

PRAVNI ASPEKTI MEĐUNARODNIH ODNOSA

Žikica Bardžić²⁹, Živanka Miladinović Bogavac³⁰, Nedeljko Prdić³¹, Stevo Škrbić³²

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Apstrakt

Ako opis da demokratije ne ratuju između sebe uzmemo kao relevantan, onda možemo predvideti na primer, da će demokratska Amerika biti manje neprijateljski raspoložena prema Rusiji i drugim demokratijama nego što je to bio Sovjetski Savez u vreme komunističkog sistema, kao i što će demokratska Rusija pod istim uslovima isto biti neprijateljski raspoložena prema demokratskoj Americi.

Međunarodna politika nije kao laboratorijska nauka. Kontrolisani eksperimenti ne postoje zbog toga što je nemoguće držati druge stvari konstantnim gledajući na jednu stvar koja se menja. Aristotel je rekao da neko može biti precizan u nekoj nauci onoliko koliko mu to predmet (nauke) dopušta.

Savremeni svet se nalazi između paradigme globalne zajednice i paradigme globalnog meteža. Savremeni međunarodni odnosi se nalaze između državnocentrističke i transnacionalne vizije budućnosti. Savremeni svet je pak između sve veće međuzavisnosti i sve veće konfliktnosti.

Ključne reči: pravni sistemi, međunarodni odnosi, evropska unija.

JEL: F52, F59.

Uvod

Teorija je organizovano i metodično nastojanje da se racionalno-iskustvenim putem dođe do objektivnog, pouzdanog i sistematskog saznanja o objektivnoj stvarnosti. Može se reći da je teorija sistem naučno potvrđenih saznanja o predmetu istraživanja. Teorija je neka vrsta sredstava za pojednostavljivanje koje

²⁹ Docent Žikica Bardžić, Visoka škola za menadžment i ekonomiju Kragujevac, R. Srbija, e-mail: bardzicz@mail.ru

³⁰ Vanredni profesor, dr Živanka Miladinović Bogavac, Univerzitet MB, Teodora Drajzera 27, Beograd, Srbija, email: zivankamiladinovic@gmail.com

³¹ Vanredni profesor dr Nedeljko Prdić, JKP "Tržnica" Novi Sad, R. Srbija, email: ekonomistdoo@sbb.rs

³² Dr Stevo Škrbić, profesor strukovnih studija, Visoka škola strukovnih studija Biznis, Niš, Obrenovićeve 23, R. Srbija, e-mail: s.skrbic@vsb.edu.rs

vam dopušta da odlučite koje su činjenice bitne a koje ne. Teorija odslikava organizaciju područja i veze između njegovih delova. Stvarnost je kompleksna - teorija je jednostavna. Pojednostavljivanja - teorije uvode suštinske elemente u igru i pokazuju odnose uzroka i međuzavisnosti, ili sugerišu gde oni da se traže. Teorije obezbeđuju(Sundgren & Svanström, 2017):

- opis međunarodne stvarnosti,
- tumačenje međunarodnih događaja,
- predviđanje događaja u toj stvarnosti,
- kreiranje praktičnih predloga za ponašanje u međunarodnim odnosima.

Teorije su generalizacije o politici. Stoga, ono što je za politikologe bitno jeste razumevanje obrazaca koji se pojavljuju kroz vreme, ili na više mesta u isto vreme. Teorije su su srcu političkih nauka. Teorija to je skup hipoteza koje postavljaju kao uslov odnose između varijabli ili uslova, razvijenih da opišu, objasne, ili predvide fenomene i daju recepte o tome kako pozitivne promene treba da budu isplanirane da se ostvare određeni etički principi. Najjednostavnije, teorije su refleksivno mišljenje...(Terzić, 2021) Mi se angažujemo u teoretisanju kada mislimo sa distance i apstraktno o nečemu.

Teorija je neka vrsta sredstva za pojednostavljivanje koje vam dopušta da odlučite koje su činjenice bitne a koje ne. Dobra analogija je sa naočarima za sunce sa sočivima različite boje: stavite par crvenih i svet izgleda crven, stavite par žutih i on izgleda žut(Majstorović, 2021).

Teorije su suštinski važna sredstva koja koristimo da bismo organizovali činjenice.

Ja definišem teoriju kao sliku, mentalno formiranu, o ograničenom području ili domenu aktivnosti. Teorija oslikava organizaciju područja i veze između njegovih delova. Neograničeni materijali bilo kog područja mogu biti organizovani na bezbroj načina. Stvarnost je kompleksna; teorija je jednostavna. Putem pojednostavljivanja, teorije uvode suštinske elemente u igru i pokazuju odnose uzroka i međuzavisnosti- ili sugerišu gde oni da se traže.

Najopštije rečeno, baveći se teorijom, stručnjaci za međunarodne odnose imaju tri pomoćna cilja u mislima: Opis (description) međunarodne stvarnosti, Predviđanje (prediction) događaja u toj stvarnosti i Prepis recepta (prescription) subjektima međunarodnih odnosa za ponašanje u međusobnim odnosima(Cain & McKeon, 2016).

Najstariji i najfundamentalniji od ova tri cilja. Složenost događaja i velika količina informacija primoravaju politikologe da se usredsrede na obrazce (kada politikolozi proučavaju pojedinačni događaj (studija slučaja) ili, još bolje, serije događaja kroz prostor i vreme, cilj nije samo da se opišu događaj (i), već umesto toga da se oni dovedu u vezu sa nekim obrascima drugih događaja). Varga & Ujvári, 2023)

Primer: Hipoteza “Demokratije ne ratuju između sebe”(Vukša et al., 2020)

Temeljna hipoteza teorije demokratskog mira. Ova hipoteza je nekakav opis obrazca koji postoji u odnosima između demokratskih država (isto).

