GLOBAL   PROCESSES

E-Journal for "Global Trends & Processes"

Contributors in this issue:

Joseph Garske, George Reiff, Hatidza Berisha, Schvab Zoltan, Jagdish Khatry, Musa S. Dibadj, Ronan Chatellier, Dr Manish Sharma, Rubin Zemon, Zoran Vitorovic, Luigi Santacroce, Stephan U.Breu, Mitja Znidaric, Craig Paterson, Astrit Memia, Parvis Hanson, Suki Medencevic

Assoc.Prof. Dr. Nguyen Viet Khoi,

Assoc. Dean, Faculty for Int'l Business and Economics,

VN University of Economics and Business, Vietnam

Prof Dr. Nilton Elias

President FABIC FACMED University,Brasil

Prof George Teofilovic

Toronto School of Managment , Canada

Prof Dr. Alexander N. Chumakov

Professor, Lomonosow Moscow State University,Russia

First Vice-President of the Russian Philosophical Society

Prof.Dr. Javier Collado Ruano,

National University of Education (UNAE) Ecuador

Founder of Global Education Magazine

Dr.Vladimir Pacheco Cueva

Aarhus University, Denmark

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Veronika Wittmann

Global Studies, Insitute for Modern and Contemporary History

Johannes Kepler University, Linz, Austira

Prof Astrit Memia (Albania)

Prof. Hatidze Berisha (Serbia)

Senior Lecturer Stoletov Oleg (Russia)

Prof Kemal Yildirim, (Turkey)

Prof Karim Ahmed Haggag (Egypt)

Prof. Jagdish Khatri (India)

Prof. Musa S.Dibadj (Iran)

Ronan Chattelier (France)

Prof Craig Peterson (USA)

Suki Medencevic (USA)

Advisory Board

H.E. Prof. Askar Akayevich Akayev
Former President of Kyrgistan
Professor on Lomonosow Moscow State University

H.E. Rexhep Qemal Meidani,
Former President of Albania
Member of East West Bridge Switzerland.

H.E. Stjepan Mesic,
Former President of Croatia
President of the Supervisory Board, Ingra Co.

Prof. Jovan Kovacic,
President of East West Bridge International
 member of Executive Committe Trilateral Commission

Prof.Dr. Olga Zinoviev
Head of International A.A. Zinoviev Science and Education Center, the Moscow State University Lomonossov,
President of the International Intellectual Club ZINOVIEV

Content

EDITORIAL

Visiting Professor Zoran R.Vitorovic

Dear Readers,

In front of you is our first issue of E-Journal „Global Processes". A quick glance at this issue highlights our commitment to publish a journal about Global trends, processes and to promote international multidisciplinary scope for processes which are going on in economy, politics, sciences, culture, and medicine.

Our E-Journal is open access so that anyone with an Internet connection and web browser can access the contents of the journal free-of-charge with absolutely no restrictions and/or registration. All published articles, photographs, tables, graphs, etc. are available online for the entire world to read, use, and exchange.

E-Jorunal „Global Processes" does not charge any fees whatsoever for an author(s) to publish in the journal. Authors publishing in the journal also retain full copyright to all their materials.

In this issue we are proud to present 17 excellent scientific papers about different Global trends and problems, written from eminent authors and contributors of our E-Journal. We hope that this First Issue will motivate other colleagues and experts to join us in a research of Global Processes on political neutral, objective and fact finding ways.

There are multiple problems which are expanding on our Globe, but as we all have just one Planet Earth it is extremely important to activate all possible sources and cooperation models to find as soon as possible responses responds on all challenges. Climate changes, political instability, lack of medical care, economic crises etc. should not be an excuse to cooperate between individuals, should not be excuse not to spread positive ideas, positive way of thinking and to try to teach a Global population that each problem is just a challenge to find proper positive answers for global progress and stability of all societies and countries.

With this E-Journal we hope, at least with our small commitment, to help all searching for responses and answers through which we all could have a benefit.

We are all one!

Till next issue we wish you to enjoy reading of our Publication.

Best Regards,

Your

Zoran R. Vitorovic

Editor in Chief

P.S.We have also a"Global Process" web Platform,open for scientific cooperation under www.gpjournal.org

DUBAI – Yesterday- Today & Tomorrow

The Economic History and Future of Dubai within the UAE

By Prof. George Reiff, PhD

Table of Content

Introduction to UAE and Dubai

In order to understand Dubai, we must make a short journey into the region it is embedded into and which emerged in modern times as the United Arab Emirates.

In 1747 the Quawasim tribe settled at the southern coast of the gulf and resorted initially to pearl fishing. Very soon the more lucrative piracy added to their income and forced the British Empire to take action against them. A first peace treaty with Britain in 1820 was not very successful and only when the "Treaty of Peace into take action against them. A first peace treaty with Britain in 1820 was not very successful and only when the "Treaty of Peace in Perpetuity" was ratified in 1853 by all involved sides the emirates became de facto protectorates of the British and are therefore called Trucial States.(1)

to take action against them. A first peace treaty with Britain in 1820 was not very successful and only when the "Treaty of Peace in Perpetuity" was ratified in 1853 by all involved sides the emirates became de facto protectorates of the British and are therefore called Trucial States.(1)

In 1892, there was another treaty between Great Britain and some emirates on the Gulf, which established the preservation of internal autonomy while none of the emirs could enter into relations with other states or sell land anymore without British approval. The British pledged in exchange to protect the Trucial States against any foreign attacks.

A consequence was that only British or British dominated oil companies were allowed to conduct the exploration and exploitation of the newcommodity with the later discovery of oil in the region in Abu Dhabi in the 1930s. Such British companies were for example IPC = Iraq Petroleum Company and the subcontracting PDTC = Petroleum Development Trucial Coast Limited from 1936 onwards. (2)

Already in the mid-1960s, Abu Dhabi and Dubai took the first steps towards independence by entertaining the thought of the creation of a federation of the smaller Arab Emirates on the Gulf, including Bahrain and Qatar. However, when Bahrain became independent on August 14, 1971 and Qatar on September 3, 1971, Britain dissolved he Trucial States in early December and parallel on 02.12.1971 the first six Emirates Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Fujairah and Umm-al-Quwain and two months belated also the seventh Emirate Ras Al-Khaimah agreed to unite and become one country and proclaimed the United Arab Emirates.(3)

Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al Nahyan became the first president of the new country and Sheikh Rashed Bin Said Al Maktoom was chosen to be his deputy. (4)

Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al Nahyan became the first president of the new country and Sheikh Rashed Bin Said Al Maktoom was chosen to be his deputy. (4)

Soon afterwards the UAE became a member of the UN and the Arab League. (5) Therefore; the United Arab Emirates came officially into being as one country and the seven constituting emirates its territory. In the founding constitution, various committees and bodies of the newly formed government were named and appointed.

The UAE have a modern day population of about 9.4 million inhabitants 6while Dubai with 2.69 million in habitants and about 3.900 km² is actually only the second largest emirate after Ab Dhabi which has a territory of 73.000 km².

More than 80% of the UAE are a desert called Al RubAl Khali, which means "the empty quarter" and in the east there is the Hajar mountain chain that stretches from peninsular Musandam into the Oman. The climate of the UAE is humid and hot and the coldest month is February with about 20 C° average temperature whileJuly has an average over 40 C°.

What is now the UAE was one of the poorest regions in the world till deeply into the 1960 (7) and the discovery of oil and the following exploration of oil deposits influenced not only the development of the economy but also the whole society life. *Oil production and revenues from the sale of oil constitute the largest single component of GDP, accounting for 39.7 percent of GDP and equaling roughly 40 percent of exports and 90 percent of governmenth as an average over 40 C°.*

What is now the UAE was one of the poorest regions in the world till deeply into the 1960 (7) and the discovery of oil and the following exploration of oil deposits influenced not only the development of the economy but also the whole society life. *Oil production and revenues from the sale of oil constitute the largest single component of GDP, accounting for 39.7 percent of GDP and equaling roughly 40 percent of exports and 90 percent of government revenue.*(8)

Political & Governance System of the UAE

The UAE is a federal state with a patriarchal presidential system, where traditional mechanisms of mutual consultation continue to play an important role. Islamic and regional traditions and modernity must be combined and kept in balance. In the individual emirates the power rests to a vast degree in each case with the sovereigns, who occupy the position of emir and whose succession to the throne is mostly hereditary.

