical behavior, creates work and social environment in which ethics is not understood as pressure but as a duty of an individual, social group and organization.*

**Keywords:** *work ethic, police ethics, internal control, police profession, society.*

## WORK ETHIC AS AN ELEMENT OF POLICE PROFESSION

The term work ethic includes a set of principles that should be internalized by an individual in his professional activities, relation to the function and workplace he performs.<sup>1\*</sup> It is also an important prerequisite for establishing collegiality among employees, quality working relationships in the organization and preventing violations of duties. The term work ethic is also defined as a belief in work as a moral good, and set of values centered on the importance of doing work and reflected especially in a desire or determination to work hard.<sup>2</sup>

Work ethic should be a necessary precondition for social interactions within organization because it determines ways of communication and dealing with professional obligations and relation towards other coworkers. Low work ethic has a direct impact on work motivation and indirectly can lead to inefficiencies and reduce the benefits within organization.

One of the most influential writing on work ethic comes from the sociologist Max Weber.  He tried to explain why people pursue wealth and material gain for its own sake not because necessity, and found the answer partly in Puritan asceticism and the concept of 'calling'. Weber believed that the one of the factors that facilitated capitalism was the development of a moral system, which he called 'the Protestant Ethic'. Predestination and the notion of calling requires individuals to fulfill their duty in this world. By doing that the individual can interpret occupational success as a sign of being elected.

The internalization of work ethic is a form of socialization of an individual in work environment. Group solidarity based on the sharing common principles is a condition of adaptation and can give an individual a sense of personal value. The relation between personality and occupational choice is an open question

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<sup>2</sup> According to Merriam Webster Dictionary, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/work%20ethic>.


<sup>3</sup> Weber M. (2005). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Routledge (Firts published 1930 by Allen and Unwin).





given that the process of professionalization in the job can take a certain or longer period of time (education, length of service, etc).

Another feature of police action, it often encompasses tasks that implement low-visibility decisions, decisions that are very difficult to review, check and analyze, and accordingly determine and control police officers actions in different situations 

Symbolic and physical elements of police authority, such as uniform and weapon affects police officers' attitudes toward work ethic and awareness of their role in society and gives them power in social environment. Respecting and sharing the same values contributes to creating stronger ties among police officers and homogeneous them as a social group.

A personality of a police officer may arise from the characteristics of police work such as: danger, isolation and authority. Given the extent to which police officers share the experience of an unpleasant public attitude towards them, they depend more on each other. If they feel that their authority is declining, the importance of internal solidarity will increase. Banton explains the relatively greater isolation of police by highlighting that British police is characterized by isolation, proud, separation and impersonality. Man is the role he plays in society, and the example given through that role should be taken seriously 

Teamwork is another important characteristic of police profession that requires stronger coordination and cooperation among employees. A sense of mission is an element that gives police officers an impression that their work isn't a routine but their way of life. Skolnick's observations of a police 'working personality' based on 'danger and authority'  and Reiner's 'core characteristics' of policing  point to the existence of a strong sense of solidarity and in-group secrecy that can have strong impact on implementation of rules and ethics.

<sup>4</sup> Banton, M., *The Policeman in the Community*. New York Basic Books, Inc, 1964, pp. 127.


<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-63.

<sup>6</sup> Skolnick JH. *Justice Without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society*. New York: Wiley, 1966.

<sup>7</sup> Reiner R. *The Politics of the Police*, 4th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

## POLICE INTERNAL CONTROL – TERM AND PURPOSE

Legal restrictions on the police work is a very important aspect of police functioning. Control is a constitutive element of the Rule of law, which is why the attitude of the police towards the instruments of external and internal control is an important indicator of the attitude of the police as a social group towards the law and in the broader sense towards ethics. In a narrower sense, control is a special activity that involves constant monitoring of how much results have been achieved, comparing the results achieved with the goals set. In a broader sense, control involves monitoring and evaluation of the achieved result.

Internal control of the police is a form of self-control because the control is performed by the police themselves, in their ranks. One of the oldest forms is hierarchical control, which originates from traditional societies. Hierarchical control means controlling and supervising whether police tasks are performed in accordance with the rules. The work of the police and the Ministry of the Interior is regulated through legal norms on administrative control which are part of the general legal regime, but the work of the police is controlled and regulated through a special legal regime consisting of special police rules defined in the Law on Police, other police laws, regulations and internal acts. Within the special legal regime, there are also special norms on police control 

Hierarchical control of the administration is important form of internal control. One of the most important and common forms of administrative control is the control of the application of police power. It is primarily about the control of the use of coercive means and the internal control of the application of police authority that is official. The supervision is performed by a police officer in a higher rank on a hierarchical ladder immediately during the application of authority. This form of control is regulated by laws and internal acts and implies the submission of a written report on the application of police authority. A report is submitted on each use of coercive means –physical force, baton and means of restraint, use of firearms with certain data –day, time, place, data on the person against whom the means were used, reason and basis for the use of

<sup>8</sup> Jugović, S. *The Administrative Function of the Police*. Beograd: KPA, 2013, pp.153-161.

force. The immediate superior checks and controls every use of coercive means, and whether it was justified and in accordance with the regulations.

Police law formulates the department for internal control (internal affairs division), and the main goal of unit is to combat crime and corruption within police. The head of the department is responsible for the work and activities to the minister, to whom he regularly or periodically submits reports. The department is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior and the Minister prescribes the forms and manner of performing internal control. It acts in different ways on the basis of: proposals, complaints and petitions of persons, then on the occasion of written addresses of members of the police and on its own initiative on the basis of collected information etc.