Predviđanje je čak teže od opisivanja zbog složenosti ljudske prirode, ipak, neke prognoze se moraju dati, ako ne u obliku eksplicitnih prognoza, onda se bar pokušavaju dati određene tendencije koje događaji u međunarodnim odnosima mogu imati (isto). Recepti su treći cilj. Neki teoretičari međunarodnih odnosa idu iznad objektivnih studija i dolaze do normativnih (šta je pogrešno a šta ne) zaključaka i propisuju (prescribe) politiku(Ivanova & Ristić, 2020).

Primer: Ti koji veruju da demokratije nisu (opis) i neće biti (predviđanje) agresivne jedna prema drugoj, mogu da propišu politiku koja unapređuje prihvatanje ili očuvanje demokratije. Dakle, ako Rusija ostane demokratska država, ona će biti miroljubivija u odnosima sa drugim državama nego što bi to bila recimo u slučaju autoritarne vlasti.

Specifičnosti, dometi i ograničenja teorija međunarodnih odnosa

Nama su potrebne teorije da damo smisao kiši informacija koja nas svakodnevno bombarduje. U međunarodnim odnosima ne možemo računati na konsenzus i odsustvo suprotstavljenih viđenja sveta. Ideje i koncepti koji se pojavljuju u međunarodnim odnosima po svojoj prirodi su nešto oko čega se ljudi spore, jer imaju političke posledice. Da bismo bili uspešni teoretičari međunarodnih odnosa moramo se odupreti tendenciji da definišemo uspehe u terminima jednostavnih modela; umesto toga, moramo biti pripremljeni da živimo sa sasvim visokim nivoom dvosmislenosti.

Teorije nisu stvar izbora... Jedini način na koji možete odlučiti koje od miliona mogućih činjenica treba da tražite jeste da se priklonite nekom sredstvu za pojednostavljivanje koje vam govori šta je najbitnije. Mi mislimo o teoriji kao o takvom sredstvu za pojednostavljivanje Vi takođe ne morate biti svesni vaše teorije, to može jednostavno biti viđenje sveta koje ste vi nasledili od vaše porodice, vaših vršnjaka ili od medija.

Ne pokušavajte da budete suviše precizni, ako će preciznost biti lažna. U međunarodnoj politici, postoji tako mnogo varijabli, tako mnogo promena se pojavljuje u isto vreme da su događaji previše determinisani (overdetermined) - postoji previše uzroka.

Niko ne može da razume svet u kome živimo, ne možemo doneti inteligentne odluke bez teorija... Teorije ne objašnjavaju svako pitanje u svetskoj politici... Teorije nisu determinišuće... Ukratko, ofanzivni realizam je kao moćni snop svetlosti u mračnoj sobi: ali čak ni on ne može da osvetli svaki kutak... To je cena koja je plaćena za simplifikaciju stvarnosti.

Podele teorija međunarodnih odnosa

Međunarodni odnosi: jedan svet, mnogo teorija. Nijedan pojedinačni pristup ne može “uhvatiti” svu složenost svetske politike. Međunarodni odnosi najbolje se mogu razumeti kao dugotrajno nadmetanje između realista, liberala i konstruktivista gde (Ginzky et al., 2018.):

- I. Realizam naglašava stalnu mogućnost konflikta između država;
- II. Liberalizam određuje nekoliko načina da se ublaže tendencije koje vode ka sukobima;
- III. Zagovornici konstruktivizma opisuju kako celokupni sistemi državnih odnosa mogu da se transformišu.

Postoje:

- Eksplanatorne teorije (one objašnjavaju zašto i pod kojim uslovima se recimo dešavaju ratovi),
- Normativne ili preskriptivne teorije (govore nam kakav naš stav recimo prema ratu treba da bude),
- Interpretativne (koje nam interpretiraju, recimo ratove).

“Studije Međunarodnih poslova se najbolje mogu razumeti kao jedno otegnuto takmičenje između realističke, liberalne i radikalne tradicije.

Realizam ističe trajnu sklonost ka sukobu u odnosima između država; liberalizam iznalazi nekoliko načina da se ublaže ove tendencije ka konfliktima; i radikalna tradicija opisuje kako čitav sistem odnosa između država može biti preoblikovan.”(Cepec & Grajzl, 2020)

Zbirna mapa teorije međunarodnih odnosa na kraju milenijuma sadrži tri grupe teorija:

- Racionalističke teorije (realizam, liberalizam, marksizam, neorelaizam, neoliberalizam),
- Socijalni konstruktivizam,
- Reflektivističke teorije (post- modernizam, feministička teorija, normativna teorija, kritička teorija, istorijska sociologija).

Za realizam se može reći da je baziran na pretpostavci da je svetska politika u suštini nepomirljiva borba među državama od kojih svaka gleda sopstveni interes za premoć i položaj u uslovima anarhije, pri čemu svaka od konkurentskih država teži za ostvarenjem sopstvenih nacionalnih interesa.

Moderni realizam je bila dominantna teorija tokom Hladnog rata. Najistaknutiji predstavnici su bili Edvard Kar, Džordž Kenan, Hans Morgentau, Rajnhold Nibur, Kenet Tompson, Rejmon Aron...