The constituting emirates therefore still have their internal customary laws that are not embedded in federal legislation and which vary greatly from each other. Interestingly, although an emir has his loyal subjects while these tribal communities still have the theoretical power to remove an emir from office. (9)

Islam is the religion of the state, the official language is Arabic although English is widely spoken and understood. (10)

The federal government system includes the highest body of government which is the Supreme Council of Sovereigns and it is composed of the seven rulers of the Emirates, similar to the previous Trucial States Council under the English in 1952. (11)

Other Federal institutions are the Cabinet, the Federal National Council and the Federal Supreme Court.

Islam is the religion of the state, the official language is Arabic although English is widely spoken and understood. (10)

The federal government system includes the highest body of government which is the Supreme Council of Sovereigns and it is composed of the seven rulers of the Emirates, similar to the previous Trucial States Council under the English in 1952. (11)

Other Federal institutions are the Cabinet, the Federal National Council and the Federal Supreme Court.

Government

Sheikh Khalifa Bin Zayed Al Nahyan, the leader of Abu Dhabi, has served as Head of State (UAE) since November 3, 2004 (12). The Vice President is the leader of Dubai, Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashed Al Maktoum (13), who is also prime minister. Both are elected for five years by the Supreme Council. Traditionally, these offices are reserved for Abu Dhabi and Dubai executives.

The Federal Supreme Council, formed by the leaders of the seven emirates (14), is the supreme constitutional organ of the federation. He has legislative and executive power. It ratifies federal laws and regulations, determines the country's policies and makes policy decisions. Through him every five years, the president and his deputy are elected or confirmed in the office. Approves the appointment of the Prime Minister, accepts his resignation and may, on the proposal of the President, dismiss him.

Overview Other Emirates

Abu Dhabi is the capital of the United Arab Emirates. At the same time it is the largest and foremost emirate as its ruling emir is automatically always also the president of the country United Arab Emirates. The current ruling emir and president is Sheikh Khalifa Bin Zayed Al Nahyan.

In the middle of the 20th Century Abu Dhabi was mostly desert and inhabited by a few Arab tribes who had erected villages around the few fertile locations in the land. However, when oil was found in 1958 and the export began in 1962, theresult was a strong economic rise. However, then-leader Sheikh Shakhbout did not leave many funds for the nation's education and development. He became so unpopular that his brother Zayed bin Sultan al Nahyan took over the government with the support of the family and Britain by a bloodless Palace coup. Sheik Zayed bin Sultan al Nahyan had immediately launched a vast infrastructure development program in Abu Dhabi and streets, hospitals and schools have been built for the population and he spearheaded the efforts to unite the trucial statesinto one country (16).

Abu Dhabi City has a contemporary population of over 600,000 people. (17)

After the passing of his father, his first and eldest son, Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan became the new leader of Abu Dhabi and the president of the UAE. He has already directed the fortune of the nation during the long illness of the previous ruler. 18In 2008 Abu Dhabi permitted France to establish a naval base.(19)

The Emirate Sharjah was once just a small trade post and depended mostly on fishery and pearl diving. Nonetheless, historically Sharjah was already in the middle of the 19th Century one of the most important harbors due to its

strategic positioning at the Gulf of Arabia

The Emirate Sharjah was once just a small trade post and depended mostly on fishery and pearl diving. Nonetheless, historically Sharjah was already in the middle of the 19th Century one of the most important harbors due to its strategic positioning at the Gulf of Arabia.

Nowadays Sharjah is considered to be a city of knowledge and it is one of the most modern trade centers in the region as it is very closely locatedto Dubai. The emirate is ruled by Sheikh Dr. Sultan Bin Mohammed Al Qasimi. Sharjah is with 2590km² the third largest emirate after Abu Dhabi and Dubai and it is the only emirate located at the Gulf of Arabia and the Gulf of Oman.

The Emirate of Sharjah has earned a unique reputation as a destination for family and cultural tourism, providing its visitors with an ideal destination all year round. As the region's first location, Sharjah promoted tourism and is a destination in the

Middle East that has served international flights since 1932 with Sharjah Airport and has been growing ever since Sharjah is a hub for the manufacturing industry andaccounts for *48% of UAE's total industrial production*.(20).In Sharjah, 5% of UAE's gas resources are located on the coast and in desert areas inland. With 800,000 inhabitants in 2008 (21)and 1.4 million as of 2015 according to Wikipedia Sharjah City is the third biggest city of the UAE. However, Sharjah's decency laws and the ban of alcohol make it on the other hand one of the most traditional emirates within the UAE. (22)

Ajman

Ajman is centrally located on the west coast of theUAE and is ruled by Sheikh Humaid Bin Rashid Al Nuaimi.

Like Dubai, also Ajman has a historic maritime tradition of boatbuilding,

fishing and pearl trading. In our times the Ajman Free Trade Zone andthe influx of people from Dubai, Sharjah and abroad have boosted the emirate's economy in just a few years. Compared to the rest of the Emirates, Ajman City ranks third in industrial development today and has the *UAE's third largest property* (real estate)*market*. (23)

The high Musfut Mountains, south-east of Ajman City, are a special attraction for tourists. The Manama region in the east of Ajman City is a desertand mountain landscape, with rich deposits of magnesium and chromium and fertile valleys that favor agriculture.

Umm Al Quwain Umm Al Qaiwain is a small emirate covering 800 km² located south-west of Sharjah and northeast of Ras Al Khaimah. The literal translation of his name *"mother of two powers"* (24) can be traced back to the strong maritime tradition among his tribes. Umm Al Qaiwain is ruled by Sheikh Saud Bin Rashid Al Mualla.

Umm Al Qaiwain offers green mangrove-fringed coastsin the Persian Gulf, impressive inland shifting dunes and fertile land around the town of Fakaj Al Moalla in the hinterland. Traditional jobs in the fishing industry and the cultivation ofdates are still very significant in Umm Al Qaiwain. Seneyah Island, just one kilometer from the capital, is home to huge colonies of cormorants and other seabirds, gazelles, turtles and manatees.

Umm Al Qaiwain's offers a variety of recreational opportunities, such as Sailing and parachuting. However, the biggest tourist attraction is Dreamland, UAE's largest water park. But traditional sports continue to be very popular likefalconry and camel racing.

Like in many of the other emirates, investment and business have been boosted by a Mariculture Center (25), the Port and the Free Trade Zone.

RAK

The Emirate Ras Al Khaimah, which means as much as "tent top" - covers an area of 1700 km² (26) and is located at the northernmost point of the UAE. In the southeast it shares a mountainous border with the Sultanate of Oman. RAK, as it is usually abbreviated, is ruled by Sheikh Saud Bin Saqr Al Qasimi.

Ras Al Khaimah - City, the capital, is divided intotwo parts by a saltwater creek like Dubai. The western part, the "Old Ras Al Khaimah" consists of government buildings, educational facilities, shopping malls, hotels as well as residential areasand new construction projects. In the eastern part, also known as "Al Nakheel", are the Emiri Court, markets, and residential areas that house the majority of the city's population. Ras Al Khaimah has a rich history and is still famous for its exclusive pearls due to having opened UAE's first cultured pearl farm. (27)

Fujairah

Fujairah is an emirate with mountainous landscape in eastern UAE and stretches along the Gulf of Oman. It is ruled by Sheikh Hamad Bin Mohammed Al Sharqi.

The economy of Fujairah is based on fisheries, mining and agriculture. (28)Similar to Ras Al Khaimah, Fujairah is supplied with rainwater from the Hajar Mountains and thus has ideal conditions.

Fujairah is an emirate with mountainous landscape in eastern UAE and for agriculture. Fujairah's location provides access to major world trade routes. Here are also the world's largest livestock shipping companies, which use the port as a livestock transshipment point, which is intended for the Arabian Peninsula. Other local industries, such as mining and quarrying, are benefiting

from the ongoing construction boom in Dubai and Abu Dhabi. The Fujairah Free Zone around the port of Fujairah favors foreign investment in banking and trade. (29)

Introduction to Dubai

While Dubai is nowadays an exciting modern economiccenter and a global hub for trade and finance, it was originally a small pearl trader andfisherman settlement. The discovery of oil in Dubai happened in 1966 and that had a huge impact on the Emirate and its way of life. The first oil exports in 1969 were followed by a period of rapid development, which formed the foundations of today's society. In the eighties andearly nineties of the last century, Dubai made the strategic decision to emerge as a major touristdestination of international renown. Over the years, investments have been made in tourism infrastructure that has already taken off to success.

