

UTICAJ POLITIČKIH ODNOSA NA SPOLJNOTRGOVINSKI PROMET PROIZVODA POSEBNE NAMENE

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Apstrakt

Međunarodna trgovina je glavna pokretačka snaga ekonomskog razvoja. Pojavljuje se kao sfera međunarodnih ekonomskih odnosa i formira se od trgovine robom i uslugama svih zemalja sveta. Međutim, na međunarodnu trgovinu najveći uticaj imaju politički odnosi u svetu. Model ponašanja na političkoj sceni u poslednjih trideset godina zasnovan je postavljanju neprihvatljivih uslova na političkom, ekonomskom i vojnom segmentu, koji odudaraju od definisanih i opšteprihvaćenih međunarodnih odnosa, zanemarivanju interesa i grubom mešanju u unutrašnja pitanja malih i nerazvijenih zemalja. U kontekstu navedenog, izvoz proizvoda posebne namene (naoružanja i vojne opreme) postao je problematična ekonomska aktivnost. S jedne strane, zemlje Zapada predvođene Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama (SAD), isporučuju naoružanje i vojnu opremu Ukrajini kao "pomoć u obuzdavanju ruske agresije". S druge strane, zemlje kao Srbija su u nezavidnoj situaciji jer imaju šta da izvezu, ali je to nemoguće zbog dešavanja na političkoj sceni. Budući da Rusija i Ukrajina nisu priznale nezavisnost Kosova, Srbija ne može da izvozi naoružanje i vojnu opremu tim zemljama, pa je prinuđena da se okrene drugim tržištima i kupcima.

Ključne reči: politički odnosi, velike sile, sukobi, spoljnotrgovinski promet, vojna industrija

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Uvod

Spoljnotrgovinski promet proizvoda posebne namene (naoružanja i vojne opreme) zavisi od mnogih faktora, pre svega postojanja viškova određenih sredstava, ugovornog odnosa između prodavca i kupca, analize političkih i bezbednosnih aspekata eventualne realizacije prometa, te izdavanja dozvola nadležnih organa (institucija). Viškovi sredstava naoružanja i vojne opreme su potreban ali ne i dovoljan uslov da bi se izvoz realizovao. Naime, nije dovoljno da na stokovima (zalihama) postoji određena količina sredstava naoružanja i vojne opreme. Ta sredstva treba da zadovolje stroge uslove kvaliteta, kako po funkcionalnosti, tako i po izgledu, zaštiti, čuvanju pod posebnim uslovima, godinama starosti, ceni itd. (Radić, Radić, 2018, Radić, Radić, 2018).

Na izvoz naoružanja i vojne opreme veliki uticaj imaju politički odnosi u svetu, kao i međusobni odnosi pojedinih zemalja. U svetlu krize i sukoba u Ukrajini, politički odnosi su pogoršani, posebno prema Rusiji (Blum, 2019; Thurner, Schmid, Kauermann, 2019; Radić, Radić, Ravić, 2022). Drugo, SAD i NATO saveznici uveli su niz sankcija prema državi, institucijama i pojedincima u Rusiji, sprečavajući na taj način bilo kakvu ekonomsku ili vojnu saradnju. Takav sled stvari već dve godine utiče ne samo na zemlje koje nisu uključene u sukobe i nisu uveli sankcije Rusiji, nego i na one kojima se preti bilateralnim sankcijama ukoliko se ne povinuju zahtevu SAD i NATO. Međusobna uslovljenost specijalne operacije Rusije u Ukrajini i dešavanja na ekonomskom planu, prvenstveno u oblasti energenata, žitarica i drugih poljoprivrednih proizvoda, doveli su do enormnog povećanja cena nafte i gasa, onemogućili su snabdevanje preko ranije izgrađenih gasnih koridora, plasman žitarica i povećale izgleda za glad stotina miliona ljudi širom sveta (Hendix, 2023).

S početkom specijalne operacije Rusije u Ukrajini, primarni zahtev koji su SAD nametnule drugim zemljama odnosio se na prekid snabdevanja naftom i gasom iz Rusije i prelazak na alternativne koridore snabdevanja koji su u ingerenciji SAD. Drugi aspekt pogoršanja političkih odnosa vezuje se za vojnu pomoć zemalja članica NATO oružanim snagama Ukrajine. Naime, osim uvođenja sankcija Rusiji, zemlje članice NATO su se obavezale da će pomoći Ukrajini isprukama savremenog naoružanja, koje poslednjih meseci obuhvataju sredstva koja su dugo bila pod zabranom izvoza u druge zemlje. Isporuke naoružanja i vojne opreme dozvoljene su samo zemljama članicama NATO, kao i njihovim partnerima u svetu – Australiji, Japanu, Južnoj Koreji itd.

U kontekstu konflikta između Rusije i Ukrajine, izvoz naoružanja i vojne opreme iz Srbije opterećen je političkim razlozima (Radić, Radić, Ravić, 2022). Rusija i Ukrajina nisu priznale tzv. Kosovo, pa bi izvoz naoružanja i vojne opreme bilo kojoj strani u sukobu bio kontraproduktivan. Stoga su srpska preduzeća i izvoznici u specifičnoj situaciji da ne smeju da se opredeljuju ni za jednu stranu u sukobu,

što onemogućava realizaciju izvoza i ostvarivanje prihoda. Dakle, specifikum ratne situacije definiše i limitira ponašanje učesnika u izvoznim aktivnostima.

Cilj istraživanja i korišćena metodologija

Cilj istraživanja je da ukaže na međuzavisnost političkih i vojnih odnosa u svetu i mogućnost spoljnotrgovinskog prometa proizvoda posebne namene. Budući da se politički odnosi reflektuju na gotovo svaku granu ljudske delatnosti, istraživanjem će se identifikovati čitav niza barijera koje stoje pred izvoznicima navedenih proizvoda. Poseban akcenat je na položaju domaćih kompanija u sferi prometa proizvoda posebne namene.

U skladu sa definisanim ciljem istraživanja, u radu će se primeniti metode analize i sinteze, indukcije i dedukcije, te komparacije. Analizom se predmet istraživanja rastavlja na sastavne delove, odnosno na činioce strukture, funkcija, veza i odnosa u određenom prostoru i vremenu. Sintezom se shvataju složene celine preko njihovih pojedinačnih i posebnih delova. Indukcijom se iz više posebnih, pojedinačnih činilaca nekog predmeta izvodi opšti sud, a dedukcijom se izvode posebna i pojedinačna saznanja o predmetu istraživanja. Svako istraživanje se vezuje za poređenje, tj. komparaciju, kada se poredi nepoznato sa poznatim, novo sa starim, i formira novo saznanje o nepoznatoj pojavi, predmetu, procesu, odnosu i sl.

Izvoz proizvoda posebne namene

Uprkos činjenici da se na razmeđu dva milenijuma vojno-politička situacija u svetu znatno izmenila, politika sile dobila je nove sadržaje i osetno veće dimenzije, a u postojeće strategije unesen je novi, ofanzivni duh, pa je sila i dalje odlučujući faktor za realizaciju političkih ciljeva. Zaoštreni međusobni odnosi između država i naroda nastoje se rešiti silom, radi čega su u velikim i malim državama, u bogatim i siromašnim, stvorene moderno opremljene armije, pa njihovo snabdevanje sredstvima naoružanja i vojne opreme spada u ključna pitanja unutrašnje i spoljne bezbednosti i u direktnoj je vezi sa ekonomskim razvojem. Naoružanje i opremu savremenih armija čine najsloženiji borbeni sistemi i sredstva velika vatrene moći i preciznosti, automatizovani po načinu dejstva, pouzdani i kvalitetni po tehnologiji izrade i, nadasve, skupi. U miru tehnološka superiornost i performanse oružja predstavljaju faktor odvraćanja, a u sukobima doprinose poboljšanju borbene efikasnosti i smanjenju gubitaka (Radić, 2014).