Karakteristični stavovi nekih od najistaknutijih modernih realista: Hans Morgentau u svom delu *Politika između nacija* definiše “objektivne zakone” u političkim naukama i kaže (Bertrand & Klein, 2021):

- Svi akteri teže da maksimiziraju svoju moć,
- Politika se ocenjuje prema svom uticaju na moć, a ne na moralne standarde,
- Međunarodna arena je anarhična,
- Države su primarni akteri čije ofanzivne vojne sposobnosti predstavljaju potencijalno opasnost za druge.
- Države nikada ne mogu da budu sigurne u namere druge države,
- Osnovni motiv koji vodi države jeste opstanak i očuvanje suvereniteta,
- Ideja interesa je stvarno bit politike i nije podložna uslovima vremena i mesta,
- Vestfalski sistem - suverenitet države najviše načelo u međunarodnim odnosima.

Drugi i veoma važan predstavnik je Džordž Kenan. On kaže:

...američka politika često nije vodila dovoljno računa o ulozi sile i nacionalnih interesa u međunarodnim odnosima, što je bila greška, jer se spoljna politika nikada ne sme zasnivati na legalističkom idealizmu koji poklanja suviše poverenja pravnim i moralnim principima...

Ovakav stav postavlja suštinsko pitanje - Da li ovome treba dodati nešto ili je to slika višedecenijske spoljne politike SAD?

Teoretičar Kenet Volc predstavlja defanzivni neorealizam i sa svojim delom Teorija međunarodne politike može se smatrati osnivačem neorealizma. On u delu definiše sledeće (Pinter et al., 2021):

- Anarhija podrazumeva da svaka država može da bude napadnuta u svakom trenutku;
- Bezbednost (opstanak države) je uvek izložena riziku;
- Zbog toga, države moraju da se staraju o svojoj bezbednosti;
- “Samopomoć” je najbolji način;
- Savezništvo manje povoljno rešenje.

Drugi istaknuti teoretičar je Džon Miršajmer predstavlja ofanzivni neorealizam i u svom delu Tragedija politika velikih sila definiše sledeće postulate (Jestrović & Jovanović, 2022):

- Utopizam liberalnih teorija;
- Ideja o kraju istorije je površna i nerealna;
- Ponašanje u međunarodnim odnosima je nepromenljivo tokom istorije
- Nužnost rivaliteta;
- Neotklonjivost konflikata i sukoba;

Ovde treba obratiti pažnju na teoretičara Roberta Džervisa koji se u svome teorijskom radu najviše bavio bezbednosnim režimima, upravo kao jednom od formi globalne strukture moći uvedeno od strane neorealista.

U odnosu na postojeće sadržaje modernog realizma, neorealizam je proširen globalnom strukturom moći.

Globalna struktura moći nastaje iz uzajamnog dejstava država, a zatim ih ograničava u preduzimanju određenih koraka, dok ih na druge podstiče.

Kod neorealista, moć kao sredstvo za preživljavanje, i dalje je aktuelna. U tom kontekstu postoje unutrašnji naponi obezbeđenja moći (jačanje ekonomske sposobnosti, jačanje vojne sposobnosti, razvoj strategija) i spoljni naponi (jačanje i proširivanje svog saveza ili slabljenja i sužavanja protivničkog).

Neorealizam donosi bezbednosnu dilemu, tako što kaže (Ghosh & Tang, 2015):

- Zbog toga što je napad uvek moguć, države moraju da izgrađuju odbrambene sposobnosti;
- Najveći broj odbrambenih sposobnosti ojačava i ofanzivne sposobnosti;
- Rivali mogu da pogrešno zaključe odbrambene mere kao ofanzivne namere;
- Rivali odgovaraju izgradnjom sopstvene odbrane;
- Države onda smatraju da ih rivali ugrožavaju pa to može da dovede do eskalacije (rata).

Osnovni stav liberalizma je: čovek - dominacija socijalnih aspekata - solidarnost i saradnja. Oni stalno ističu: SLOBODA, JEDNAKOST, LJUDSKA PRAVA!?!?!? – DA LI JE TO STVARNO? (Galjak, 2022)

Najistaknutiji predstavnici su: Džon Lok, Žan-Žak Ruso, Imanuel Kant i Adam Smit. U pogledu pojedinca, predstavnici liberalizma smatraju da im treba obezbediti jednakost, dostojanstvo, slobodu, kao i zaštitu od preterane državne regulative. Što se tiče kolektivne i multilateralne akcije – liberalizam politiku na međunarodnom nivou ne definiše kao borbu za moć i prestiž, već pre kao borbu za saglasnost.

Kolektivna bezbednost – Društvo naroda i Ujedinjene nacije. Zajednica bezbednosti – uloga KEBS u tom procesu. Žan Žak Ruso predstavlja jednog od osnivača liberalizma. On kaže (Ha & Riffe, 2015):

- Čovek je po prirodi dobar,
- Prirodno stanje ljudi je stanje saradnje i solidarnosti,
- Civilizacija narušava stanje prirodne dobrote,
- Idealne države i mir.

Immanuel Kant kao još jedan od istaknutih predstavnika ovog pravca u delima Kritika čistog uma i Kritika paraktičnog uma... Ka večnom miru precizira Etiku

dužnosti kroz pravilo - Postupaj tako da čovečanstvo u tvojoj ličnosti, i u ličnosti svakog drugog, uvek upotrebljavaš kao cilj, a nikada kao sredstvo.

Ističe značaj moralnog upravljanja, javne obaveze i poštovanja zakona za društveni život. Posebno kaže da je Svetska federacija put ka trajnom svetskom miru.