Modern day ruler of Dubai is Crown Prince Sheikh Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum, who is also Vice President and Prime Minister of the UAE. (30)

Economic History of Dubai

When in 1833 the ancestors of the modern day rulingfamily Al Maktoum moved to Dubai with about 800 supporters from an island community belonging to Abu Dhabi, the brothers Maktoum bin Buti and Ubaid bin Saeed jointly ruled there asemirs. Sheik Maktoum bin Buti survived his brother and kept ruling till 1852. (31) At the end of the 19 th Century the population of Dubai of about 10,000 people, lived mainly on pearl trade, which experienced a tremendous boom at the turn of the century as new markets were opened in Europe and the US. From 1902 onwards, the settlement of Dubai, which is located on a small saltwater brook called Creek, benefited from the political

http://theWebalyst.com

decision in Persia to introduce high tariffs. The lucrative trade shifted to Dubai and the then ruler, Maktoum bin Hashar, responded with with additional attractive trade conditions. Foreign merchants started to move to his city and located on the northern side of the Dubai creek the Souk of Deira, which is nowadays restored because of the traditional architecture, (32) became the largest far and wide. The Southern part of the creek is the location of Bur Dubai and constitutes the original settling grounds of the Ban Yas tribe that introduced the rule of the Al Maktoum emirs as mentioned above (33). Until the mid-1920s, several tax and customs increases in Persia followed, which is why more and more tradersand merchants came to Dubai in the long term. Dubai's location on the creek was convenient as natural harbor for loading and unloading the ships, since the commercial buildings were alsonearby. During the 1930s Dubai had a population of 20,000 inhabitants and a quarter was foreign (34) as the multinational mixing of the population had already begun, which still continues today.

Until the mid-twenties of the 20th century, the city's traditional business went well. The pearl industry and also trade to India flourished; the city expanded and was expanded by skilled and experienced traders who could also use their existing international trade contacts from Dubai.

The local population had more financial resources available, was able to participate more in the trade and the inhabitants of the hinterland, whose herds were used as a means of transport in caravans to the markets inland, benefited from the economic success of the city.

However, in the 1950s, the creek began to silt up as a result of the increasing number of ships using the creek. Then ruler of Dubai, Sheikh Rashidbin Saeed Al Maktoum, decided to expand the watercourse. It was an ambitious, costly and visionary project and it led to an increase in cargo handling in Dubai and

ultimately cemented Dubai's position as a major trading and export hub. (35)

The discovery of Oil in Dubai in 1966

   The discovery of oil in Dubai happened in 1966 on the offshore oil field Fateh and that had a huge impact on the Emirate and its way of life. Thefirst oil exports in 1969 were followed by a period of rapid development when Sheikh Rashid decided not to leave the further developments to chance, but to coordinate them. Dubai is one of the few cities in the world that has actually been developed according to a master plan (36), which also formed the foundations of today's multi-ethnic society. Later on in the early nineties of the last century, Dubai made the strategic decision to emerge as a major tourist destination of international renown. Over the years, investments have been made for example in improvinga tourism infrastructure but also Dubai Going Green Projects should be mentioned already here.

Development of Dubai City

   The first crude oil and Dubai in commercially utilizable flow took place in 1966 (37) and three years later, the first export was launched. The income from the mineral oil exports was used, among other things, to further improve the infrastructure, the social and educational systems, but also to expand transport links by air.

When it became clear that the economic growth of the city would continue, more and more people would come to the city and live there, Aftera city development plan had been drawn up in 1960 by the before mentioned British architect John R. Harris (38), which in large part formed the basis of the urban development, the same architectural office received the follow-up order for the creation of another master plan, which was published in 1971.

Based on the first plan (39) dating back to 1960 and incorporating it, the second development plan (40) included the construction of Shindagha Tunnel, Al Garhoud Bridge as a second bridge over the creek in 1975, the expansion of the deep sea Port Rashid, the creation of a prestigious boulevard by the sea (Deira Gulf Corniche) and the further improvement of the roads within and outside the city. In addition, a controlled expansion of the city in the surrounding areas was planned.In the future, residential neighborhood developmentshould focus on the Bur Dubai coastline towards Jumeirah and Jebel Ali, with large-scale industrial districts being identified in the urban area between Port Rashid and the proposed World Trade Center. In Deira industrial companies should settle near the Al Garhoud bridge, as well as on the road to Sharjah. Other areas included the health area with the new Rashid Hospital, an educational district with several school complexes, and a leisure and recreation area south of the Al Maktoum Bridge.

This second urban development plan had much more financial freedom than that of 1960, since oil money was now available for government investment. (41)After a fourfold rise in oil prices in the fall of 1973 (42), Dubai was able to benefit from even higher revenues from the export goods.

The plans were mostly put into action, but once again the actual developments overtook the already very generous expectations of the city planners. Especially with regard to the increase in population realities had been misjudged and additional capacity had to be created in hospital beds, living space and educational facilities. 43Sheikh Rashid's own plans for urban development continued: Dubai Dry Docks, the largest dry dock inthe Gulf, was built south of Port Rashid and inaugurated in 1974. Later on, this was again expanded by building the Hamriya port and the Hamriya Market with livestock and wholesale food assortment.

Infrastructure for Water

I n the early 1960s an imperative project came to berepresented in the form of the question of the supply of potable water to the growing city, because a pipeline from the desert oasis Al Awir did not bring enough fresh water to Dubai before long. As the water consumption had doubled each 3 years between 1962 and the end of the 1970s, the establishment of a saltwater desalination plant was decided in 1975 and two additional plantswere even built within the following five years. Water consumption in Dubai is one of the highest in the world at over 400 liters per capita per day.(44) The reason for this lies mainly in the use of certain building materials and the construction style in general. Well water accounts in our times for only about 7%, while the lion's share of the drinking water for Dubai (450 million liters per day up to 485 million liters in summer) is extracted from the sea. However, in the industrial zone of Dubai, both the local power plant and the aluminum smelter also produce drinking water by using their waste heat, which - in turn – facilitates desalination. (45, 46)

Population and Migration

  In the year 2000 the Emirate of Dubai had a population of 850 000 people and in 2005 there were 1.3 million, while in 2010 already 1.8 millioncalled Dubai their home. Estimates from 2017 indicate a population of 2.5 Million, while 15% are nationals and 85 % are expatriates and migrant workers. The rapid population growth in Dubai is therefore mainly due to the permanent influx of migrant workers. According to National Geographic's October 2017 issue the last number will even double to 5 million inhabitants in2030. (47)

Many Arabs (especially Palestinians, Jordanians, and Egyptians) and Western specialists (Europe, United States, and Canada) work and live in the emirate.

Anyone who finds a permanent position as a foreigner will immediately receive a residence and work permit.

Many Arabs (especially Palestinians, Jordanians, and Egyptians) and Western specialists (Europe, United States, and Canada) work and live in the emirate. Anyone who finds a permanent position as a foreigner will immediately receive a residence and work permit.

The strong labor demand, together with wages and salaries significantly higher than in the countries of origin, is the main reason to start working in Dubai. While Europeans and Americans are mostly delegated by companies, many Indians, Pakistanis and others have been living there for ten or more years. With their income, they support their families or other relatives who remain in their countries of origin.

Industrial Sector

With the oil revenues of the 1960s a previously utterly absent industrial sector in Dubai was started. Previously there were only trades like tailors, wharfs for dhows and fishing accessories.

Obviously, the oil industry and its suppliers brought the first industrial companies to Dubai. An industrial area that also became important for the economy of the Emirate and it had its beginnings in the founding of a designated area in Jebel Ali in the mid-1970s. Jebel Ali is located in the desert more than 30 kilometers south of Dubai. Then ruler Sheikh Rashid decided to designate the area for the establishment of industrial companies in 1975. The aluminum smelter, which went into operation in 1979, has developed into a successful company, which today still exists as DUBAL - Dubai Aluminium 48in an enlarged form. (49)

As mentioned already under "Infrastructure for Water" it is noteworthy that a combined desalination plant also operates in Jebel Ali and it produces 500.000 gallons water per day. (50)

Remarkably, the industrial sector has since the 1990 expanded to include a range of industries, contributing to between 11% to 14%(of Dubai's GDP),thus placing it as the third largest sector after Trade and Logistics. (51)

As the Dubai Plan 2021 52enters its implementation phase, the Government ofDubai developed an Industrial Strategy for the emirate as one of the targeted strategic sectors alongside the traditional ones such as Trade, Logistics, Financial Services and Tourism. The strategy aims at making Dubai *"an international hub for knowledge-based, innovation and sustainable Industrial activities"* (53), through enhancing industrial coherence and integration with other economic sectors particularly strategic ones, and to create an attractive investment environment through a set of initiatives and incentives.

The Tourism Sector

It was actually Sharjah that opened up to Western tourism end of the 1970s as first emirate. However, after the introduction of a ban on alcoholin 1979 (54) and during the 1980s the liberal emirate Dubai took over as tourist destination.