Ne ulazeći u istorijsku retrospektivu, uređenost savremenog sveta jasno ukazuje da se sve zemlje po svojoj strategiji i po stepenu društveno-političkog i privrednog razvoja mogu stvrstati u tri grupe:

- prvu grupu čine zemlje Zapada, Rusija, Japan, Južna Koreja, Kina i Indija,

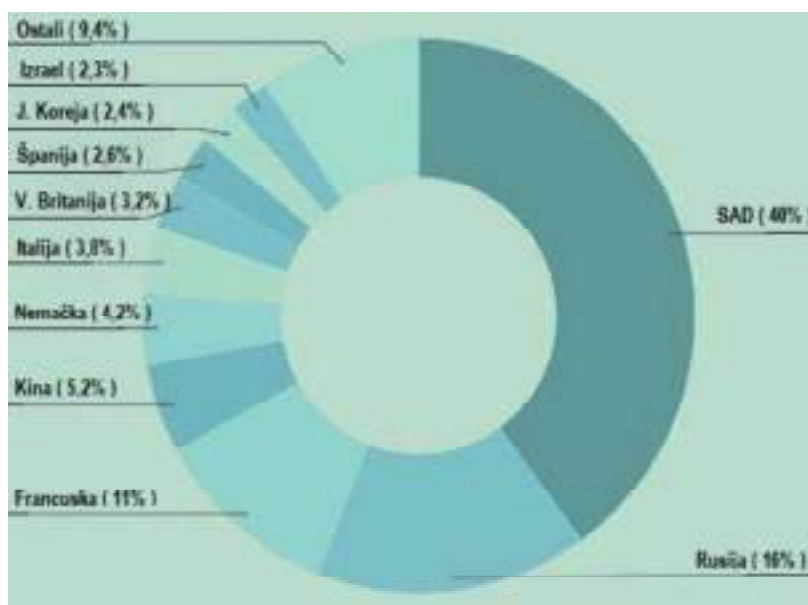
- drugu grupu čine zemlje koje su prinuđene da se u razvojnoj politici oslanjaju na stranu pomoć (neke zemlje Južne Amerike, Azije i severne Afrike, zemlje istočne Evrope koje su pripadale socijalističkom bloku),
- treću grupu čine nerazvijene zemlje i neke zemlje u razvoju (Stamatović, 2001).

Zemlje prve grupe raspolažu snažnim i moderno opremljenim oružanim snagama, prilagođenim vojnoj doktrini koja je kod nekih zemalja ove grupe deklarativno, a kod nekih istinski odbrambena. Kod zemalja druge grupe uočavaju se dve različite vojne politike, dve strategije odbrane. Jednu predstavljaju zemlje koje svojim konceptom odbrane obezbeđuju potpunu političku samostalnost i nezavisnost, uprkos neophodnosti oslanjanja na stranu pomoć u privrednom razvoju. Drugu predstavljaju zemlje koje su svoj koncept odbrane prilagodile ili podredile vojnoj strategiji zemlje na koju se najviše oslanjaju u sopstvenom privrednom razvoju. Zemlje treće grupe, po pravilu, nemaju konzistentnu odbrambenu strategiju, već je prilagođavaju aktuelnim unutrašnjim odnosima i mogućnostima, odnosno uslovima materijalizacije vojne politike (Stamatović, 2001)

Navedena uslovna klasifikacija imala je smisla za uslove bipolarnosti u globalnim svetskim odnosima i u času kada se ljudska civilizacija našla u nekom novom stanju u kome se nastoji nametnuti "novi svetski poredak", u kojem će jedna sila (država) upravljati pravilima igre. Odgovor na pitanje koliko će projekat izgradnje "novog svetskog poretka" uspeti zahteva svestrana razmatranja. Međutim, ono što se može tvrditi sa dovoljnom sigurnošću jeste da u skoroj i daljoj budućnosti ljudska civilizacija neće ostati bez oružja, neće nestati vojne sile i neće biti politički i ekonomski samostalne države bez vlastitih oružanih snaga. Svet i odnosi u njemu su na nesreću još toliko nesavršeni da pacifizam, u osnovi krajnje ljudski i civilizacijski poriv, zadržava metafizičku suštinu.

Izvoz naoružanja i vojne opreme u svetu svake godine beleži nove rekorde u pogledu ostvarenih profita od prodaje. Decenijama su u toj trci prisutne SAD, Rusija, Francuska, Velika Britanija i Nemačka, a poslednjih godina pridružila im se i Kina (Tian et al., 2020; SIPRI, 2022). Međunarodne agencije i institucije koje se bave proučavanjem konflikata, trke u naoružanju ili praćenjem izvoza–uvoza naoružanja i vojne opreme, svake godine objavljuju podatke o ostvarenim nivoima izvoza ili uvoza. Prema podacima međunarodnog instituta za mirovna istraživanja iz Stokholma (SIPRI), u periodu 2018-2022. godine učešće prvih deset zemalja u svetskom izvozu naoružanja i vojne opreme prikazano je na slici 1.

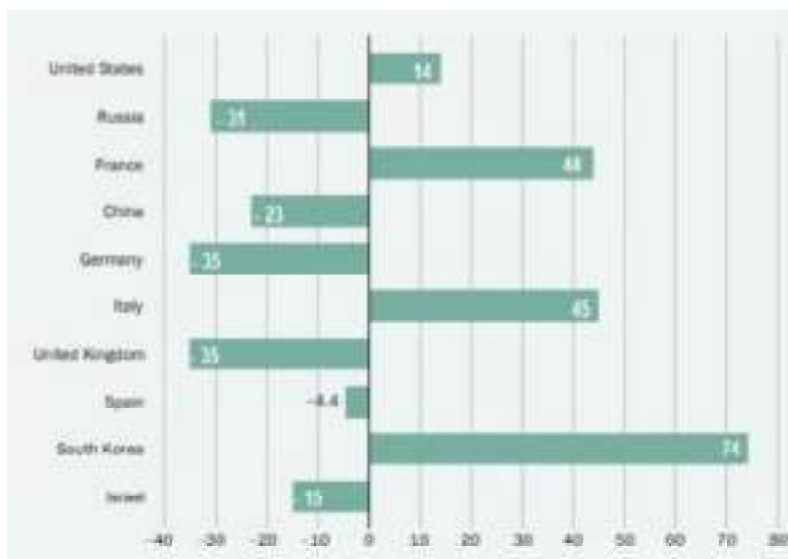
Slika 1. Globalni udeo u izvozu glavnog oružja od strane 10 najvećih izvoznika, 2018–22



Izvor: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, 2023.

Obim međunarodnog transfera glavnog naoružanja u periodu 2018–2022. godine bio je niži za 5,1% nego u periodu 2013–2017. i 4,8% veći nego u 2008–2012. godine (slika 2).

Slika 2. Promene u obimu izvoza naoružanja



Izvor: SIPRI Arms Transfer Database, 2023.

Pet najvećih izvoznika u periodu 2018–2022. (SAD, Rusija, Francuska, Kina i Nemačka) zajedno su učestvovali sa 76% u svetskom izvozu naoružanja. Pet

najvećih uvoznika u periodu 2018–2022. (Indija, Saudijska Arabija, Katar, Australija i Kina) zajedno su učestvovali sa 36% u svetskom uvozu naoružanja (Tulyakova, Dengov, Gregova, 2021; SIPRI, 2023; Global Economy 2023; Gould, Pollitt, Wezeman, 2023; Kong, 2023; Hedlund, 2023).

Ratna operacija u Ukrajini je izazvala značajan porast tražnje za oružjem u Evropi, što će najverovatnije dovesti do povećanja uvoza oružja od strane evropskih država (Wezeman, 2023). Ukrajina je do 2022. godine bila zanemarljiv uvoznik oružja, ali je od početka ratne operacije vrlo brzo postala treća po veličini destinacija za oružje u svetu (iza Katara i Indije). Prema podacima SIPRI, samo na Ukrajinu otpada 31% u prometu oružja u Evropi i 8% u svetskim isporukama. Uvoz Ukrajine tokom 2022. godine, uključujući donacije, porastao je više od 60 puta. Isporuke u Ukrajinu bile su uglavnom u oružju sa zaliha. Među njima najznačajnija su artiljerijska oruđa iz SAD, oklopna vozila iz Poljske, protivtenkovski projektili iz Velike Britanije, kao i više protivvazdušnih sistema iz Nemačke, Velike Britanije i Francuske (SIPRI, 2023; Hartung, 2022)

Izvan Evrope uvoz oružja je opao za 40% u Africi, dok je u Americi opao za ukupno 21%, na Bliskom istoku za 8,8% i širom Azije za 7,5%, a u istočnoj Aziji zabeležen je porast zbog geopolitičkih tenzija Tajvana sa Kinom i Južne Koreje sa Severnom Korejom. U tom regionu najveću stopu rasta uvoza, 171%, registrovao je Japan, a zatim Južna Koreja sa 61%. Glavni dobavljač ovih zemalja bile su SAD (van Lieshout, Beeres, 2022).

Na osnovu podataka može se zaključiti da je u mnogim zemljama opremanje oružanih snaga savremenim naoružanjem i vojnom opremom ubrzano s početkom specijalne vojne operacije Rusije u Ukrajini. Posebno je to očigledno u zemljama uključenim u poznata poprišta ratnih i drugih sukoba većeg ili manjem intenziteta (Sirija, Irak, Iran, Jemen, Južna Koreja, Severna Koreja, čak i Japan). Na primer, Rumunija, iako je članica NATO pakta, u poslednje dve godine intenzivno se naoružava. Trenutno su joj Bugarska, Izrael i SAD primarni dobavljači oružja, uključujući municiju, avione i brodove. U 2022. godini Rumunija je izdvojila u budžet za odbranu oko 7,3 milijarde evra, koji je u 2023. godini povećan za 2,5% BDP-a (Ichim, 2022; Bromley, 2022). Slična situacija je i sa drugim zemljama članicama NATO (npr. Hrvatska) koje izdvajaju značajne iznose za modernizaciju oružanih snaga. Čak i Švedska i Finska, koje su odlučile da pristupe NATO-u, počinju modernizaciju i opremanje oružanih snaga novim sistemima. Međutim, opšta konstatacija za sve zemlje u pogledu naoružavanja jeste da se opremaju dostupnim i cenovno prihvatljivim naoružanjem.