Liberali kažu da primena razuma i univerzalnog morala na međunarodne odnose može dovesti do sređenijeg, pravednijeg i kooperativnijeg sveta. Međunarodna anarhija i rat mogu se držati pod kontrolom putem institucionalnih reformi koje daju ovlašćenja međunarodnim zakonima i organizacijama.

Liberalizam karakterišu(Kaup, 2018):

- Optimistička percepcija međunarodne politike,
- značaj unutrašnje politike i međunarodnog mira,
- stav da je liberalna demokratija ključ za prevladavanje međunarodne nebezbednosti,
- unutrašnja politika ključ za prevladavanje međunarodne anarhije,
- međunarodna anarhija je posledica unutrašnjeg ustrojstva država,
- država nije jedini akter međunarodnih odnosa, već i brojni unutrašnji akteri, organizacije.

Najistaknutiji predstavnici su: Robert Keohan, Džozef Naj, Emanuel Adler, Majkl Barnet, Frensis Fukujama. Neoliberalizam je nastao u poslednjoj deceniji HH veka usled činjenice da neorealizam i neoklasični realizam nisu bili u mogućnosti da:

- I. Predvide miran kraj Hladnoga rata i opštu međunarodnu društvenu promenu i
- II. Daju odgovarajući putokaz međunarodnoj politici u budućnosti.

Po zastupnicima i sledbenicima ove teorije to je: Teorija koja objašnjava način na koji međunarodne institucije unapređuju globalne promene, saradnju, mir i prosperitet kroz kolektivne programe za reforme. Po neliberalizmu, realističko promatranje međunarodnih odnosa nije bilo u mogućnosti da odgovori na nove izazove bezbednosti, poput problema globalnog zagrevanja, pogoršanja ekoloških uslova, međuzavisnosti i globalizacije.

Sadržaji neoliberalizma(Kallunki et al., 2018):

- Složenu međuzavisnost neoliberalisti posmatraju kao veliki broj složenih veza među različitim subjektima međunarodnih odnosa koji dovode do njihove ranjivosti na postupke drugih i osetljivosti na potrebe drugih;
- Međunarodni režim predstavljaju kao korist od podrške učesnika određenim pravilima koja regulišu određenu međunarodnu aktivnost (na primer globalna trgovinska i monetarna pravila).

Teorija institucionalizma kaže sledeće:

- Međuzavisnost i međunarodni režimi delotvorno prigušuju posledice anarhije međunarodnih odnosa - anarhija se ne otklanja ali se civilizuje;
- mir i saradnja su mogući i bez hegemonije;
- institucionalizam - međunarodni odnosi su sve više determinisani međuzavisnošću;
- države ne mogu da više u potpunosti da ispune svoje temeljne funkcije bez saradnje sa drugima;
- vera u međunarodne režime i njihovu sposobnost da jačaju međuzavisnost i time osnovu za mir i međunarodnu saradnju.

Transnacionalizam kaže:

- Nada u nevladine aktere, civilno društvo, privatni i civilni akteri,
- transnacionalizam čini radikalniji otklon prema državocentričnom pristupu međunarodnim odnosima;

Utemeljivači su Karel Dojč kroz delo „Political Community and the North Atlantic Area“, i Džems Rozenau kroz delo „Turbulence in World Politics“. (Klincov et al., 2022)

U svom delu K. Dojč – ističe značaj bezbednosne zajednice, razumevanje, poverenje, transparentnost, spremnost za saradnju...

Najnovija teorija međunarodnih odnosa fokusirana na moć zajedničkih ideja je Konstruktivizam - ideja zajednice. Najistaknutiji predstavnici su: Nikolas Onuf i Aleksandar Vend. Ova najnovija teorija ima sledeća obeležja:

- Značaj ideja i kulture;
- konceptualizacija međunarodnih odnosa;
- postojanje socijalne strukture, a ne globalne strukture moći.

Vend svojim delom Društvena teorija međunarodne politike iz 1999. godine daje značaj socijalnoj strukturi prilikom analiza međunarodnih odnosa, a ne globalnoj strukturi moći kao što to čini Volc u njegovom delu Teorija međunarodne politike. Međutim, Vend prihvata neke od ključnih pretpostavki realista, poput (Avakumović et al., 2021):

- Države su ključni akteri u pručavanju međunarodne bezbednosti;
- međunarodna politika je anarhična;
- države poseduju neke ofanzivne vojne kapacitete;
- države ne mogu nikada u potpunosti biti sigurne u namere druge strane;
- države žele pre svega opstanak;
- države teže da se ponašaju racionalno (kost-benefit analiza);
- veruju da su interesi država konstruisani strukturom međunarodnog sistema.

Veliku pažnju poklanjaju normama, pa kažu:

- Ponašanje aktera je vođeno normama;

- norme su standardi ponašanja koje definišu identitet aktera;
- regulativne norme su primereni standardi ponašanja za aktera sa datim identitetom.

Oblici odnosa u međunarodnoj zajednici

Današnji međunarodni odnosi i neki od aktuelnih pojmova i podrazumevanja u pojmovnom zapadnih demo(no)kratskih krugova ističu kao najvažnije ostvarivanje (Mihajlović et al., 2022):

A. Ravnoteža snaga

- Verovanje da je to najbolji način očuvanja mira i stabilnosti,
- moć jedne države se može obuzdati samo uz pomoć moći druge države,
- moć mora da bude izjednačena ili ravnomerna distribucija moći.