Dubai developed to being a hot spot for Europeans and in 2003 tourism in Dubai had for the first time a higher share at the GDP than the oil industry and currently about 20 % of Dubai's budget is maintained with revenue from tourism. (55)

Although the number of beds almost doubled between 1997 and 2016, their occupancy rate has steadily increased toward an average of nearly 80%. (56) If you only look at the occupancy rate of four- and five-star hotels, this would be even 85% percent (57) as Dubai is the shopping city in the world as there are more shopping malls per customerthan in any other city in the world.

Most famous among these is the Mall of the Emirates. The Mall of the Emirates' structure is modeled after the American malls. The whole complexfascinates and confuses the visitor at the same time. One can ski here at outdoor temperaturesbeyond 30 degrees Celsius, or attend a concert that takes place in the gallery, or spend time in the largest amusement park in the region.(58) Given the number of facilities, which for examplefamously include a hotel, a cinema and restaurants; one does not feel in some parts ofthe area

to actually be in a mall.

This largest Dubai mall (till 2009) has now been outranked by the Dubai Mall, which in turn will be surpassed by the Mall of Arabia in the near future. The Dubai Mall is currently the largest mall on earth.(59) Since shopping is an important aspect in the marketing concept of Dubai Tourism and Commerce Marketing (DTCM), it is dealt with in the field of tourism.

World-class hotels are towering at the Jumeirah Beach, the Hotel Burj Al Arab, for example, is the only 7-star hotel in the world (60). The Emirates Towers and Burj Khalifa are among the architectural gems that give testimony of the economic self-confidence.

Although Dubai is a relatively young tourist destination, it has a rich history and the Dubai Museum at Al Fahidi Fort, which is one of the oldest buildings in Dubai and built in 1787, allows visitors to discover Dubai's fascinating history.

Tourism is and remains to be a top priority of the Dubai government as His Highness Sheikh Mohammad Bin Rashid Al Maktoum's prestigious 10 year *(61)* 1.3billion Hatta Development Plan from 2016 62clearly indicates.

Going Green – Dubai's future

The Headline of the National Geographic's October 2017 issue reads:

"Goal, a decade ago the emirate capital had one of the largest ecological footprints of any city in the world. By 2050 it wants to have the smallest. Can it get there?" (63)

The above mentioned statement refers to a WWF publication from 2007 where Dubai and the UAE were allocated among the highest ranks of carbon emitting nations per capita. *(64)*

It is mentioned in the due course of the National Geographic article that using better insulation materials and better planning of buildings, for example to give shadow to each other, have already significantly contributed lowering the carbon footprint of Dubai's citizens to a value where it is only a bit over the average US Americanone. A rise in energy prices and prices for potable water also helps people to be reminded not to spoil resources. *(65)*

Moreover, vast areas like Dubai's golf courses and the Dubai Creek Golf & Yard Club, are irrigated with treated sewage since 2010 and contribute therefore also to the emirate's vastly increased greening efforts. *(66)*

Dubai is furthermore in the process of installing so called "Smart Palms" everywhere in the city, which are solar powered and provide Wi-Fi access, phone chargers and even security cameras. It is said that over a 100 of these installations willbe installed at city beaches and parks. *(67)*

The German country and travel lexicon Baedeker states that *"by extensive cultivation of the soil it was possible to increase the amount of arable land in the UAE from 18,000 ha in the year 1972 to over 300,000 ha."* (68) and projects like the Miracle Garden with over 7 ha flower garden where more than 45 million flowers blossom year foryear, even make news in Central Europe. (69)

However, the most striking project is certainly realized by the German company Profiteam Holzer, which is involved right now with a desert greening project of 20,000 ha. The declared goal is the transformation of this part of the desert into arable land for agricultural use. I find it noteworthy indeed that Dubai is winning here more arable land in 2018 than the whole United Arab Emirates had in 1972. Note abovementioned 18,000 ha for all of the UAE in 1972 while the size of this Dubai project is already 20,000 ha. (70)

Also in order to reach the goal of a greener footprint, according to National Geographic Dubai is extending the capacities of solar energy collectionlike in the Al Maktoum Solar Park 46 kilometres south of Dubai, where panels for the capacity of 1000 megawatts are implemented right now. The capacity is supposed to reach 5000 megawatts by 2030. (71)

Saeed Mohammad Al Tayer, managing director and CEO of DEWA confirms this in the Gulf News from September 2017 as follows: "Awarding this strategic projects comes in line withShaikh Mohammad's vision aiming to boosting the sustainability and turning Dubai into a global hub for clean energy and green economy through Dubai Clean Energy Strategy 2050, which aims to provide seven per cent of Dubai's power through clean energy by 2020, 25 per cent by 2030 and **75 percen by 2050."** (72)

Gulf News also report that *"operations* (begin at Al Maktoum Solar Park) *in April 2017 with a capacity of 800MW, the third phase will begin operations in 2020 with a capacity of 1,000 MW, while the fourth phase will begin operations in 2030 with a capacity of 5,000MW, which is 25 per cent of the total energy production in the emirate of Dubai, as estimated."* (73)

It should be clear that working with solar energy and solar panels on such an epic scale will bring a real edge to the Emirates when it comes to this technology. Future uses of oil in the face of peak oil and the wish of the Emirates to diversify complete the picture. It is noteworthy that solar panels have long outgrown their initial problems and have a durability of at least 20 years while losing only half a percent of efficiency per year. (74)

Analysis and Conclusion

The UAE and therefore Dubai is considered an important US ally. Relations with European partner countries, especially Britain and France, are traditionally established, while close cooperation with the EU do not yet exist. As mentioned before, Abu Dhabi allowed France to set up a naval base in 2008.

The the UAE has always pursued a balanced foreign policy, one of whose guiding principles is Non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, resolution of conflicts by peaceful means and constant support from international organizations like the UN, etc.

Priority is generally given to relations with the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and the Arab and Islamic world.   the Gulf (75), there are strong economic connections with Iran.

Nevertheless, the UAE also implemented UN sanctions on Iran, which had a negative impact on bilateral trade for years, especially in Dubai, whose trade has historically been tied closely withIran. The effect on economic bilateral relations remains to be seen despite the agreement of the world community with Iran following the nuclear negotiations.

Very close ties exist with India, Pakistan, as wellas Communist China, Japan and South Korea. The latter East Asians are the main buyers of the exported oil.

Dubai's is already now not necessarily dependent onoil anymore as it has been diversified and heavily based on trade, services and the financial sector. Aviation giants like Emirates come to mind and an study by Oxford Economics *"estimates that Dubai's aviation sector has alreadycreated 125,000 jobs directly, accounting for about$ 8 billion, or 28% of gross domestic product. This ratio could rise to 32% by 2020, with373,000 jobs."* (76)

Over the last decade, there has been change and growth in all sectors of Dubai's economy. Dubai's government is constantly working to improvecommercial transparency and introduce dynamic regulations that foster the creation of small and medium-sized enterprises and are able to respond flexibly to global financial challenges.

The Machinery and Equipment Sector represents 25% of the overall industrial sector in Dubai (77). *"The sector is highly significant and its competitiveness must be maintained given its lucrative investment and profitability opportunities".*On another note one should not forget the ever present Aluminum smelter in Ali Jebel and the fact that casings for solar panels are usually made from said metall.(78)

One should pay close attention to the Dubai 2020 Urban Master plan:

The key objectives include the efficient utilization of existing infrastructure, increasing investments opportunities, rationalizing **a well integrated landuse** planning and mobility network, protecting key economic assets, **preserving environment**, **diversifying energy sources**, being responsive to the **socio-economic transformation** *and improving the legislative and governance framework to streamline planning process.(79)*

When reading all these aforementioned statements and the fact that in 2030 at least 25% and 75 per cent by 2050 of the energy use of Dubai will becovered by their solar panel park, one cannot escape the amazing thought that Dubai is actively pursuing a path of becoming an experienced and well-established player on a future energy market as well.

That future energy market may well be dominated by hydrogen, which in turn is easily won by solar = electrical energy and electrolysis in salt water. Given Dubai's access to the ocean and the plentifuldesert lands with 365 sunny days per year it is a no-brainer to make out the shape of Dubai Industry's future direction and at the same time they play it safe: either these solar parks just provide green energy for Dubai or, when the need arises, they can safely look back on decades on experience in the field and expand the parks vastly, gain hydrogen for the future energy world market and continue to be an energy provider in an ever changing world.