Navedeni primeri govore o stanju odnosa između zemalja kupaca i zemalja prodavaca. Zemlje kupci mogu da nabave naoružanje od bilo koga ukoliko imaju finansijska sredstva i ukoliko je zemlja prodavac voljna da im isporuči traženo naoružanje. SAD i zapadni saveznici, uključujući Izrael, nerado isporučuju

najsavremenije sisteme i sredstva naoružanja i vojne opreme, pod izgovorom da bi mogli da ih se domognu ruski i kineski stručnjaci.

Druga još značajnija karakteristika izvoza naoružanja i vojne opreme tiče se vojne supremacije SAD i njene logističke "podrške" kritičnim zemljama i njihovoj infrastrukturi (IISS, 2023). Iako je hiljadama kilometara udaljena od SAD, Ukrajina je u trenutnom konfliktu stavljena u logistički lanac SAD i ostalih zemalja NATO. To znači da će isporuka naoružanja i vojne opreme, ekspertska i druga pomoć Ukrajini trajati koliko traje i specijalna operacija. Dalje, iz informacija u zapadnim medijima, predsednik Bajden obećao je predsedniku Zelenskom pomoć Ukrajini kroz proizvodnju savremenih sistema i sredstava naoružanja (Sharp, 2023). U azijskom regionu, SAD podržavaju Tajvan iako ga Kina smatra sastavnim delom svoje teritorije. SAD uveliko opremaju oružane snage Tajvana, imaju pod patronatom Južnu Koreju i predstavljaju zadnju liniju odbrane od eventualnog napada Severne Koreje.

U sadašnjoj konsultaciji odnosa i snaga, Rusija je privremeno onemogućena da isporučuje svoje naoružanje drugim zemljama, tradicionalnim kupcima. To se prvenstveno odnosi na region Azije, Afrike i Južne Amerike. S druge strane, Kina, koja ni na koji način nije involvirana u sukob u Ukrajini, širi obim svoje saradnje sa potencijalnim kupcima njenog naoružanja – Afrika, Indija, zemlje bivšeg Sovjetskog Saveza, Vijetnam i sl. (China Power Team, 2021). Dakle, izvozna spirala će i ovaj put najviše pogodovati SAD, a manje evropskim članicama NATO. Glavno pitanje je koliko će Evropa još izdržati.

Nakon što je Vašington odlučio da žrtvuje podršku Ukrajini kako bi sprečio blokadu sopstvene vlade, evropski lideri znaju da će se suočiti s pritiskom da, makar privremeno, preuzmu vodeću ulogu u podršci Kijevu. Slabost vojne industrije je ozbiljna prepreka, a diplomatska i politička strana pitanja će, takođe, postati problem. Zelenski obećava da će se Ukrajina i dalje boriti "do pobeđe" i da njegova spremnost da se suprotstavi Rusiji nema rok trajanja.

Ali problemi EU su takve prirode da, što je verbalno više posvećena pomoći Ukrajini, to je manja njena sposobnost da joj stvarno pruži vojnu i ekonomsku podršku. Jedan primer je Slovačka. Slovaci su na izborima poslali jasnu poruku o granicama evropske podrške Ukrajini: glasali su za bivšeg premijera Fica, koji je energično vodio kampanju protiv antiruskih sankcija i obećao da Bratislava neće poslati više nijedan metak Kijevu. Poljska duže vreme nije na istim talasima sa Ukrajinom, što zbog izbeglica, što zbog žita, pa je pitanje da li će se posle parlamentarnih izbora uopšte vratiti na stari kurs prema Ukrajini. I Varšava je pretila da od naoružanja nema više bilo šta da pošalje preko granice, ali je pod pritiskom SAD malo ublažila stav, pa će poslati još nešto starog naoružanja. Mađarski premijer Orban je toliko zategao da je Ukrajina morala da skine mađarsku OTP banku sa liste sponzora rata (jer sarađuje s Rusijom) kako bi

Budimpešta ukinula veto s paketa EU vojne pomoći Kijevu u vrednosti od 500 miliona evra (Pollet, 2023).

Birajući između pojedinačnog vlastitog opstanka i žrtvovanja svega zarad Ukrajine, evropske članice su sada na testu kako će se opredeljivati usled ekonomske stagnacije, visoke inflacije i budžetskih ograničenja. EU je obećala da će Ukrajini obezbediti milion granata do proleća iduće godine. Pola godine je već prošlo, a unija je isporučila samo četvrtinu obećanog, i to iz vlastitih rezervi. Što se tiče proizvodnje, stručnjaci kažu da evropska vojna industrija trenutno može da proizvede samo pet do deset odsto artiljerijskih granata potrebnih Ukrajini (Ataman, Sebastian, 2023).

Ne treba zaboraviti da SAD obezbeđuju rezolutnu političku podršku interesima Kijeva i upravo je ta podrška i dogurala EU do plaćanja velikog finansijskog tereta. A sve zbog straha da će Vašington odbaciti svoje obaveze prema NATO-u. Da li je interes EU zaista bio da NATO dođe pred vrata Moskve – pitanje je koje se sada sve češće postavlja u evropskim prestonicama.

Izvoz proizvoda posebne namene iz Srbije

Odluka organizacija i menadžera da se bave spoljnotrgovinskim prometom naoružanjem i vojnom opremom praćena je mnogim problemima, barijerama, zabranama, nametanjem volje jačih u odnosu na slabije, istiskivanjem sa tržišta, čak i pretnjama.

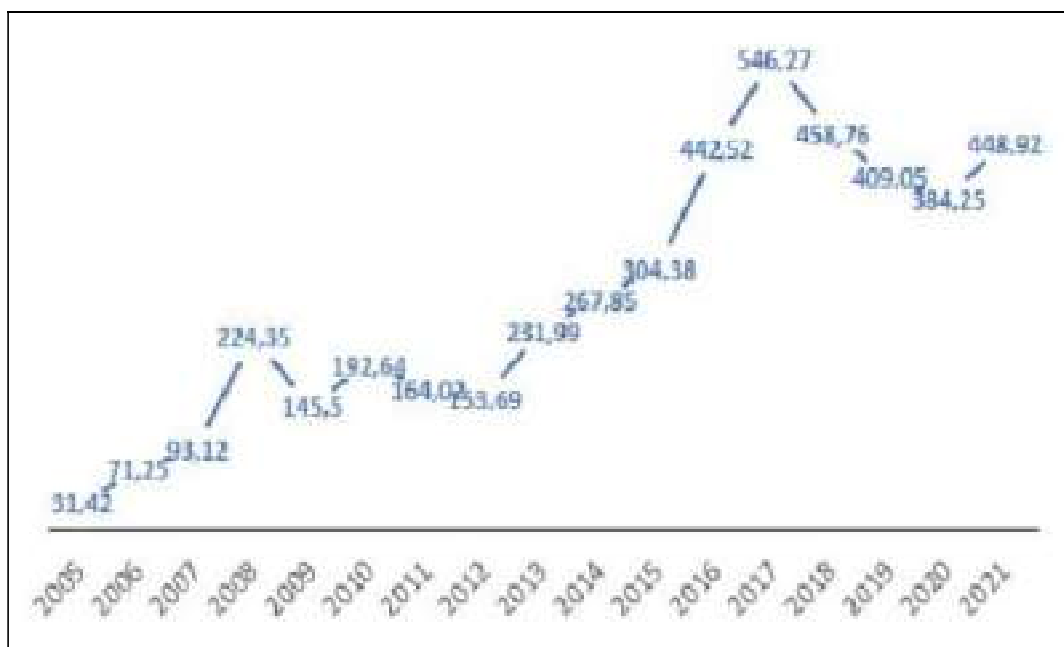
U situaciji kada vojna industrija neke zemlje ima potencijal da izveze naoružanje i vojnu opremu na strano tržište, najčešće se tome suprotstavljaju politički, ekonomski i vojno jače zemlje, jer se na taj način smanjuje tržište za njihove kompanije. Drugi razlog je nabavka proizvoda naoružanja i vojne opreme po nižim cenama, jer se mogu nametnuti restriktivni uslovi nabavke ili kupovine. To stavlja zemlje potencijalne izvoznike pred svršen čin – ili će prihvatiti "pravila igre" ili će odustati. Treći razlog, bar u slučaju sukoba Rusija–Ukrajina, jeste konsenzus oko stava SAD da se sukob mora nastaviti i taj stav je obavezujući za ostale članice NATO i EU.