B. Kolektivna bezbednost

- Sistem zaštite univerzalnih i zajedničkih vrednosti,
- zaštita suvereniteta i teritorijalnog integriteta država članica,
- eliminisanje rata kao sredstva u međunarodnim odnosima,
- Liga naroda, OUN.

V. Svetska vlada

- Jedinstvena svetska država,,
- Svetska federacija.

Odnos Međunarodne politike i bezbednosti se pojavljuje kao značajno pitanje za bezbednost. Nema večitih prijatelja niti večitih neprijatelja, Večiti su samo interesi.

Međunarodni odnosi u sebi obuhvataju sveukupnost ekonomskih, političkih ideoloških, pravnih, diplomatskih, vojnih veza i odnosa među narodima, državama i sistemima država i organizacijama koje deluju na međunarodnom planu. Postoji četiri nivoa međunarodnih odnosa, aktivnosti i subjekata u njima(Yang & Ho, 2019):

- Spoljno okruženje – domaće i međunarodne okolnosti i uslovi koji utiču na blagostanje države;
- nacionalni interesi su željeno krajnje stanje odnosno ishod zasnovan na vrednostima i stratejskoj analizi;
- nacionalna strategija bezbednosti predstavlja politički, ekonomski, vojni i informativni element moći;
- nacionalna vojna strategija to je vojni element moći.

Kod međunarodnih odnosa predmet aktivnosti mogu biti: Priroda i elementi moći država, priroda i elementi drugih aktera u međunarodnim odnosima, modeli

međunarodnih odnosa, sistem odlučivanja u spoljnoj politici i činioci međunarodnim odnosima.

Struktura međunarodnih organizacija može biti regulisana na najrazličitije načine, ali najčešće se sastoji, odnosno osnovni elementi su: Plenarni organ koji usmerava delovanje organizacije, izvršni organ koji operativno vodi organizaciju i administrativni organ koji pruža tehničko - administrativnu podršku.

Najpoznatije Međunarodne organizacije stvorene na osnovu dogovora i saglasnosti međunarodnih faktora i nacionalnih subjekata su:

- Organizacija ujedinjenih nacija
- Evropska unija
- ŠOS
- ODKB
- NATO
- Međunarodni monetarni fond
- Svetska banka
- AIB
- Svetska trgovinska organizacija
- Banka za obračun Bazel (uslovno jer se ne zna izvor finansiranja i osnivači)...

Zaključak

Osnovna karakteristika međunarodnih odnosa je da činioci međunarodnih odnosa žele da postignu određene ciljeve. Ti ciljevi kao ciljevi međunarodnih odnosa su: Moć, nacionalna bezbednost, autonomija u međunarodnim odnosima, zaštita nacionalnih interesa u najširem smislu. **Dva osnovna postulata međunarodnih odnosa glase:** moć to je konstanta međunarodnih odnosa kroz istoriju i jaki čine ono što mogu, a slabi prihvataju ono što moraju. Kao što je gore rečeno u ovim oblastima ne postoji jedno mišljenje, stav ili karakteristika. Svako ko se jednom bavio oblastima društvenih nauka, a koje se posebno bave problematikom odnosa između ljudi, naroda, društava zna u kakav „osinjak“ je ušao. Svako ima svoj pogled, nekome se ne sviđa ovo, drugima ne. Nažalost nije to euklidska matematika gde je $2 + 2 = 4$, to su društvene nauke. Kada se tome dodaju želje, mišljenja i stavovi onih koji plove na talasima „talasokratije“ i onih koji lete na krilima „telurokratije“ tek tu šuma postaje prašuma.

Kako bi Žan pol Sartr u delu „*Mučnina*“, rekao kako jedan istoričar pokušava da napiše priču o nekom avanturisti iz 18. veka. Istoričar se godinama muči, sakuplja građu, ali mu je njegov junak svejedno sve dalji. Jednog trenutka mu sine šta je problem – fali mu tačka posmatranja! Fali mu određena moralna i politička perspektiva kojom će proceniti svog junaka. Ali, zaključuje, postoje samo perspektive ne i tačka posmatranja. Tako i u pogledima na isti događaj, pojavu ili

stanje postoje samo perspektivni pogledi. Sve tačke posmatranja su prividne i zavise od perspektive koja se koristi ili uzima kao referentna u određenom vremenskom trenutku od određenih ličnosti.

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LEGAL ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Žikica Bardžić³³, Živanka Miladinović Bogavac³⁴, Nedeljko Prdić³⁵, Stevo Škrbić³⁶

Abstract

If description democracy not they are at war between yourself we take like relevant, then we can predict for example, will democratic America to be less hostile in a good mood according to Russia and others democracies rather a table it was Soviet Alliance in time communist system, as and a table will democratic Russia under the same conditions the same to be hostile in a good mood according to democratic America.

International politics is not like laboratory science. Controlled experiments do not exist because it is impossible to hold other things constant by looking at one thing that changes. Aristotle said that one can be as precise in a science as the subject (science) allows.

The modern world is situated between the paradigm of global community and the paradigm of global turmoil. Contemporary international relations lie between state-centric and transnational visions of the future. The modern world, on the other hand, is between increasing interdependence and increasing conflict.

Keywords: legal systems, international relations, European Union.

JEL: F52, F59.