By the way, BMW is to manufacture a hydrogen fuel cell car by 2021 (80), the hydrogen fueled Toyota Mirai is available asper later 2018 (81) and Japan wants hydrogen based vehicle transportation for the Olympics 2020. (82)

References:

1. Mubarak Al-Otabi, Dissertation: "The Qawasim andBritish Control of the Arabian Gulf" 1989, www.usir.salford.ac.uk/14700/1/D091406.pdf

2. Donald Hawley: "The Trucial States", p. 211, 1970, New York Twayne Publishers

3. William E Hudson: "Global Issues 2012", Congressional Quarterly, Inc.

4. Dr. Frauke Heard-Bey: "From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates", 1982, Longman

5. J. D. Anthony: "The Union of Arab Amirates," Middle East Journal, vol. 26, no. 3 (1972)

6. http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/united-arab-emirates-population/

7. R. Cordes: „Vereinigte Arabische Emirate. Von der Piratenküste zum

Wirtschaftswunderland", p. 249, 1985, Scholz

8. https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/gulf/uae-other.htm

9. Christopher M. Davidson: "Power and Politics in the Persian Gulf Monarchies", Chapter 2, p. 43, Oxford University Press; Hurst & Co.

(http://www.christopherdavidson.net/files/ADOAB_chapter2.pdf)

10. http://www.dubaipropertygroup.com/blog/post123.html

11. M. Hetherington, T. P. Najem: "Good Governance in the Middle East Oil Monarchies", p. 53

12. https://www.cpc.gov.ae/en-us/thepresident/Pages/president.aspx

13. https://hamdan.ae/en-us/Vision?aid=4

14. https://uaecabinet.ae/en/federal-supreme-council

15. https://www.uae-embassy.org/about-uae/history/sheikh-zayed-bin-sultan-al-nahyan-founderuae

16. https://www.uae-embassy.org/about-uae/history/sheikh-zayed-bin-sultan-al-nahyan-founderuae

17. http://www.travel-individuell.de/abu-dhabi/land-und-leute/

18. http://www.abu-dhabi.de/geschichte/.

19. http://www.uae-embassy.ae/Embassies/de/Content/789

20. https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/gulf/uae-other.htm

21. http://medomed.org/featured_item/the-cultural-landscape-of-the-central-region-in-theemirate-of-sharjah-uae/

22.   *http://gulfnews.com/news/uae/general/sharjah-s-decency-law-takes-effect-today-1.425632*

23. https://epaper.brecorder.com/2017/12/03/6-page/685369-news.html

24. http://uaemodern.com/post/107973179838/um-al-quwain-mother-of-two-powers

25. https://www.thenational.ae/uae/environment/umm-al-quwain-fish-hatchery-aims-to-boostoutput-1.282613

26. https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/gulf/uae-other.htm

27. https://www.thenational.ae/uae/heritage/uae-s-first-cultured-pearl-farm-to-open-its-doors-tothe-world-1.672353

28. https://www.khaleejtimes.com/haven-of-trade-and-tourism

29.https://www.nederlandwereldwijd.nl/binaries/nederlandwereldwijd/documenten/publicaties/2

017/10/29/doing-business-in-the-uae/Doing+Business+in+the+UAE.pdf.

30. http://www.uae-embassy.ae/Embassies/de/Content/789

31. https://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Maktoum%20bin%20Butti%20bin%20Sohal

32. http://www.godubai.com/aboutdubai/index.html

33. T. Carter, L Dunston: Dubai, Lonely Planet. 2006, SBN 1740598407

34. *http://www.godubai.com/aboutdubai/index.html*

35. Frauke Heard-Bey: "From trucial states to United Arab Emirates: a society in transition", p. 239, Longman, 1982

36. Len Chapman: "John Harris. Architect of Dubai as it used to be"

37. http://www.dubaiasitusedtobe.com/pagesnew/SheikhRashidsOil1966.shtm

38. Len Chapman: "John Harris. Architect of Dubai as it used to be"

39. Erhard F Gabriel: "The Dubai handbook", p. 93, Institute for Applied Economic Geography (1987)

40. Hajer Mohannad: "Dubai urbanization Report", p.4, 2016

https://issuu.com/hajermohannad/docs/urban_planning_report

41. ibid

42. http://www.history.com/topics/energy-crisis

43. http://gulfnews.com/news/uae/general/uae-has-highest-population-growth-rate-in-arabworld-1.358637

44. https://www.dewa.gov.ae/en/about-dewa/about-us/dewa-publications/annual-statistics

45. http://www.powerengineeringint.com/articles/print/volume-8/issue-6/features/repoweringjebel-ali-d.html

46.https://www.dewa.gov.ae/~/media/Files/About%20DEWA/Annua%20Statistics/6282_annual%20statistics_2015%20ENG.ashx

47. National Geographic, October 2017

48. http://www.ega.ae/

49. Nadine Scharfenort: „Dubai. Projekte und Visionen der urbanen Entwicklung und Diversifizierung der Wirtschaft" p. 71, Hamburg 2004

50. http://www.powerengineeringint.com/articles/print/volume-8/issue-6/features/repoweringjebel-ali-d.html , http://time.com/3625511/this-plant-in-dubai-makes-half-a-billion-gallons-offresh-water-a-day/

51. https://www.dubaiplan2021.ae//wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Dubai-Industrial-Strategy-2030.pdf

52. https://www.dubaiplan2021.ae//wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Dubai-Industrial-Strategy-2030.pdf

53.https://www.siemens.com/content/dam/internet/siemenscom/global/company/sustainability/business_to_society_global/pdf-reports/b2s-uae-report.pdf

54. http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/middle-east/trail-of-the-unexpected-sharjah-1911621.html

55. http://www.discover-arabia.de/VAE/tourismus_emirate.html

56. https://www.statista.com/statistics/487016/occupancy-rate-of-hotels-in-dubai/.

57. https://www.emirates247.com/business/economy-finance/dubai-luxury-hotels-occupancy stays-strong-as-room-rates-drops-2016-01-10-1.616722

58. https://www.forbes.com/sites/bishopjordan/2017/01/03/shopping-malls-in dubai/#6d0e23fd2a0b

59. http://flashydubai.com/dubai-mall-the-largest-mall-in-world/

60. https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g295424-d302457-r125802621-Burj_Al_Arab_Jumeirah-Dubai_Emirate_of_Dubai.html

61. https://www.albawaba.com/business/dubai-launches-ten-year-tourism-development-planhatta-901910

62. http://gulfnews.com/news/uae/government/mohammad-launches-dh1-3b-hatta-developmentplan-1.1925823

63. National Geographic, October 2017, p. 53

64.http://d2ouvy59p0dg6k.cloudfront.net/downloads/uae_ecological_footprint_initiative_en.pdf

65. http://www.utilities-me.com/article-1016-dubai-electricity-costs-have-doubled-in-3-years/

66. National Geographic, October 2017, p. 65

67. ibid, p. 64

68. Manfred Wöbcke: "Dubai", 2015, Baedeker

69.http://www.pressreader.com/germany/leipzigervolkszeitung/20160808/281560880179709

70.https://www.facebook.com/media/set/set=a.221828341242876.50964.100769810015397&type=3

71. National Geographic, October 2017, p. 63

72. http://gulfnews.com/news/uae/general/dubai-launches-world-s-largest-concentrated-solarpower-project-1.2091061

73. ibid

74. http://energyinformative.org/lifespan-solar-panels/

75. http://gulfnews.com/news/uae/uae-calls-on-iran-to-return-occupied-islands-and-stopdestabilising-the-region-1.1901498

76. https://www.nzz.ch/dem_erfolg_von_emirates_auf_der_spur-1.11191622

77. https://www.dubaiplan2021.ae//wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Dubai-Industrial-Strategy-2030.pdf

78. http://www.solarmango.com/2016/08/07/important-aluminium-frames-around-solar-panels/

79. https://www.dm.gov.ae/wps/portal/businessinner
urile=wcm:path:/DMContentEnglish/Home/Business/Planning+and+Construction/Dubai+2020+Urban+Master+plan1&mapping=businessinner

80. http://www.bmwblog.com/2017/03/29/bmw-produce-low-volume-hydrogen-fuel-cell-car-2021/

81. https://ssl.toyota.com/mirai/fcv.html

82. https://www.ft.com/content/98080634-a1d6-11e7-8d56-98a09be71849

George Reiff,Ph.D is Chair Professor at Nan Jeon University, Taiwan.

He obtained a Doctor of Philosophy (external PhD program) in ed. Law History at Bundelkhand University, India (2013), and holds titles of Doctor honoris causa from Universidad Nacional de San Martin in Peru, Angkor University and IIC University in Cambodia and a religious Doctor honoris causa in Buddhism and Hinduism from Logos University, USA

ANGLOPHONE AND CIVILIAN

LEGAL CULTURES:

Finding a language of law for the global age

By Joseph P. Garske,Ph.D

ABSTRACT:

The paper begins by explaining how the project of globalization is founded on the basis of law, how that basis is comprised of two competing Western traditions, Civilian and Anglophone, and how those two traditions represent very different understandings of what law is. The paper continues by discussing how Continental law developed out of the theological and philosophical tradition of the medieval university, how it operated within a framework of principles, and how the university scholar was the central figure of that law.