Srbija nije nametnula sankcije Rusiji niti podržava ratna dejstva u Ukrajini. Dakle, ostala je sama na jednoj strani, jer su na drugoj sve zemlje NATO i EU, uz Japan, Južnu Koreju, Australiju itd. Srbija je u posebno teškoj situaciji jer Rusija, kao ni Ukrajina, nisu priznale nezavisnost Kosova i Metohije. U ovom kontekstu, izvoz naoružanja i vojne opreme iz Srbije bilo kojoj strani u sukobu smatrao bi se kršenjem međusobnih odnosa sa Rusijom i Ukrajinom.

Posle decenija zastoja, nemogućnosti plasmana, sankcija, ratnih dešavanja u bivšoj SFRJ, agresije NATO, preduzeća vojne industrije u Srbiji počela su da se vraćaju na tradicionalna tržišta. To podrazumeva ne samo male zemlje ili zemlje u razvoju, nego plasman proizvoda u SAD, zemlje NATO, zemlje azijskog i

afričkog kontinenta. Obim izvoza povećavan je iz godine u godinu, tako da su po kvalitetu, tradiciji, rokovima isporuke i cenovnom faktoru izvozni artikli bili konkurentni i donosili su visok devizni priliv (slika 3). Stabilizacija poslovanja, preduzete mere tehnološke, organizacione i finansijske konsolidacije doprinele su da se preduzeća vojne industrije ponovo pozicioniraju na stara, ali i nova tržišta (Radić, Radić, 2018; Smajilović, Radić, Radić, 2023).

Slika 3. Izvoz naoružanja i vojne opreme iz Srbije (miliona USD)



Izvor: Ministarstvo unutrašnje i spoljne trgovine, 2023.

Izvoz naoružanja i vojne opreme iz Srbije u druge zemlje regulisan je zakonom koji je gotovo u potpunosti kompatibilan sa evropskim zakonskim okvirima, pa podrazumeva metodologiju i procedure koje su odobrene na državnom nivou i koje ispunjavaju posebne uslove nekih zemalja sa kojima Srbija sarađuje (prvenstveno SAD). Zakonski okvir propisuje ko može da se bavi izvozom naoružanja i vojne opreme, koje uslove mora da ispuni organizacija ili lice da bi se upisalo u registar izvoznika, koja je procedura prijavljivanja i slanja zahteva za dobijanje izvozne dozvole, koje bezbednosne procedure se moraju izvršiti i, tek posle svega toga, dobijanje dozvole za izvoz naoružanja iz Srbije.

Zakonski okvir je definisao da su Ministarstvo unutrašnje i spoljne trgovine (ranije Ministarstvo trgovine, turizma i telekomunikacija) i Ministarstvo odbrane ključni za uvođenje u registar, podnošenje zahteva i dobijanje dozvole za izvoz. Pored njih, u proces donošenja odluka i dobijanja (ili odbacivanja zahteva) uključeni su i Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova, Ministarstvo spoljnih poslova i Bezbednosno-informativna agencija. Budući da srpska preduzeća imaju iskustva u pogledu sankcija, da su pod neprekidnom paskom stranih obaveštajnih i drugih

agencija, pre bilo kakvog zahteva, preduzeća sprovode neophodne interne provere i analize o mogućim efektima izvoza.

Ono što je najvažnije, sva preduzeća vojne industrije i ostali registrovani izvoznici moraju se pridržavati bezbednosnih, a posle i političkih interesa Srbije. Ukoliko se učini da će izvoz biti sporan za bilo koju stranu, pa i za tradicionalnog i višegodišnjeg kupca, on se svestrano razmatra na svim nivoima i ako se utvrdi da je bezbednosno i politički štetan, zahtev se odbacuje i ne odobrava izvoz. To se dešava u slučajevima izvoza u zemlje koje su pod unilateralnim ili bilateralnim sankcijama određenih zemalja. Na primer, određene zemlje su pod unilateralnim sankcijama SAD i izvoz naoružanja u te zemlje SAD smatraju kršenjem određenih pravila, propisa ili rezolucija. Druge zemlje su pod sankcijama Ujedinjenih Nacija (UN) i ta situacija važi dok god se sankcije ne "skinu", tj. dok se određena zemlja ne izbriše sa spiska zemalja kojima je zabranjen promet naoružanja i vojne opreme (Hamilton, 2020).

Srbija je više puta bila predmet rasprava na međunarodnim forumima kada se tvrdilo da je izvozila naoružanje i vojnu opremu u zemlje koje sponzorišu terorizam, krše ljudska prava i ne pridržavaju se međunarodnih ugovora u vezi prometa naoružanja i vojne opreme. Često su to bile fabrikovane optužbe, jer se, na kraju, dokazalo da nisu tačne. Međutim, ekonomski efekti takvih optužbi bili su onemogućavanje izvoza naših preduzeća i sticanje profita koji je bio garantovan izvozom. Takve pojave koristile su druge države, što potvrđuje činjenica da se posle afere "Krušik" izvoz naoružanja i vojne opreme u Bugarskoj višestruko povećao i da su oni izvezli konkretna sredstva u zemlje u koje su trebala da izvezu srpska preduzeća (Kotseva, Nikolov, 2023). Dakle, nije sve ni u zakonskim ni u političkim, često ni u bezbednosnim faktorima realizacije izvoza. Mnogo više je značajan trenutni položaj i stanje vojne industrije u Srbiji, ostvareni prihod i smišljeni napadi stranih konkurenata da zaustave ili privremeno onemoguće izvozne aranžmane. Uostalom, takvih situacija kroz istoriju bilo je mnogo.

Na osnovu iskustava iz sankcija, političkih uslovljavanja i nametanja pravila koja se primenjuju samo za određene zemlje, preduzeća vojne industrije u Srbiji oporavljaju se u infrastrukturnom i tehnološkom smislu, pa očekuju da dobijene zahteve za izvoz realizuju u najkraćem mogućem roku. Vreme u tim poslovima, pored političkih uslova, predstavlja bitan faktor, jer dugo čekanje na dobijanje izvozne dozvole dovodi u pitanje realizaciju poslova. Dugo čekanje na izvoznu dozvolu direktno je povezano sa mehanizmom odlučivanja i proverama koje su zakonski propisane. S jedne strane, država mora da se obezbedi u političkom i bezbednosnom smislu, a s druge, preduzeća moraju da ostvare neophodan profit za ulaganje u nove mašine, alate, pogone i proizvode.

Ono što se u kontekstu izvoza naoružanja i vojne opreme mora naglasiti jeste činjenica da su trgovci oružjem međusobni konkurenti. Oni se bore za poslove

jedni sa drugima, ali i sa državom, odnosno državnim firmama. Postoje zemlje u svetu koje ne posluju po eksplicitnim pravilima međunarodne trgovine naoružanjem. Kad se kaže "eksplicitna pravila", misli se pre svega na uverenje o krajnjem korisniku (end user certificate). Kada postoji uverenje o krajnjem korisniku, odnosno izvozna dozvola, tačno se zna gde će i kod koga završiti naše oružje – a nije tajna da ono često završava i u rukama terorista. To znači da zemlje u koje mi izvozimo ne poštuju izdato uverenje o krajnjem korisniku i redistribuiraju to oružje nekim grupama koje ga upotrebljavaju za nelegalne vojne aktivnosti.

Sadašnja pozicija Srbije u izvoznim poslovima u vezi sa naoružanjem i vojnom opremom opterećena je prvenstveno političkim razlozima. Najpre, stanje u južnoj pokrajini Kosovu i Metohiji, unutrašnja trvenja i nesuglasice između vlasti i opozicije, učešće međunarodnog faktora u podržavanju tzv. Kosova i kršenju principa povelje UN, te ratna situacija u Ukrajini nikako ne korespondiraju sa mogućnostima i efektivom kojom raspolažu preduzeća vojne industrije u Srbiji. U proizvodnji i na zalihama postoje konkurentna sredstva naoružanja i vojne opreme čiji kvalitet i cenovni faktor obezbeđuju da se mogu isporučiti svakom potencijalnom kupcu. U toku je realizacija ranije sklopljenih ugovora sa drugim zemljama, čak i sa SAD i drugim zemljama NATO. Rokovi isporuke, kvalitet i tradicija su najvažniji faktori u odluci da neka zemlja kupuje naoružanje i vojnu opremu, pa po tom pitanju srpska preduzeća imaju striktan stav i ponašaju se korektno. U trenutnim uslovima i političkim odnosima u svetu, preduzeća vojne industrije i ostali izvoznici iz Srbije opredeljeni su za izvoz na druge destinacije (zemlje). Uostalom, veliki poslovi sklapani su i ranije sa tzv. nesvrstanim zemljama, među kojima su poznati kupci iz Azije, Afrike i bivših sovjetskih republika.