Introduction

Theory is an organized and methodical effort to arrive at objective, reliable and systematic knowledge of objective reality through rational-experiential means. It can be said that theory is a system of scientifically confirmed knowledge about the subject of research. A theory is a kind of simplifying device that lets you decide which facts matter and which don't. The theory reflects the organization of the area and the connections between its parts. Reality is complex - theory is simple. Simplifications - theories bring essential elements into play and show

³³ Assistant professor Žikica Bardžić, School of management and economy, Kragujevac, R. Serbia, e-mail: bardzicz@mail.ru

³⁴ Associate professor Živanka Miladinović Bogavac, Ph.D., Univerzitet MB, Teodora Drajzera 27, Beograd, Serbia, email: zivankamiladinovic@gmail.com

³⁵ Associate professor Nedeljko Prdić, Ph.D., JKP " Tržnica " Novi Sad, R. Serbia, email: ekonomistdoo@sbb.rs

³⁶ Professor vocational study Stevo Škrbić, Ph.D., School of vocational studies Business, Niš, Obrenovićeveva 23, R. Serbia, e - mail: s.skrbic@vsb.edu.rs

relationships of cause and interdependence, or suggest where to look for them. Theories provide (Sundgren & Svanström, 2017):

- Description of international reality,
- interpretation of international events,
- predicting events in that reality,
- creation of practical proposals for behavior in international relations.

Theories are generalizations about politics. Therefore, what is important for political scientists is understanding the patterns that emerge over time, or in multiple places at the same time. Theories are the heart of political science. A theory is a set of hypotheses that postulate relationships between variables or conditions, developed to describe, explain, or predict phenomena and provide prescriptions for how positive changes should be planned to achieve certain ethical principles. In the simplest terms, theories are reflective thinking... (Terzić, 2021) We engage in theorizing when we think about something from a distance and abstractly.

A theory is a kind of simplifying device that lets you decide which facts matter and which don't. A good analogy is with sunglasses with different colored lenses: put on a pair of red ones and the world looks red, put on a pair of yellow ones and it looks yellow (Majstorović, 2021).

Theories are fundamentally important tools we use to organize facts.

I define a theory as a picture, mentally formed, of a limited area or domain of activity. The theory describes the organization of the area and the connections between its parts. The unlimited materials of any area can be organized in countless ways. Reality is complex; the theory is simple. Through simplification, theories bring essential elements into play and show causal relationships and interdependencies—or suggest where to look for them.

Generally speaking, when dealing with theory, international relations experts have three auxiliary goals in mind: Description of international reality, Prediction of events in that reality, and Prescription to subjects of international relations for behavior in mutual relations (Cain & McKeon, 2016).

The oldest and most fundamental of these three goals. The complexity of events and the large amount of information forces political scientists to focus on patterns (when political scientists study a single event (case study) or, better yet, a series of events across space and time, the goal is not simply to describe the event(s), but instead to if they are brought into connection with some patterns of other events). Varga & Ujvári, 2023)

Example: Hypothesis "Democracies do not fight among themselves" (Vukša et al., 2020)

The fundamental hypothesis of the theory of democratic peace. This hypothesis is a kind of description of the pattern that exists in relations between democratic states (same).

Prediction is even more difficult than description due to the complexity of human nature, nevertheless, some forecasts must be given, if not in the form of explicit forecasts, then at least an attempt is made to give certain tendencies that events in international relations may have (same). Recipes are the third objective. Some theorists of international relations go beyond objective studies and come to normative (what is wrong and what is not) conclusions and prescribe policy (Ivanova & Ristić, 2020).

Example: Those who believe that democracies are not (description) and will not be (prediction) aggressive toward each other may prescribe policies that promote the acceptance or preservation of democracy. Therefore, if Russia remains a democratic country, it will be more peaceful in its relations with other countries than it would be, say, in the case of an authoritarian government.

Specificities, scope and limitations of theories of international relations

We need theories to make sense of the rain of information that bombards us every day. In international relations, we cannot count on consensus and the absence of conflicting views of the world. Ideas and concepts that appear in international relations are by their very nature something that people argue about, because they have political consequences. To be successful theorists of international relations we must resist the tendency to define success in terms of simple models; instead, we must be prepared to live with a very high level of ambiguity.

Theories are not a matter of choice... The only way you can decide which of the millions of possible facts you should look for is to adhere to some means of simplification that tells you what is most important. We think of theory as such a means of simplification. You also don't have to be aware of your theory, it may simply be a worldview you've inherited from your family, your peers, or the media.

Don't try to be too precise, if the precision will be false. In international politics, there are so many variables, so many changes occurring at the same time that events are overdetermined - there are too many causes.

No one can understand the world we live in, we cannot make intelligent decisions without theories... Theories do not explain every issue in world politics... Theories are not determinative... In short, offensive realism is like a powerful beam of light in a dark room: but even he cannot illuminate every corner... That is the price paid for simplifying reality.

Division of theories of international relations

International Relations: One World, Many Theories. No single approach can "capture" all the complexity of world politics. International relations can best be understood as a long-term competition between realists, liberals and constructivists where (Ginzky et al., 2018):

- I. Realism emphasizes the constant possibility of conflict between states;
- II. Liberalism prescribes several ways to mitigate the tendencies that lead to conflicts;
- III. Proponents of constructivism describe how entire systems of state relations can be transformed.

Since:

- Explanatory theories (they explain why and under which conditions, for example are happening wars),
- Normative or prescriptive theories (speak us what kind of our attitude let's say according to war should be),
- Interpretive (which interpret for us, for example, wars).

Studies International jobs se the best I can to understand like one drawn out competition between realistic, liberal and radical traditions.

Realism highlights permanent inclination ka conflict in relationships between country; liberalism invents a few Find on se mitigates these tendencies ka conflicts; and radical tradition describes how whole the system relationship between country can to be reshaped."(Cepec & Griesl, 2020)

The summary map of international relations theory at the end of the millennium contains three groups of theories:

- Rationalist theories (realism, liberalism, Marxism, neorealism, neoliberalism),
- Social constructivism,
- Reflective theories (post- modernism, feminist theory, normative theory, critical theory, historical sociology).