The paper explains how, by contrast, the English Common law developed as a medieval guild of trade in the commerce of litigation, how it operated on the principle of internal consensus, and how the judge who presided over its collegial foundation was the central figure of that law. The paper then discusses how the period after 1500 brought major technical change—including maritime compass, gunpowder weapons, and printing press—and how, on the Continent, this made possible the rise of national legal regimes, national languages, and nation-states.

The paper explains how, in England, these technical advances led to a restatement of its law into a more modern English language, and how its legal tradition became integral to a new form of parliamentary monarchy, with an unwritten constitution based on the use of spoken words.

The paper then discusses how a second technical revolution in the nineteenth century—with steamship, railroad, and telegraph—brought imperial competition, revealed the inadequacy of English law, and gave rise to an Anglo-American culture of legality.

The paper explains how technical development in the twentieth century—radio, cinema, television, and computer—made English an international language, and how in the twenty-first century new innovations made English a global language among all peoples and regions.

The paper then sets forth how the two laws, Civilian and Anglophone, are respectively, universal and transcendent in their operations, how Civil law requires knowledge of principle and purpose, while the Anglophone law only requires understanding the language of judicial authority.

In concluding, the paper discusses how the two legalities, Civilian and Anglophone, each have different advantages and disadvantages, that one advantage of the Anglophone method for a global Rule of Law is its collegial adaptability and its direct use of language as instrument of rule.

ANGLOPHONE AND CIVILIAN LEGAL CULTURES: Finding a language of law for the global age

1. LAW AND LANGUAGE

The project of globalization is often thought of in terms of technology, commerce, communication, and travel, but it has an important legal aspect as well. In fact, all of the great advances in technology--the ability to transmit sound and image, the ability to transfer and store information, to trade and travel across great distance--take place within an atmosphere defined by law, and against standards of legal oversight and regulation. More than that, every one of the technical advances has emerged from a process of research, patent, copyright, finance, and incorporation. Each of these steps shaped their eventual use and impact on the world, and each of these steps was legal in nature.

Moreover, governing structures that are being assembled to tie all localities and peoples together into a single seamless unity around the world are constructed on foundations of law. Whether this involves the merging of nation-states, treaty agreements, international organizations, or multi-national corporations, all of these entities and initiatives are fundamentally legal creations. Their methods of oversight, governance, and regulation are done by instruments of law. Even those incidents of crime, terror, subterfuge, and warfare that may occur outside the boundary of legal constraint are defined as being prohibited and are investigated and suppressed by means of legal authority. (Slaughter 2004: 166)

However, in this proliferation of legal instruments and institutions there are many challenges concerning how a global regimen of law should be constructed. For one thing, many national governments are involved, each of which has its own legal system. There is continuous debate not only over

methods to solve immediate and practical problems, but there are also questions about how a global regimen should be framed, according to what standard, and decided by which body. It goes without saying that such questions and problems can become extremely divisive, because they can involve matters of national interest, or sometimes national survival. But even more than these practical problems, there are deep questions about what kind of legal regimen should be constructed, and for what ultimate purpose.

The central axis around which this discussion revolves is between the two great legal systems that developed out of the Western tradition. These are usually referred to as the Continental, or Civil law on one side, and the English Common law, or Anglophone law on the other. Outwardly these two legal traditions seem to have much in common; however, there are stark differences that divide them. Obviously, they both have courts presided over by judges. Lawyers or advocates represent clients and present arguments in both systems. A continuous production of legislation shapes the internal content of the work in both legal methods. (Habermas 2008: 115)

But on a deeper, less obvious level, they have very different conceptions of what the law is, or should be. They employ very different methods in their work. They have markedly different views on what underlying purpose should guide the work of legislatures and courts. As traditions of law with these important differences, they also take part in the project of globalization in different ways. Moreover, when being employed to assemble what amounts to the legal basis for a future world order, each has certain advantages in its approach just as each has certain disadvantages.

There are many ways to contrast approaches to a global regimen under these two legal traditions, Civilian and Anglophone. But there is perhaps no more useful way than to examine them from the perspective of language.

That is, the matter of using which language or languages to construct this enveloping mechanism of governance. In fact, the proliferation of English as a global language in the late twentieth century has a great deal to do with the legal method coming to predominate within this new transnational realm of authority. The Anglophone legal approach also has a great deal to do with how and why a global regimen of governance is being constructed in a particular manner. Perhaps the key to understanding, within this context, the purely legal significance of language in both traditions, Continental and English, is to begin with a fundamental difference that separates them. Examining this difference can provide an important way to understand the importance of language in the project of globalization. (Benton 2016)

2. PRINCIPLE AND CONSENSUS

The two legal traditions were born, almost simultaneously, in the eleventh century, and they continued to develop in parallel isolation from one another into modern times. Although they have inevitably borrowed from and influenced each other, their limited contact over the centuries was infrequent and usually unfriendly. To understand their different approaches, it is useful to return to the medieval period to examine their nascent forms and to identify what was basic to the nature of each. Although their origins were very different and quite separate, their beginnings were actually both part of a great turning point in Western history usually called the Gregorian, or Cluniac Reform.

This seminal event began to unfold with the rise of Gregory VII as Bishop of Rome in 1073. Although generally viewed in religious terms, it also marked the onset of a legal transformation that would take place across all of Latin Christendom.

The beginning of the Civil tradition is usually marked from the founding of the University at Bologna in 1088. That institution was, from its inception, a place for the study and teaching of law. The great scholars Accursius and Irnerius attempted to adapt the rediscovered Roman Code of Justinian to a rather backward and agrarian medieval world. The result was a legal regime that combined the two elements of jurisprudence and theology; it was known as the jus commune, or common law of all Christendom. Following on these origins the study of law came to be integral to the scholarly tradition of the Latin world. Over time the University at Bologna, and those universities that followed it, included in their course of study not only legal matter but also other disciplines. These included literary, philosophical and artistic elements that comprised the whole of a Western tradition extending back to the ancient Greeks and Romans. Law came to be considered one part of a great continuum of knowledge that comprised a single unified whole. (Radding 1998: 158)

At Bologna, the language of instruction had been, of course, Latin, the universal language of scholarship. But the students who gathered there were often from many parts of Christendom, each a native speaker of the vernacular from his own region. Most of these dialects were variations of the Latinic, French, Germanic, and Slavic linguistic groups. It was also quite natural for the students to house themselves together in lodges as a natio, or nation, in which they spoke their common language while living together at the university. When the students completed their training and returned to their home regions, the bond of fellowship made in each natio continued, and over generations came to be more formalized into a kind of permanent regional fraternity. A rudimentary national law began to develop in each separate locale of Europe. Yet, because the concepts and principles of the Roman law were abstract in nature, its methods could be adapted to each of the languages.

Thus, all the kingdoms, principalities, and cities of Christendom were still united under a broad panoply of legal principle that was expressed in Latin, and was universally intelligible among them. (Bellomo 1991: 55)

Although this realm of law included England, there were other separate and peculiar aspects to legal development in that kingdom that did not exist on the Continent. Historians mark the origin of its unique tradition of English law from the time of the Norman Conquest, in 1066. In that catastrophic invasion, one of the turning points of history, tens of thousands of innocent victims died. Entire regions were depopulated as virtually all the arable land was seized by an imposed nobility of foreign invaders. William II established a highly centralized form of rule over what came to be the servile population of an inescapable island domain. Norman rule was extremely harsh, often imposed under the auspices of an absentee king. Included in this new regime were three Royal Courts of Justice centered in London. The main function of these courts was to resolve disputes between the nobility over questions of possession and title to land. Land was extremely important, because during the medieval period it was virtually the only form of wealth and the main source of revenue for the king. (Lesaffer 2010: 207)

Originally, the three Royal Courts were presided over by judges who had been trained at Bologna. But, following a dispute in 1166, King Henry II banished the learned jurists and took control of legal matters himself. Attached to the courts was a retinue of recorders, messengers, servants, scribes, and guards--functionaries who, in the practice of the time, had organized themselves into guilds of trade. In place of the jurists, the king granted a monopoly to the guildsmen, who would thereafter administer legal affairs. The arrangement worked well for the king, because the courts now worked at no expense to him. Instead, the guildsmen were self-supporting from the fees and gratuities they extracted from the litigants, and the royal treasury benefitted

from a continuous flow of fines, bails, and forfeitures. (Potter 2015)

From that time forward, the guildsmen operated their courts as a commerce in litigation. Like all such fraternities of trade, theirs was an organic fellowship based on oath of membership and an enforced discipline. Being only semi-literate during an age when most persons could not read and books were scarce and precious, they developed their own peculiar terminology that eventually became secreted among themselves as the basis of their trade. They employed only a few inscribed writs and forms inherited from the learned jurists. As a collegial body, they operated on the basis of internal consensus, their method of applying those writs and forms developed by increments over generations to match ever-changing circumstance. Because their internal procedures worked mostly by the fluid means of argumentation, continuous adjustments in scope and practice were not difficult to make. (Baker 2002: 30)

The method and learning of the guildsmen had almost nothing to do with legal scholars or the university, including Oxford and Cambridge. Within the workings of English Common law, the judge, like the king in Norman Kingship, acted as an oracle of law; his pronouncement was quite literally law, because he had spoken it and could enforce it. The judge derived his coercive power from the monarchy, but he received his authority as judge from the fellowship of trade in which he was embedded and in which he was presiding authority.