Budući da se situacija na Kosovu i Metohiji usložnjava svakim danom i da preći eskalacijom sukoba i etničkim čišćenjem Srba na tim prostorima, najviše rukovodstvo zemlje donelo je odluku o popuni Vojske Srbije potrebnim sredstvima naoružanja i vojne opreme. Prema toj odluci, najveći deo proizvodnje usmerava se u jedinice Vojske i ona popunjava novim sistemima i sredstvima u cilju jačanja odbrambenih kapaciteta i mogućnosti. Godinama unazad preduzeća vojne industrije u Srbiji nisu proizvodila sredstva naoružanja za potrebe Vojske Srbije. Razlog je veoma jasan – nije bilo finansijskih mogućnosti da se izdvoji veći procenat u budžetu kojim bi se obezbedilo opremanje savremenim sistemima i sredstvima naoružanja. Posle skoro dvadeset godina, odlučeno je da se najveći deo proizvodnje usmeri u jedinice Vojske, a preostali deo ponudi za izvoz. Na taj način preduzeća će ostvariti garantovane poslove i određeni ekonomski boljitak, te obezbediti normalno funkcionisanje.

Imajući u vidu činjenicu da se izvoz naoružanja i vojne opreme iz Srbije u poslednjih deset godina stalno povećavao i dostizao cifre od nekoliko stotina

miliona dolara, ruska specijalna operacija u Ukrajini donekle je omela izvozne poslove i umanjila zaradu u poslednje dve godine. Međutim, preduzeća vojne industrije su opredeljena da proizvode, inoviraju, modernizuju i marketinški unapređuju izvozne aktivnosti i ostvaruju zavidene poslovne rezultate (Radić 2014; Smajilović, Radić, Radić, 2023).

Zaključak

Izvoz naoružanja i vojne opreme je ekonomski isplativa poslovna aktivnost i sve zemlje koje poseduju vojnu industriju opredeljene su za izvoz tih proizvoda. Budući da nema zemlje u svetu koja ne raspolaže oružanim snagama, potreba za određenim sredstvima naoružanja i vojne opreme neće prestatiti uprkos mnogim pacifističkim stavovima, mišljenjima ili tendencijama. Naoružanje i vojna oprema proizvodi se i proizvodiće se u količinama koje su uslovljene tražnjom na tržištu, a tražnja je promenljiva ekonomska kategorija u svakoj industriji, pa i vojnoj. Ona je, dakle, direktno proporcionalna trenutnoj političkoj i prvenstveno vojnoj situaciji u određenim regionima i zemljama.

Zemlje u sukobima pokušavaju da reše međusobne probleme isključivo primenom sile. Sukobi, po prirodi stvari, mogu biti kratkotrajni ili dugotrajni i u svakom slučaju za posledicu imaju velike ljudske gubitke, uništenje objekata, tehnike i velike materijalne štete. Zemlje koje se nalaze u neuralgičnim područjima sveta intenzivno se naoružavaju, ne pitajući za cenu. Bogate zemlje na Bliskom istoku ili u Aziji imaju sopstvene istraživačko-razvojne kapacitete i uz kooperaciju sa moćnim i tehnološki naprednim zemljama proizvode savremena sredstva naoružanja i vojne opreme za sopstvene potrebe.

Kada je u pitanju izvoz naoružanja i vojne opreme, mora se naglasiti da oduvek postoji konkurencija između proizvođača. Najpre je konkurencija bila takva da se izvozom sopstvenih proizvoda nije moglo parirati interesima i težnjama moćnih sila (SAD, Rusije, Velike Britanije, Nemačke ili Francuske). Naročito je to bilo prisutno u vreme Hladnog rata, kada je naoružavanje SAD i saveznika u NATO paktu bilo usmereno na smanjenje ruske prednosti na kopnu, moru i u vazduhu. Konkurencija između zemalja izvoznica se zaoštravala, ali su tehničke i vojne karakteristike sistema i sredstava bile odlučujuće pri nabavci. Ta konkurencija je često nelojalna i štetna po jednu od strana, jer interesi jednih nadjačavaju interese drugih, ne birajući sredstva.

Mesto Srbije i srpskih proizvođača iz sfere vojne industrije omeđeno je malim dijapazonom proizvoda i relativno malim kapacitetima u odnosu na tzv. velike proizvođače i izvoznike. U vezi s tim, srpska preduzeća nalaze svoje mesto na tržištima visokim kvalitetom i cenovnim rangom. Ispunjavanjem i doslednom realizacijom sklopljenih ugovora, preduzeća srpske vojne industrije obezbeđuju plasman naoružanja i vojne opreme koje proizvedu. Na tom putu imaju mnogo barijera, podmetanja i nefer ponašanja potencijalnih konkurenata. U okruženju,

najveći konkurent je Bugarska. Određeni potencijal za nadmetanje ima i vojna industrija Bosne i Hercegovine, koja raspolaže dosta ujednačenim proizvodnim programom i može donekle da konkuriše preduzećima vojne industrije u Srbiji.

Kao zaključak može se reći da su politički odnosi između zemalja odlučujući u poslovima izvoza naoružanja i vojne opreme. Ukoliko postoji određena politička saglasnost između partnera, preduzeća vojne industrije iz Srbije neće imati problema u plasmanu svojih proizvoda. To govori da održavanje dobrih i fer odnosa sa kupcima iz SAD i zapadnih zemalja obezbeđuje srpskim preduzećima koliko-toliko slobodan prolaz na zahtevno tržište naoružanja i vojne opreme. Eventualna kooperacija sa snažnijih kompanijama i zemljama svakako bi doprinela poboljšanju statusa preduzeća vojne industrije.

Međutim, u poslednje vreme prisutna su različita uslovljavanja i pokušaji nametanja obavezujućih stavova oko, npr. uvođenja sankcija Rusiji, priključenja NATO-u ili prihvatanja spoljne politike Evropske unije u procesu pristupanja naše zemlje. Bez obzira koliko se činilo da to nema određene reperkusije na poslovanje i opstanak preduzeća vojne industrije u Srbiji, sve to zajedno uveliko utiče na njihov tretman na stranim tržištima. Odupiranje Srbije pritiscima tretira se kao neprihvatanje stavova SAD i saveznika u NATO i EU, što pogoršava mogućnost plasmana srpskih proizvoda naoružanja i vojne opreme.

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INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL RELATIONS ON FOREIGN TRADE TRADE OF SPECIAL PURPOSE PRODUCTS

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Abstract

International trade is the main driving force of economic development. It appears as a sphere of international economic relations and is formed from trade in goods and services from all countries of the world. However, international trade is most influenced by political relations in the world. The model of behavior on the political scene in the last thirty years is based on setting unacceptable conditions in the political, economic and military segments, which deviate from defined and generally accepted international relations, neglect of interests and gross interference in the internal affairs of small and underdeveloped countries. In the context of the above, the export of special purpose products (weapons and military equipment) has become a problematic economic activity. On the one hand, Western countries, led by the United States of America (USA), are supplying weapons and military equipment to Ukraine as "help in curbing Russian aggression." On the other hand, countries like Serbia are in an unenviable situation because they have something to export, but it is impossible due to the happenings on the political scene. Since Russia and Ukraine did not recognize the independence of Kosovo, Serbia cannot export weapons and military equipment to those countries, so it is forced to turn to other markets and customers.

Key words: *political relations, great powers, conflicts, foreign trade, military industry*

Introduction

Foreign trade in special-purpose products (weapons and military equipment) depends on many factors, primarily the existence of surpluses of certain assets, the contractual relationship between the seller and the buyer, the analysis of political and security aspects of the possible realization of the trade, and the issuance of

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permits by the competent authorities (institutions). Surpluses of weapons and military equipment are a necessary but not sufficient condition for exports to be realized. Namely, it is not enough for there to be a certain amount of weapons and military equipment in stocks (stocks). These assets must meet strict quality requirements, both in terms of functionality and appearance, protection, storage under special conditions, age, price, etc. (Radić, Radić, 2018, Radić, Radić, 2018).

The export of weapons and military equipment is greatly influenced by political relations in the world, as well as by the mutual relations of individual countries. In light of the crisis and conflict in Ukraine, political relations have deteriorated, especially towards Russia (Blum, 2019; Thurner, Schmid, Kauermann, 2019; Radić, Radić, Ravić, 2022). Second, the US and NATO allies have imposed a series of sanctions on the state, institutions and individuals in Russia, thus preventing any economic or military cooperation. For two years, this sequence of events has affected not only countries that are not involved in the conflicts and have not imposed sanctions on Russia, but also those that are threatened with bilateral sanctions if they do not comply with the US and NATO demands. The mutual conditionality of Russia's special operation in Ukraine and developments on the economic front, primarily in the field of energy, grain and other agricultural products, has led to an enormous increase in oil and gas prices, has prevented supplies through previously built gas corridors, the sale of grain and has increased the prospect of hunger for hundreds of millions of people around the world (Hendix, 2023).

With the beginning of Russia's special operation in Ukraine, the primary demand that the US imposed on other countries was the interruption of oil and gas supplies from Russia and the transition to alternative supply corridors under US jurisdiction. Another aspect of the deterioration of political relations is related to the military assistance of NATO member states to the Ukrainian armed forces. Namely, in addition to the introduction of sanctions against Russia, NATO member states have pledged to assist Ukraine with deliveries of modern weapons, which in recent months include assets that have long been banned from export to other countries. Deliveries of weapons and military equipment are allowed only to NATO member states, as well as their partners in the world – Australia, Japan, South Korea, etc.