Realism can be said to be based on the assumption that world politics is essentially an irreconcilable struggle between states, each of which looks to its own interest for supremacy and position in conditions of anarchy, with each of the competing states striving to realize their own national interests.

Modern realism was the dominant theory during the Cold War. The most prominent representatives were Edward Carr, George Kennan, Hans Morgenthau, Reinhold Niebuhr, Kenneth Thompson, Raymond Aaron...

Characteristic views of some of the most prominent modern realists: Hans Morgenthau in his work *Politics between Nations* defines "objective laws" in political science and says (Bertrand & Klein, 2021):

- All actors seek to maximize their power,
- Politics is judged by its influence on power, not on moral standards,
- The international arena is anarchic,
- States are primary actors whose offensive military abilities represent potentially danger for others.
- States can never be sure of the intentions of another state,
- The basic motive that guides states is the survival and preservation of sovereignty,
- The idea of interest is really the essence of politics and is not subject to the conditions of time and place,
- The Westphalian system - state sovereignty is the highest principle in international relations.

The second and very much important representative is George Kenan. He says:

...American policy often did not take enough account of the role of force and national interests in international relations, which was a mistake, because foreign policy must never be based on legalistic idealism that places too much trust in legal and moral principles...

This attitude raises an essential question - Should something be added to this or is it a picture of decades of US foreign policy?

Theorist Kenneth Waltz represents defensive neorealism and with his work *The Theory of International Politics* can be considered the founder of neorealism. In part, he defines the following (Pinter et al., 2021):

- Anarchy implies that any state can be attacked at any moment;
- Security (survival of the state) is always at risk;
- Therefore, states must take care of their security;
- " Self-help " is the best the way;
- Alliance less favorably the solution.

The second stand out theorist is John Mearsheimer represents offensive neorealism and in his own part *A tragedy politics big ones force* defines the following postulates (Jestrović & Jovanović, 2022):

- Utopianism liberal theory;
- The idea of the end of history is superficial and unrealistic;
- Behavior in international relations is unchanging throughout history
- Necessity rivalry;
- Inevitability conflicts and conflict;

Here should refer attention on the theorist Robert Jervis who are in their own theoretical work in the most dealt with security regimes, exactly like one time from the form global structures be able to introduced from the sides neorealist.

In relation to the existing contents of modern realism, neorealism is expanded by the global power structure.

The global power structure arises from the mutual actions of states, and then limits them in taking certain steps, while encouraging them to take others.

With neorealists, power as a means of survival is still relevant. In this context, there are internal efforts to secure power (strengthening economic capability, strengthening military capability, developing strategies) and external efforts (strengthening and expanding one's alliance or weakening and narrowing the opponent's).

Neorealism brings a security dilemma, by saying (Ghosh & Tang, 2015):

- Because attack is always possible, states must build up defensive capabilities;
- The greatest number of defensive abilities also strengthens offensive abilities;
- Defensive measures may be mistaken for offensive intentions by rivals;
- Rivals respond by building their own defenses;
- The states then consider that their rivals threaten them, so this can lead to escalation (war).

The basic position of liberalism is: man - dominance of social aspects - solidarity and cooperation. They constantly point out: FREEDOM, EQUALITY, HUMAN RIGHTS!?!?!? - IS IT REAL? (Galjak, 2022)

The most prominent representatives are: John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant and Adam Smith. Regarding the individual, representatives of liberalism believe that they should be provided with equality, dignity, freedom, as well as protection from excessive state regulation. As for collective and multilateral action - liberalism does not define politics at the international level as a struggle for power and prestige, but rather as a struggle for consent.

Collective Security - The League of Nations and the United Nations. Security community - the role of KEBS in that process. Jean-Jacques Rousseau represents one of the founders of liberalism. He says (Ha & Riffe, 2015):

- Man is good by nature,
- The natural state of people is a state of cooperation and solidarity,
- Civilization destroys the state of natural goodness,
- Ideal States and peace.

Immanuel Kant as more one from the highlighted representative this one direction in actions Criticism clean mind and Criticism paratactic mind... Towards eternal peace specifies the Ethics of Duty through the rule - Act so that you always use humanity in your personality, and in the personality of everyone else, as a goal, and never as a means.

It emphasizes the importance of moral management, public duty and respect for the law for social life. In particular, he says that the World Federation is the way to permanent world peace.

Liberals say that applying reason and universal morality to international relations can lead to a more orderly, just and cooperative world. International anarchy and war can be kept in check through institutional reforms that empower international laws and organizations.

Liberalism is characterized by (Kaup, 2018):

- Optimistic perception international politics,
- the importance of internal politics and international peace,
- the view that liberal democracy is the key to overcoming international insecurity,
- domestic politics the key to overcoming international anarchy,
- international anarchy is a consequence of the internal organization of states,
- the state is not the only actor in international relations, but also numerous internal actors and organizations.

The most prominent representatives are: Robert Keohane, Joseph Nye, Emanuel Adler, Michael Barnett, Francis Fukuyama. Neoliberalism arose in the last decade of the XX century due to the fact that neorealism and neoclassical realism were not able to:

- I. They envision a peaceful end to the Cold War and general international social change and
- II. They provide an appropriate roadmap for international politics in the future.