To him, the Civilian professor of law, was part of an alien community, its scholars, the central figure in a Romanist law, were viewed as dangerous rivals. From the twelfth century onward the university Doctors of Law and their philosophical teachings were shunned as anathema by the Royal Court guildsmen.

3. THE MODERN AGE

A profound change began to overcome the medieval world around the year 1500, a change made possible by a dramatic advance in technology. Although many engineering and scientific advances came during that period, none were more important in their effects than what came to be called the Three Great Inventions: maritime compass, gunpowder weapons, and the printing press. Their impact was both immediate and profound. The compass brought improved navigation, an increase of foreign trade, and the rise of fabulously wealthy cities. The new weapons brought mass armies and a kind of total war that had never been seen before. The printing press brought an ease of publication and widespread literacy. Moreover, with the innovation of moveable type, books could easily be published, not merely in Latin, but also in the vernacular languages spoken in the various parts of Christendom. (Misa 2011: 19)

There were many other factors giving rise to what became a dramatic turning point, but two were especially important. On one side was the increasing influence of the newly ascendant merchant townsmen, a class that was impatient under rule by the old landed nobility. They also resented the strict regulation of commercial affairs under provisions of the jus commune. The second factor, and allied with the merchant class, was an increasingly powerful stratum of judges and advocates in each region. They resisted close oversight by the Universal Church, which at that time, in its combined religious and secular aspects, represented the single great unifying body of authority in the Latin world. The Church, after all, was not only a religious institution, it was equally, a legal one. Its continuing predominance through the centuries was not only sustained by its doctrinal teachings, but also had much to do with the acumen of its judicial bishops and the inventiveness of its canon lawyers. (Bellomo 1991: 65)

The result of these converging factors, old and new, ecclesiastical and secular, manorial and mercantile, was a period of civil and religious upheaval that engulfed Europe and England throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It would finally resolve itself only after an unprecedented catastrophe of bloodshed and destruction. Out of an accommodation between the old nobility and the merchant townsmen, the old Church and the national religions, Christendom was broken into a pattern of nation-states, each with its own language, its own religious teachings, and its own law. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Three Great Inventions had been the catalyst that made these changes, not only possible, but almost inevitable.

From a legal perspective, this was especially true in the case of the printing press. Moveable type had made printing in the various languages possible. With only a change in the order of characters, books could now be published in any language. They could be produced inexpensively, distributed widely, and literacy became common. With a code of law, a Bible, and a reading public in each national language, a world of nation-states became practical. Moreover, because the Civil law was based on abstract principles, that law could be adapted to the use of each of those polities. The triumph of the nation-state, symbolized by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, was based on the principle of sovereign nationality, and would be the crowning achievement of the Civil law tradition. (Bellomo 1991: 108)

In England, the period of chaos and bloodshed which occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries resolved itself somewhat differently. But events there were also shaped by the confluence of a rising merchant class and the impact of the great technical innovations. One most critical change was that the Royal Court lawyers, under the great jurist Edward Coke, worked to restate their law into standard English, and began to adjust its methods so

they could now litigate matters of monetary as well as landed interests. Once again, in this new phase of development, the Royal Courts would establish themselves at the crucial juncture where knowledge of the law coincided with the power of wealth. Although their importance within the monarchy had already increased over the centuries, their alliance with the merchant class gave them infinitely more autonomy. Instead of being merely a kind of bureau within the monarchy, serving at the pleasure of the king, they had now come to dominate both the Criminal Courts and Parliament as well. Eventually, combined with a newly empowered monetary class, they were actually able to overthrow the Monarchy itself. (Lesaffer 2010: 336)

In its place, they established a theocratic Puritan Commonwealth in England. But after its failure and a brief restoration of the old monarchy, real and permanent change came in 1689 with the Glorious Revolution. It was the English counterpart to that which had occurred on the Continent at Westphalia in 1648. England now had a Parliamentary Monarchy which was founded on three elements. First was a new king invited from Holland, William III. Along with that was a reconstituted House of Lords, no longer comprised of men-at-arms, but instead, men who combined enormous land holdings with monetary wealth. Finally, the House of Commons was reconstituted in such a way that the guild lawyers were integral to the foundation of government itself. With the infusion of Dutch financial and naval resources, London would soon become the capital city of a vast imperial system.

The new Constitution of 1689--famously unwritten-- was organic in its makeup and operation. Unlike the Civilian nation-state, the English method of rule was inexplicit in its construction and amorphous in its procedure, unconstrained by rigid principle or doctrine. Its departments and functions

were highly personal in nature, not clearly defined as institutions. The entire hierarchy of rule—from the hereditary and ennobled at the top, and the professed and fraternal in the middle, to the great mass of individuated subjects at the bottom—moved by small increments to match changing conditions domestically and around the world. Its malleable technique, still proudly insular, was even able to absorb elements of both Civil law and the Law Merchant from Europe. But the unifying element holding the entire edifice together, including its heredity peerage, and its professed fellowship of law, was its mono-phone reliance on the English language. That language, highly cultivated and effectual in its use, became the primary, and illocutionary, instrument of rule.

4. GEOPOLITICS AND CRISIS

For more than eight hundred years, the two traditions of law, Anglophone and Civilian, operated and developed in relative isolation from one another-- that is, until a second technological revolution brought dramatic change during the nineteenth century. Many mechanical and scientific advances appeared at that time, but they can be symbolized by three: the steamship, railroad, and telegraph. Their impact was not as profound as those of the fifteenth century; but they were equally important in that they had the effect of spreading the Western modes of commerce and governance to all parts of the world. With new abilities of trade and transport, conquest and control, a new form of modern empire began to arise. England, which had become the undisputed arbiter of world order, now had competitors from among the Continental nations. Various countries had moved quickly to acquire or annex any remaining unclaimed territory around the world. Among them were Italy, Belgium, Russia, and especially the recently unified Germany. (Lesaffer 2010: 431)

The world came to be defined in terms of geopolitics and now existed under threat of a possible worldwide war. Not only were the Continental nations able to employ the new means of communication, commerce, and warfare, they also had one important advantage over the British. Until that time, Britain and its Empire comprised a rather haphazard collection--a Mother Country and an assortment of colonies, outposts, and dependencies. Administered by treaty, client kingship, and military compulsion, it was not really an empire in the sense of a uniformly governed realm. One reason for this deficiency was that Britain had no adequate system of law for such organization. The old Common law was an anachronism, quaint and often crude in its application, suited only for the topography and people of the island kingdom where it had originated. This legal weakness in the imperial structure had shown itself most dramatically with the loss of the American Colonies, beginning in 1776. But, during the nineteenth century, that weakness had an even greater potential importance: it might now imperil the very existence of the Empire itself. (Karsten 2002)

By contrast, the Continental Empires were able to not only administer from afar, they were able to explicate and adapt their method of law to various populations in distant regions, and in the local language. As this competition of empires grew more alarming, Britain sought a legal answer to the geopolitical problem. Ironically, it did so in Germany which had become pre-eminent and widely emulated for its legal studies--even in America. English jurists, including John Austin and Henry Maine were among the first who travelled to the University of Berlin, which had become famous around the world for the study of law. They and others launched a program within England to surpass the old forms and writs of guild law by creating entirely new legal instruments— especially of contract and incorporation. (Rumble 1985)

However, they did not adopt the principles and concepts that guided the jurisprudence of the Continent, not precisely. Nor did they adopt an enveloping external framework of universal ideals and assumptions by which English law could be guided, in the manner of Civil law practice. Instead, they inverted the Germanic approach, constructing principles and concepts to be employed as internal instruments of legal rule.