In the context of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, the export of weapons and military equipment from Serbia is burdened by political reasons (Radić, Radić, Ravić, 2022). Russia and Ukraine have not recognized the so-called Kosovo, so the export of weapons and military equipment to any party to the conflict would be counterproductive. Therefore, Serbian companies and exporters are in a specific situation where they must not choose either side in the conflict, which prevents the realization of exports and the generation of income. Therefore,

the specifics of the war situation define and limit the behavior of participants in export activities.

Research objective and methodology used

The research objective is to point out the interdependence of political and military relations in the world and the possibility of foreign trade in special-purpose products. Since political relations are reflected in almost every branch of human activity, the research will identify a whole series of barriers facing exporters of the above products. Special emphasis is placed on the position of domestic companies in the sphere of trade in special-purpose products.

In accordance with the defined research objective, the paper will apply the methods of analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, and comparison. Analysis breaks down the subject of research into its constituent parts, i.e. into factors of structure, function, connections and relationships in a certain space and time. Synthesis understands complex wholes through their individual and specific parts. Induction is used to derive a general judgment from several specific, individual factors of a subject, and deduction is used to derive specific and individual knowledge about the subject of research. Each research is linked to comparison, i.e. comparison, when the unknown is compared with the known, the new with the old, and new knowledge is formed about an unknown phenomenon, object, process, relationship, etc.

Export of special purpose product

Despite the fact that at the turn of the millennium the military-political situation in the world has changed significantly, the policy of force has acquired new content and significantly larger dimensions, and a new, offensive spirit has been introduced into existing strategies, so force is still the decisive factor for the realization of political goals. The strained mutual relations between states and peoples are sought to be resolved by force, which is why modernly equipped armies have been created in large and small states, in rich and poor countries, and their supply with weapons and military equipment is one of the key issues of internal and external security and is directly related to economic development. The armament and equipment of modern armies consist of the most complex combat systems and means of great firepower and precision, automated in their mode of action, reliable and high-quality in terms of manufacturing technology and, above all, expensive. In peacetime, technological superiority and weapon performance are a deterrent factor, and in conflicts they contribute to improving combat efficiency and reducing losses (Radić, 2014).

Without going into a historical retrospective, the organization of the modern world clearly indicates that all countries can be classified into three groups

according to their strategy and the degree of socio-political and economic development:

- the first group consists of Western countries, Russia, Japan, South Korea, China and India,
- the second group consists of countries that are forced to rely on foreign aid in their development policy (some countries in South America, Asia and North Africa, countries in Eastern Europe that belonged to the socialist bloc),
- the third group consists of underdeveloped countries and some developing countries (Stamatović, 2001).

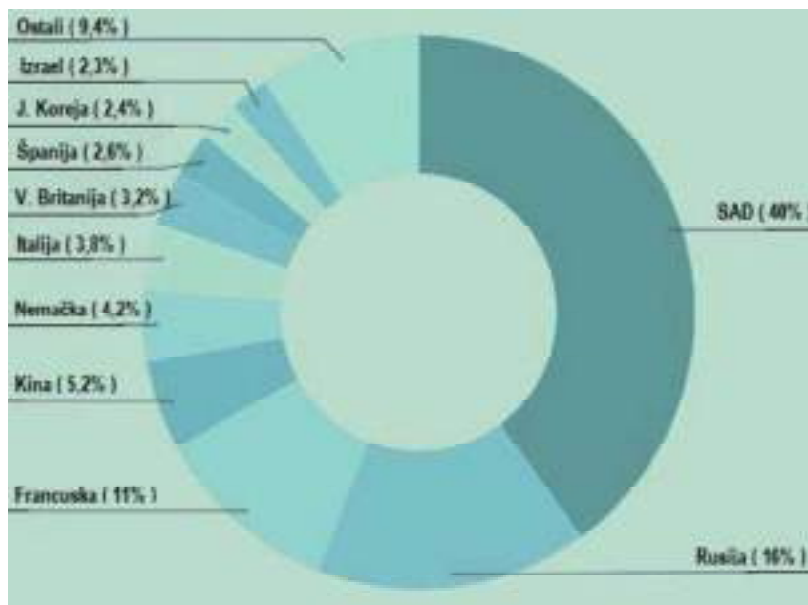
The countries in the first group have strong and modernly equipped armed forces, adapted to the military doctrine that is declarative in some countries of this group, and truly defensive in some. In the countries of the second group, two different military policies, two defense strategies can be observed. One is represented by countries that ensure complete political autonomy and independence with their defense concept, despite the necessity of relying on foreign aid in economic development. The second group is represented by countries that have adapted or subordinated their defense concept to the military strategy of the country on which they rely most in their own economic development. The countries of the third group, as a rule, do not have a consistent defense strategy, but adapt it to current internal relations and possibilities, i.e. the conditions for the materialization of military policy (Stamatović, 2001).

The aforementioned conditional classification made sense for the conditions of bipolarity in global world relations and at a time when human civilization found itself in a new state in which it is trying to impose a "new world order", in which one power (state) will govern the rules of the game. The answer to the question of how successful the project of building a "new world order" will be requires comprehensive considerations. However, what can be asserted with sufficient certainty is that in the near and distant future, human civilization will not be left without weapons, military forces will not disappear and there will be no politically and economically independent states without their own armed forces. Unfortunately, the world and the relationships in it are still so imperfect that pacifism, basically an extremely human and civilizational urge, retains its metaphysical essence.

The export of arms and military equipment in the world sets new records every year in terms of realized profits from sales. For decades, the USA, Russia, France, Great Britain and Germany have been present in this race, and in recent years China has joined them (Tian et al., 2020; SIPRI, 2022). International agencies and institutions that study conflicts, the arms race or monitor the export-import of arms and military equipment, publish data on the achieved levels of exports or imports every year. According to data from the Stockholm International Peace

Research Institute (SIPRI), in the period 2018-2022. the participation of the top ten countries in the world export of arms and military equipment is shown in Figure 1.

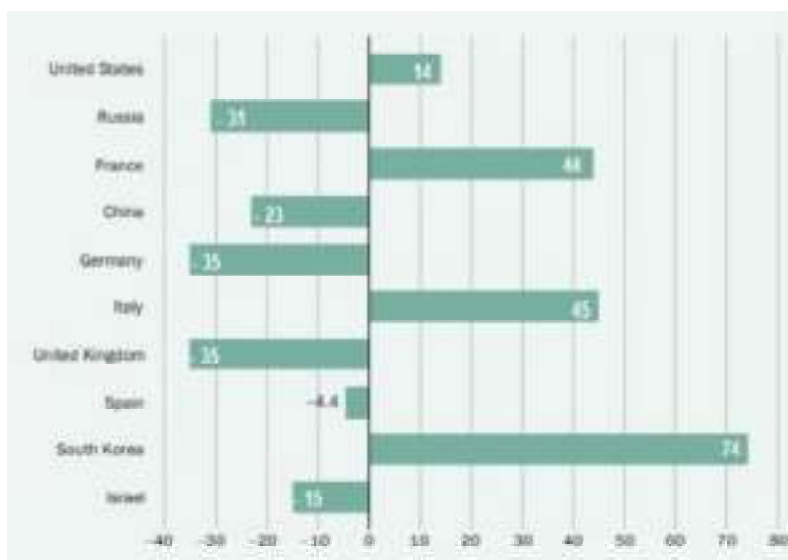
Figure 1. Global share of major arms exports by top 10 exporters, 2018–22



Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, 2023.

The volume of international transfers of major weapons in the period 2018–2022 was 5.1% lower than in the period 2013–2017 and 4.8% higher than in 2008–2012 (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Changes in the volume of arms exports



Source: SIPRI Arms Transfer Database, 2023.

The five largest exporters in the period 2018–2022 (USA, Russia, France, China and Germany) together accounted for 76% of global arms exports. The five largest importers in the period 2018–2022 (India, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Australia and China) together accounted for 36% of global arms imports (Tulyakova, Dengov, Gregova, 2021; SIPRI, 2023; Global Economy 2023; Gould, Pollitt, Wezeman, 2023; Kong, 2023; Hedlund, 2023).