One of the reasons for internal police control is checking police ethics in the use of police torture. According to authors, the analysis of the key reasons for the use of police torture “points to two different interests that can be met through torture: 1) organizational - information obtained in this way can contribute to clarifying a specific crime, while punishing’ suspects can strengthen police authority; 2) personal - more than any other act, torture gives an individual the opportunity to exercise power and to exercise personal justice’, but also to gain benefit, in the true sense of the word, by being rewarded for a successfully’ solved crime”<sup>9</sup>


In recent research on the Code of Ethics and police culture, especially characteristic the ‘blue code’ of silence, the respondents said that they had no problems working with a whistle-blower, but many didn’t trust the anonymous reporting system. Authors think that there have been some changes in attitudes of police officers towards the reporting of misdemeanors, corruption etc, but that confidence in the processes and the means to report such actions may be lacking. Some elements of the ‘blue code’ are still clear to see “and although both codes can clearly work in tandem, it is revealing to see some of the situations where the Code of Ethics and the ‘blue code’ of silence compete for prominence”<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Zekavica R., Kesić Z. “Police Torture as a Form of Human Rights Violation”. *Teme*, vol. XLIV, no. 3, 2020, p.1031.

<sup>10</sup> Westmarland L, Conway S. “Police Ethics and Integrity: Keeping the ‘blue code’ of silence”. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, Vol. 22(4), 2020, pp. 391.

## EDUCATION FOR PROFESSION AS A PART OF POLICE ETHICS

The police profession characteristics, especially danger and contact with criminals implies stronger referral of police officers to each other. They cooperate on a daily basis, and improve group solidarity through sharing the same value system. If the future police officer had a good education correlated with work ethic throughout a longer period of time he has a better possibility to improve working skills and develop 'policeman's working personality' 

Police officer's psychological profile includes a set of personality traits that are defined by the needs of the police job. One of the most important step in becoming a policeman is the selection process which qualifies the candidate for work. Some of the standards and rigorous requirements are: citizenship, adequate age, no record of felony offense, education and good moral character determined by a complete background-check investigation. Good moral character considers that candidates didn't have any unfavorable situation in their past to the requirement to drop friends with unsavory reputations. Candidates are carefully screened from kindergarten to their application and entrance in police department<sup>12</sup> 

Work ethic in more contemporary sense is attachment to work or work commitment. Attachment to work depends on the personal traits and the interpersonal relationships within the police organization. It is believed that people who share high values and work commitment, have a sense of mission, one of the trait correlate with police work that improves their effectiveness and productivity.

But structural differences based on position in hierarchy in police can shape social interactions between police officers of all ranks and lines of work and influence application of the Code of ethics. Also, in a strictly hierarchical organization, obstacles for application of work ethics can be find in bureaucratic and rigid rules focused only on established procedures that prevent police of-

<sup>11</sup> Skolnick, J. : *Justice without Trial : Law Enforcement in Democratic Society*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.,1966, pp. 47-48.

<sup>12</sup> Niederhoffer, A.: *Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society*. New York: Anchor Books. Doubleday&Company, Inc., 1967, pp. 35-47.

fficers from being more efficient in their work. The pressure on police officers to make results in their tasks and duties sometimes can prevent in application of all principles.

Group solidarity is a product of police profession and need of police officers to rely on each other. Because of their solidarity police officers are often inclined to cover up the mistakes of their colleagues. Most often, collegial solidarity is seen through adherence to the informal code of conduct in the structures under which police officers are required to protect one another from internal and external control mechanisms. On the other hand considering the authority and power that members of law enforcement have, such as the ability to enter a private space of citizens, use force, investigate private information, they have higher responsibility to do the work in professional and ethical manner.

## CONCLUSION

Ethical principles are necessary asset to skip obstacles such as the inadequate attitude of employees towards work and their obligations and duties. Then, it is important to motivate the employees to adjust their attitudes and behavior to code of ethics as an important part of organizational rules which aim is to improve work and organizational flexibility. An ethical working environment forms a belief among workers that everyone internally accepts ethical principles, justice, fair decision-making and respect. To interiorize work ethic is to acknowledge the principles and skills in a routine work, but it also depends on the social milieu, culture, and values that prevail in a society. A concept work ethic is twofold, to enable an individual to adapt to the job and to provide a work environment in which the organization goals will be successfully achieved. Internalization of social values and ethical principles, as well as the perception of punishing illicit and unethical behavior, creates a working and social environment in which ethic is not understood as pressure but as a duty of an individual, social group and organization. To understand the police profession within social context is to have an insight that police members face greater and more serious professional challenges in order to affirm ethical principles.

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**JEDAN POGLED NA RADNU ETIKU I UNUTRAŠNJU  
KONTROLU POLICIJE**

*Apstrakt*

*U članku se razmatraju radna etika i unutrašnja kontrola policije. U prvom delu rada daćemo kratak pregled koncepta radna etika i obeležja policijske profesije i organizacije. Drugi deo rada obuhvatiće analizu odnosa između radne etike i unutrašnje kontrole u policiji. Osnovna teza je da efikasnost radne (policijske) etike smanjuje potrebu za unutrašnjom kontrolom. Cilj ovog rada je da ukaže na to da je radna etika uslovljena primenom pravila i etičkog kodeksa. Autor zaključuje da internalizacija društvenih vrednosti i etičkih principa, kao i percepcija kažnjavanja nedozvoljenog i neetičnog ponašanja, stvara radno i društveno okruženje u kome se etika ne shvata kao pritisak već kao dužnost pojedinca, društvene grupe i organizacije.*

**Ključne reči:** *radna etika, policijska etika, unutrašnja kontrola, policijska profesija, društvo.*