According to the advocates and followers of this theory, it is: A theory that explains how international institutions promote global change, cooperation, peace and prosperity through collective reform programs. According to illiberalism, the realistic observation of international relations was not able to respond to the new challenges of security, such as the problem of global warming, deterioration of ecological conditions, interdependence and globalization.

Contents of neoliberalism (Kallunki et al., 2018):

- Complex interdependence is seen by neoliberals as a large number of complex connections between different subjects of international relations which one lead to their vulnerability on the procedures others and sensitivity on the needs others;

- International mode represent like benefit from the support participants certain rules which regulate certain international activity (eg global trade and monetary regulations).

The theory of institutionalism says the following:

- Interdependence and international regimes effectively muffle consequences anarchy international relations - anarchy is not eliminates but it is civilized;
- peace and cooperation are possible without hegemony;
- institutionalism - international relations are increasingly determined by interdependence;
- states can no longer fully fulfill their fundamental functions without cooperation with others;
- faith in international regimes and their ability to strengthen interdependence and thus the basis for peace and international cooperation.

Transnationalism says:

- Hope in non-governmental actors, civil society, private and civil actors,
- transnationalism makes a radical departure towards the state-centric approach to international relations;

Substantial evidence are Karel Come through the work " Political Community and the North Atlantic Area ", i James Rosenau through the the work " Turbulence". in World Politics ". (Klincov et al., 2022)

U his own part K. Doj će - the same će importance security communities, understanding, trust, transparency, readiness For cooperation...

The latest theory of international relations focused on the power of shared ideas is Constructivism - the idea of community. The most prominent representatives are: Nicholas Onuf and Alexander Wend. This latest theory has the following features:

- Importance Idea and cultures;
- conceptualization international relations;
- the existence of a social structure, not a global power structure.

Wend, in his work The Social Theory of International Politics from 1999, gives importance to the social structure when analyzing international relations, and not to the global power structure, as Waltz does in his work The Theory of International Politics. However, Vend accepts some of the key assumptions of realists, such as (Avakumović et al., 2021):

- States are key actors in providing international security;
- international politics is anarchic;
- States they own some offensive military capacities;
- states can never be completely sure of the intentions of the other party;
- states want survival above all;

- states tend to behave rationally (cost-benefit analysis);
- they believe that the interests of states are constructed by the structure of the international system.

They pay a lot of attention to norms, so they say:

- Actors' behavior is governed by norms;
- norms are behavioral standards that define the actor's identity;
- regulative norms are appropriate standards of behavior for an actor with a given identity.

Forms of relations in the international community

Today's international relations and some of the current terms and assumptions in the terminology of Western democratic (no)cratic circles stand out as the most important realization (Mihajlović et al., 2022):

A. Balance power

- Believing that this is the best way to preserve peace and stability,
- the power of one state can only be restrained by the power of another state,
- power must be equalized or an even distribution of power.

B. Collective security

- System of protection of universal and common values,
- protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states,
- eliminating war as a means in international relations,
- League of the people, OUN.

C. World Government

- Unique world country,,
- World federation.

The relationship between international politics and security is emerging as an important issue for security. There are no eternal friends or eternal enemies, only interests are eternal.

International relations include the totality of economic, political, ideological, legal, diplomatic, military ties and relations between peoples, states and systems of states and organizations operating on the international level. There are four levels of international relations, activities and subjects in them (Yang & Ho, 2019):

- External environment - domestic and international circumstances and conditions that affect the state's well-being;
- national interests are the desired end state or outcome based on values and strategic analysis;

- the national security strategy represents the political, economic, military and information element of power;
- national military strategy is the military element of power.

In international relations, the subject of activities can be: Nature and elements of state power, nature and elements of other actors in international relations, models of international relations, decision-making system in foreign policy and factors of international relations.

The structure of international organizations can be regulated in a variety of ways, but most often they consist, that is, the basic elements are: Plenary body that directs the activities of the organization, executive body that operationally leads the organization and administrative body that provides technical - administrative support.

The most famous international organizations created on the basis of agreements and consent of international factors and national entities are:

- Organization united nation
- European union
- SCO
- ODKB
- NATO
- International monetary fund
- World the bank
- AIB
- World trade organization
- Banka For calculation Basel (conditionally because it doesn't knows source financing and founders)...

Conclusion

The basic characteristic of international relations is that the agents of international relations want to achieve certain goals. Those goals like goals international relationship are: Power, national security, autonomy in international relations, protection national interests in the broadest sense meaning. **Two basic postulates international relationship they read:** power that is constant international relationship through the history and strong make that a table they can, but they are weak they accept that a table they have to. Such as is said above in these areas not exists one opinion, attitude or characteristic. Everyone who once dealt with areas social science, and which are special deal with problematic relationship between people, nations, societies he knows what kind of " wasp " he is in entered. Everyone has their own view, some people don't like this, others don't. Unfortunately, it's not Euclidean mathematics where $2 + 2 = 4$, it's social science. When you add to that the wishes, opinions and attitudes of those who sail on the

waves of "wavecracy" and those who fly on the wings of "tellurocracy", only then does the forest become a rainforest.

As Jean-Paul Sartre would say in *"Nausea"*, a historian tries to write a story about an adventurer from the 18th century. The historian has been struggling for years, collecting material, but his hero is still further and further away from him. One moment it dawned on him what the problem was - he lacked a point of observation! He lacks a certain moral and political perspective with which to evaluate his hero. But, he concludes, there are only perspectives and not a point of view. Likewise, in the views of the same event, phenomenon or state, there are only perspective views. All points of view are apparent and depend on the perspective used or taken as a reference at a certain point in time by certain persons.

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