The military operation in Ukraine has caused a significant increase in demand for weapons in Europe, which will most likely lead to an increase in arms imports by European states (Wezeman, 2023). Ukraine was a negligible arms importer until 2022, but since the start of the war it has quickly become the third largest arms destination in the world (behind Qatar and India). According to SIPRI, Ukraine alone accounts for 31% of arms trade in Europe and 8% of global deliveries. Ukraine's imports in 2022, including donations, increased more than 60-fold. Deliveries to Ukraine were mainly in arms from stockpiles. The most significant of these are artillery pieces from the USA, armored vehicles from Poland, anti-tank missiles from the UK, as well as several anti-aircraft systems from Germany, the UK and France (SIPRI, 2023; Hartung, 2022)

Outside Europe, arms imports fell by 40% in Africa, while in the Americas they fell by a total of 21%, in the Middle East by 8.8% and throughout Asia by 7.5%, and in East Asia there was an increase due to geopolitical tensions between Taiwan and China and South Korea and North Korea. In this region, the highest import growth rate, 171%, was recorded by Japan, followed by South Korea with 61%. The main supplier of these countries was the USA (van Lieshout, Beeres, 2022). Based on the data, it can be concluded that in many countries the equipping of armed forces with modern weapons and military equipment has accelerated with the start of Russia's special military operation in Ukraine. This is especially evident in countries involved in known theaters of war and other conflicts of greater or lesser intensity (Syria, Iraq, Iran, Yemen, South Korea, North Korea, even Japan). For example, Romania, although a member of the NATO pact, has been intensively arming itself in the last two years. Currently, Bulgaria, Israel and the USA are its primary suppliers of weapons, including ammunition, aircraft and ships. In 2022, Romania allocated around 7.3 billion euros to its defence budget, which increased by 2.5% of GDP in 2023 (Ichim, 2022; Bromley, 2022). The situation is similar with other NATO member states (e.g. Croatia) that allocate significant amounts for the modernisation of their armed forces. Even Sweden and Finland, which have decided to join NATO, are starting to modernise and equip their armed forces with new systems. However, a general observation for all countries in terms of armaments is that they equip themselves with available and affordable weapons.

The above examples speak of the state of relations between buyer countries and seller countries. Buyer countries can acquire weapons from anyone if they have

the financial means and if the seller country is willing to supply them with the requested weapons. The US and its Western allies, including Israel, are reluctant to deliver the most modern weapons and military equipment systems and means, under the pretext that Russian and Chinese experts could get their hands on them (Savić et al., 2021).

Another even more significant feature of arms and military equipment exports concerns the US military supremacy and its logistical "support" to critical countries and their infrastructure (IISS, 2023). Although thousands of kilometers away from the US, Ukraine has been placed in the logistics chain of the US and other NATO countries in the current conflict. This means that the delivery of weapons and military equipment, expert and other assistance to Ukraine will last as long as the special operation. Furthermore, according to information in the Western media, President Biden promised President Zelensky assistance to Ukraine through the production of modern weapons and systems (Sharp, 2023). In the Asian region, the US supports Taiwan, although China considers it an integral part of its territory. The US heavily equips Taiwan's armed forces, patronizes South Korea, and represents the last line of defense against a possible attack by North Korea.

In the current constellation of relations and forces, Russia is temporarily unable to deliver its weapons to other countries, traditional buyers. This primarily applies to the region of Asia, Africa and South America. On the other hand, China, which is in no way involved in the conflict in Ukraine, is expanding the scope of its cooperation with potential buyers of its weapons – Africa, India, the countries of the former Soviet Union, Vietnam, etc. (China Power Team, 2021). Therefore, the export spiral will once again benefit the US the most, and less the European members of NATO. The main question is how much longer Europe will hold out.

After Washington decided to sacrifice support for Ukraine in order to prevent the blockade of its own government, European leaders know that they will face pressure to, at least temporarily, take a leading role in supporting Kiev. The weakness of the military industry is a serious obstacle, and the diplomatic and political side of the issue will also become a problem. Zelensky promises that Ukraine will continue to fight "until victory" and that his willingness to confront Russia has no expiration date.

But the EU's problems are such that the more verbally committed it is to helping Ukraine, the less it is able to actually provide it with military and economic support. One example is Slovakia. Slovaks sent a clear message in the elections about the limits of European support for Ukraine: they voted for former Prime Minister Fico, who vigorously campaigned against anti-Russian sanctions and promised that Bratislava would not send another bullet to Kiev. Poland has not been on the same wavelength with Ukraine for a long time, partly because of refugees and partly because of grain, so the question is whether it will return to its

old course towards Ukraine after the parliamentary elections. Warsaw also threatened that it would no longer be able to send any more weapons across the border, but under pressure from the US it softened its stance a little and will send some more old weapons. Hungarian Prime Minister Orbán tightened the screws so much that Ukraine had to remove the Hungarian OTP Bank from the list of war sponsors (because it cooperates with Russia) in order for Budapest to lift its veto on the EU's €500 million military aid package to Kiev (Pollet, 2023).

Choosing between their own individual survival and sacrificing everything for the sake of Ukraine, European members are now being tested on how they will choose due to economic stagnation, high inflation and budget constraints. The EU promised to provide Ukraine with one million shells by spring next year. Half a year has already passed, and the union has delivered only a quarter of what was promised, and that from its own reserves. As for production, experts say that the European military industry can currently produce only five to ten percent of the artillery shells needed by Ukraine (Ataman, Sebastian, 2023).

It should not be forgotten that the US provides resolute political support for Kiev's interests and it is precisely this support that has pushed the EU to pay a large financial burden. And all because of the fear that Washington will reject its obligations to NATO. Was it really in the EU's interest for NATO to come to Moscow's doorstep – is a question that is now being asked more and more frequently in European capitals.

Export of special purpose products from Serbia

The decision of organizations and managers to engage in foreign trade in weapons and military equipment is accompanied by many problems, barriers, prohibitions, imposition of the will of the stronger over the weaker, crowding out of the market, and even threats.

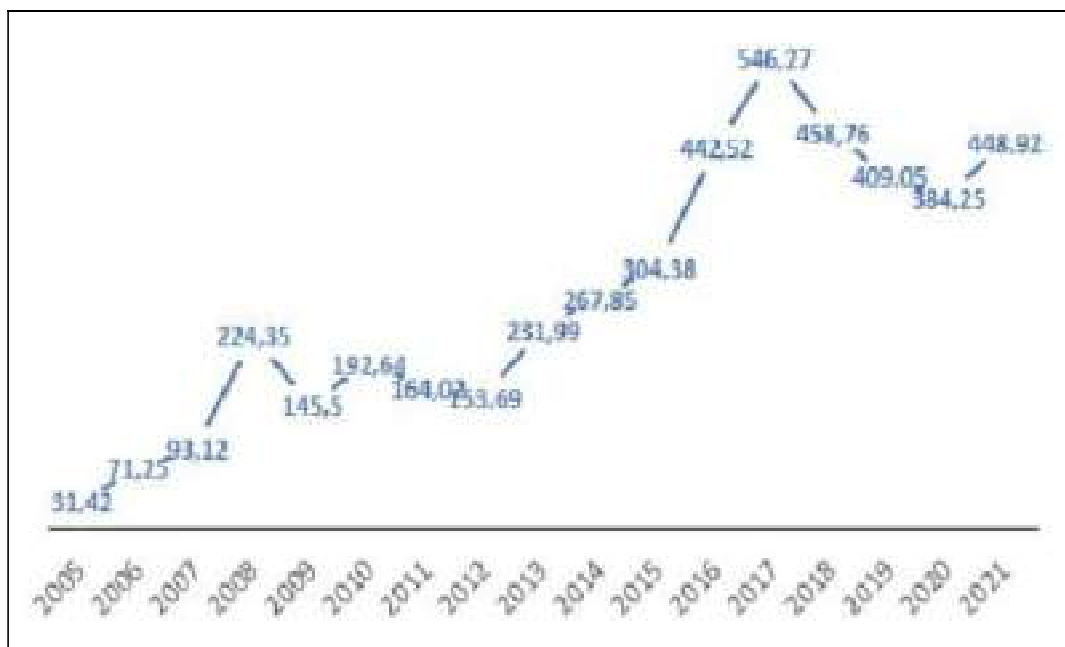
In a situation where the military industry of a country has the potential to export weapons and military equipment to a foreign market, this is most often opposed by politically, economically, and militarily stronger countries, because this reduces the market for their companies. The second reason is the procurement of weapons and military equipment at lower prices, because restrictive procurement or purchase conditions can be imposed. This puts potential exporting countries in front of a fait accompli – they will either accept the "rules of the game" or they will give up. The third reason, at least in the case of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, is the consensus on the US position that the conflict must continue, and this position is binding on other NATO and EU members.

Serbia has not imposed sanctions on Russia nor does it support the military operations in Ukraine. So, it was left alone on one side, because on the other side are all NATO and EU countries, along with Japan, South Korea, Australia, etc. Serbia is in a particularly difficult situation because Russia, as well as Ukraine,

have not recognized the independence of Kosovo and Metohija. In this context, the export of weapons and military equipment from Serbia to any party in the conflict would be considered a violation of mutual relations with Russia and Ukraine.

After decades of stagnation, inability to place orders, sanctions, war events in the former SFRY, NATO aggression, military industry companies in Serbia began to return to traditional markets. This includes not only small or developing countries, but also the placement of products in the USA, NATO countries, countries of the Asian and African continents. The volume of exports increased from year to year, so that in terms of quality, tradition, delivery times and price factor, export items were competitive and brought in a high inflow of foreign exchange (Figure 3). The stabilization of business operations, the technological, organizational and financial consolidation measures taken have contributed to the repositioning of military industry companies in old and new markets (Radić, Radić, 2018; Smajilović, Radić, Radić, 2023).

Figure 3. Exports of arms and military equipment from Serbia (millions of USD)



Source: Ministry of Internal and Foreign Trade, 2023.

The export of arms and military equipment from Serbia to other countries is regulated by a law that is almost fully compatible with the European legal framework, and therefore includes a methodology and procedures approved at the state level and that meet the specific requirements of some countries with which Serbia cooperates (primarily the USA). The legal framework prescribes who can export arms and military equipment, what requirements an organization or person must meet in order to be registered in the exporters' register, what is the procedure

for registering and submitting an application for an export license, what security procedures must be carried out and, only after all that, obtaining a license for the export of arms from Serbia.

The legal framework defined that the Ministry of Internal and Foreign Trade (formerly the Ministry of Trade, Tourism and Telecommunications) and the Ministry of Defense are key for entering the register, submitting applications and obtaining an export license. In addition to them, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Security and Intelligence Agency are also involved in the decision-making process and obtaining (or rejecting) applications. Since Serbian companies have experience with sanctions, and are under constant surveillance by foreign intelligence and other agencies, before any request, the companies conduct the necessary internal checks and analyses of the possible effects of exports (Savić et al., 2023). Most importantly, all military industry companies and other registered exporters must adhere to the security, and later political interests of Serbia. If it appears that the export will be controversial for any party, even for a traditional and long-standing buyer, it is comprehensively considered at all levels and if it is determined that it is security and politically harmful, the request is rejected and the export is not approved. This happens in cases of exports to countries that are under unilateral or bilateral sanctions by certain countries. For example, certain countries are under unilateral sanctions by the US and the export of weapons to those countries is considered by the US to be a violation of certain rules, regulations or resolutions. Other countries are under sanctions by the United Nations (UN) and this situation applies until the sanctions are "lifted", i.e. until a certain country is removed from the list of countries to which the trade in arms and military equipment is prohibited (Hamilton, 2020).

Serbia has repeatedly been the subject of discussions in international forums when it was claimed that it exported weapons and military equipment to countries that sponsor terrorism, violate human rights and do not adhere to international agreements regarding the trade in weapons and military equipment. These were often fabricated accusations, because in the end they were proven to be untrue. However, the economic effects of such accusations were to prevent the export of our companies and to gain profits that were guaranteed by exports. Such phenomena were used by other countries, as confirmed by the fact that after the "Krušik" affair, the export of weapons and military equipment in Bulgaria increased many times over and that they exported specific assets to countries to which Serbian companies were supposed to export (Kotseva, Nikolov, 2023). Therefore, not everything is in the legal or political, often not even in the security factors of the implementation of exports. Much more important is the current position and condition of the military industry in Serbia, the income generated and deliberate attacks by foreign competitors to stop or temporarily disable export arrangements. After all, there have been many such situations throughout history.

Based on the experience of sanctions, political conditioning and the imposition of rules that apply only to certain countries, military industry companies in Serbia are recovering in terms of infrastructure and technology, and they expect to implement the received export requests as soon as possible. Time in these deals, in addition to political conditions, is an important factor, because a long wait for an export license calls into question the implementation of the deals. A long wait for an export license is directly related to the decision-making mechanism and checks that are prescribed by law. On the one hand, the state must ensure itself in terms of political and security, and on the other hand, companies must make the necessary profit to invest in new machines, tools, plants and products.

What must be emphasized in the context of the export of armaments and military equipment is the fact that arms dealers are competitors. They fight for business with each other, but also with the state, or state-owned companies. There are countries in the world that do not operate according to the explicit rules of the international arms trade. When we say "explicit rules", we primarily mean the end user certificate. When there is an end user certificate, or export license, we know exactly where and with whom our weapons will end up - and it is no secret that they often end up in the hands of terrorists. This means that the countries to which we export do not respect the issued end user certificate and redistribute those weapons to some groups that use them for illegal military activities.

Serbia's current position in export deals related to weapons and military equipment is burdened primarily by political reasons. First of all, the situation in the southern province of Kosovo and Metohija, internal frictions and disagreements between the government and the opposition, the participation of international factors in supporting the so-called Kosovo and the violation of the principles of the UN Charter, and the war situation in Ukraine do not correspond at all to the capabilities and effectiveness at the disposal of military industry companies in Serbia. In production and in stock, there are competitive means of weapons and military equipment whose quality and price factor ensure that they can be delivered to any potential buyer. The implementation of previously concluded contracts with other countries is underway, even with the USA and other NATO countries. Delivery times, quality and tradition are the most important factors in the decision of a country to purchase weapons and military equipment, so Serbian companies have a strict stance on this issue and behave correctly. In the current conditions and political relations in the world, military industry companies and other exporters from Serbia are determined to export to other destinations (countries). After all, large deals have been concluded before with the so-called. non-aligned countries, among which are well-known buyers from Asia, Africa and the former Soviet republics.

Since the situation in Kosovo and Metohija is becoming more complex every day and threatens to escalate the conflict and ethnic cleansing of Serbs in those areas,

the country's top leadership has made a decision to replenish the Serbian Army with the necessary weapons and military equipment. According to this decision, the largest part of production is directed to the Army units and it is replenished with new systems and equipment in order to strengthen defense capacities and capabilities. For years, military industry companies in Serbia have not produced weapons for the needs of the Serbian Army. The reason is very clear - there was no financial possibility to allocate a larger percentage in the budget to ensure equipment with modern systems and weapons. After almost twenty years, it was decided to direct the largest part of production to the Army units, and offer the remaining part for export. In this way, the companies will achieve guaranteed jobs and a certain economic improvement, and ensure normal functioning.

Considering the fact that the export of arms and military equipment from Serbia has been constantly increasing in the last ten years and has reached several hundred million dollars, the Russian special operation in Ukraine has somewhat disrupted export business and reduced profits in the last two years. However, military industry companies are committed to producing, innovating, modernizing and marketing export activities and achieving enviable business results (Radić 2014; Smajilović, Radić, Radić, 2023).

Conclusion

The export of weapons and military equipment is an economically profitable business activity and all countries that have a military industry are committed to exporting these products. Since there is no country in the world that does not have armed forces, the need for certain weapons and military equipment will not cease despite many pacifist attitudes, opinions or tendencies. Weapons and military equipment are produced and will be produced in quantities that are determined by market demand, and demand is a variable economic category in every industry, including military. It is, therefore, directly proportional to the current political and primarily military situation in certain regions and countries.

Countries in conflict try to solve their mutual problems exclusively by using force. Conflicts, by their nature, can be short-term or long-term and in any case result in large human losses, destruction of facilities, equipment and major material damage. Countries located in neuralgic areas of the world are intensively arming themselves, without asking the price. Rich countries in the Middle East or Asia have their own research and development capacities and, in cooperation with powerful and technologically advanced countries, produce modern means of armament and military equipment for their own needs.

When it comes to the export of armaments and military equipment, it must be emphasized that there has always been competition between manufacturers. First of all, the competition was such that by exporting one's own products it was not possible to compete with the interests and aspirations of powerful powers (the

USA, Russia, Great Britain, Germany or France). This was especially present during the Cold War, when the armament of the USA and its allies in the NATO pact was aimed at reducing Russian advantages on land, sea and in the air. Competition between exporting countries intensified, but the technical and military characteristics of the systems and equipment were decisive in the procurement. This competition is often unfair and harmful to one of the parties, because the interests of one side override the interests of the other, without choosing the means.

The place of Serbia and Serbian manufacturers in the sphere of military industry is limited by a small range of products and relatively small capacities in comparison to the so-called large manufacturers and exporters. In this regard, Serbian companies find their place in the markets with high quality and price range. By fulfilling and consistently implementing the concluded contracts, Serbian military industry companies ensure the placement of the weapons and military equipment they produce. On this path, they have many barriers, subterfuge and unfair behavior of potential competitors. In the surrounding area, the biggest competitor is Bulgaria. The military industry of Bosnia and Herzegovina also has a certain potential for competition, as it has a fairly uniform production program and can to some extent compete with military industry companies in Serbia.

As a conclusion, it can be said that political relations between countries are decisive in the export of weapons and military equipment. If there is a certain political agreement between partners, military industry companies from Serbia will not have problems in the placement of their products. This suggests that maintaining good and fair relations with buyers from the USA and Western countries provides Serbian companies with a somewhat free passage to the demanding market of weapons and military equipment. Possible cooperation with stronger companies and countries would certainly contribute to improving the status of military industry companies. However, recently there have been various conditions and attempts to impose binding positions regarding, for example, the introduction of sanctions on Russia, joining NATO or accepting the foreign policy of the European Union in the process of accession of our country. No matter how much it seemed that this had no certain repercussions on the business and survival of military industry companies in Serbia, all this together greatly affects their treatment in foreign markets. Serbia's resistance to pressure is treated as non-acceptance of the positions of the USA and its allies in NATO and the EU, which worsens the possibility of placing Serbian weapons and military equipment products.

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