English law, once known as a law without books, came to be developed as a complex science, with the law library as a central feature. By adapting through inversion the Continental methods of complex legal reasoning, a medieval fellowship of law was able to engage the modern imperial world in a way that came to be called Abstractionism, or Formalism—while still retaining its fundamental basis as a fellowship of trade.

To these legal methods were added a geopolitical strategy as well. Britain, quite naturally, sought to win back the United States as a permanent ally, to balance against both its potential European rivals and against Russia.

This new Atlantic Alliance would be based on historicism, racialism, commercialism, intellectualism, and especially legalism. American law, which in the nineteenth century had become highly influenced by German scholarship, began late in that century to re-align itself with the Anglo-Saxon tradition.

A Great World War effectively ended German legal influence in America and around the world. Within a generation the English-speaking peoples had come to be united as a predominant force in world affairs, with a Special Relationship between Britain and America. It was a relationship founded on the authority of law. (Churchill 1983)

5. A TECHNOLOGICAL TURN

One factor contributing to the scale, ferocity, and destructiveness of the second worldwide war in the mid-twentieth century was the advent of new types of communication technology, particularly radio and cinema. For the first time, using these devices, it was possible to mobilize entire national populations for purposes of production and warfare.

This was also an important factor in the nation-state reaching its highest level of consolidation during the early twentieth century. Political leaders in each country, each national enclave, each with its own language, were able to unify their people against foreign rivals. One result of this ability to create and orchestrate atmospheres of thought was a scene of unparalleled carnage, with the assembling of mass armies and the advent of Total War, with the people of one nation bitterly united against the people of an enemy nation.

One outcome in the aftermath of the second worldwide war was the ascent of the English-speaking alliance, with its military power at its peak and its industrial capacity almost unscathed. Having such advantages, it was not surprising that the Anglophone nations came to dominate trade and finance around the world.

One incidental aspect of this rise was the proliferation of English as an international language of commerce, of broadcast, and even diplomacy-- especially among those of the affluent and educated classes on all continents. Moreover, those countries that had once been either colonies or possessions of the British Empire—including not only Britain and America, of course, but also Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and, on a jurisprudential level, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Israel—amounted to the skeletal basis of an alternative world system based in a fellowship of law and a common language. (Northrop 2013: 75)

But the first half of the twentieth century and its great war was only a prelude to much more dramatic technological developments to come. The latter part of the century brought even more phenomenal devices, especially television and the computer. Initially, their effect on systems of government and methods of law seemed to be contradictory, both potentially strengthening and weakening. The computer was an unqualified positive for the multi-national corporation, with its calculative and data storage capacities, and the ability to direct information and its uses. This made international finance and trade matters of instantaneous transaction, while it brought new potentials for corporate management over long distance. However, although large business enterprises benefited, those same technical advances began to undermine the protective borders of each individual nation-state. For territorial governments they created difficulties of economic oversight, regulation, and taxation.

At the same time, television expanded the reach of commerce with an ability to create large audiences of viewers across each nation. Marketing campaigns could now reach entire populations. But television was also able to instantly broadcast graphic stories, especially from distant countries around the world, countries that had long existed almost beyond public awareness in the world centers of power. Unregulated journalistic influence contributed to discontent and upheaval, which sometimes erupted into demonstration and revolt, not merely in the third world, but in Europe, England, and America as well. However, once again, television and computer were merely the second wave of advance, and would be followed by a third wave with the arrival of the twenty-first century. The new age of technology brought not only change; instead, it brought change as the basis of a way of life, and it did so around the entire globe. (Misa 2011)

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, the new computer and communication networks had made it possible to penetrate any domicile on the face of the earth with a constant flow of electronically transmitted sound and image. Any amount of information could be transmitted from any one location on earth to any other. Capital, resources, and labor could be assembled, and military invasion carried out on any continent, regardless of distance or topography. Enormous networks of communication had come to encircle the earth, leaving a world of nation-states in disruption. Moreover, because of their strategic advantage, the English-speaking nations led in these developments as well. Now, English was not only an international language among a high stratum of finance and trade. It was also becoming a global language, spoken at least on a rudimentary level by nearly the entire rising generation in every region of the world.

6. UNIVERSAL OR TRANSCENDENT

Both traditions of law, Anglophone and Civilian, are extremely important and both are extremely influential in the project of building a seamless atmosphere of oversight and governance across all lands and peoples. But they approach the task by different means, with different ultimate purposes in mind. These differences are basic to the nature of each, and can be traced in their nascent forms, back to the simultaneous beginning of both laws in the eleventh century. In that these traditions represent two different foundations upon which governance is based, they have different ways of ordering human life and shaping human thought. They approach the project of globalization in different ways. (Habermas 2008: 115)

These differences between the two legal approaches to shaping a global order become apparent in the way each has certain advantages and each has certain disadvantages. In particular, their varying aptitudes can be understood

in the way the Continental is universal in outlook and the Anglophone law is transcendent in its operation. Universality carries with it the implication that a law can apply equally in all regions, to all people of every rank and status, rich or poor, male or female. Its encompassing philosophical principles are thought to be everywhere valid as well as an assumed capacity of reason naturally inherent to all humans. It is not based on a premise of superiority and inferiority of persons, on a distinction between privilege and right, knowledge and ignorance, or ethics and norms.

In that sense, it produces a legal culture built as much from the ground upward as from the top downward. The workings of law and government must conform closely to its underlying principles, or the basic premise will be discredited. Such a view of human capacity also presupposes the importance of culture in the sense of cultivation of all persons in thought, word, and deed. It assumes that where persons are able to govern themselves, and conduct their own affairs—the Common Sense, or Sensus Communis of Kant--they will have less need to be ruled over by the coercive force of law; all of which will conduce to a happier and more prosperous way of life. Because of these assumptions, the first concern of a Civilian legal culture in the modern secular age was that all persons within its realm were educated in its egalitarian premise, that they were unified on its principle of philosophical, ideological, or scientific understanding.

By contrast, the Anglophone tradition has from its inception been transcendent; it wields a collegial authority superior in its workings, above all persons and things. By this elevated independence, it administers the affairs of human thought and action—and does so impartially, by the application of concepts and doctrines. In fact, the English tradition operates on a strict division of knowledge between those who rule by the instruments of law, and

those who are ruled over. In effect, jurists and practitioners of law occupy an entirely different realm of knowledge than does the public generally. That realm of legal knowledge and authority is assumed to operate beyond the reach of public understanding. In Anglophone tradition, the basis of stability does not rest with an assumed faculty of reason shared by both legal authorities and the public at large. Instead, the basis of stability rests with the unity and discipline that exists within the fellowship of law. A public attitude of inviolable sanctity toward judicial oversight is essential to its ordered and continuing rule. Thus, the first concern of Anglophone law is always to maintain the unquestioned authority of its institutions, with its unchallenged hierarchy of enforcement in place. (Kennedy 2016: 218)

Nonetheless, this transcendent law offers the public two great benefits: one is an unusual degree of freedom--even though it is freedom within particular limits. In other words, individual persons are provided great latitude to think and act any way they desire, as long as they do not exceed the boundaries set by judicial authority. The second marked advantage of the Anglophone tradition is that of flexibility and adaptability. Its authority is vested in a unified fellowship of jurists and practitioners, answerable to no outside authority. Unconstrained by strict principle, their methods and techniques can be readily adjusted by consensus to meet changing circumstance.

Moreover, there is very little required in the sense of a complicated ideology or philosophy, topics that require laborious and expensive measures to instill among a global public. There is no urgent need for transcending beliefs or attitudes toward this type of legal rule extending across all regions and peoples. However, it is essential that those who rule speak the same language among themselves, as a basis of collegiality, and that those ruled over, at least

on a rudimentary level, are able to understand the language in which that authority expresses itself. In other words, unlike the principled basis of Civil law, which must rely on the medium of thought, Anglophone law must rely on the medium of language. (Glidden 1991)

7. LANGUAGE AND GLOBAL LAW

As the twenty-first century began and the seismic impact of technology spread across the earth, the two necessary linguistic elements of an Anglophone global law were also being completed. Those were, first of all, a transnational fellowship of legal transaction and adjudication that could wield a common legal authority around the world. Its members were united by commonalities of training, interest, purpose, and by a common language. Equally important, the second essential element of Anglophone legal rule was being added: an understanding of its language of authority by the global public. In fact, an entire rising generation around the world was coming to be conversant in English. But even the miracles of technology and the proliferation of a common language, still preserved the absolute division of knowledge, the always unbridgeable chasm separating those above from those below in an Anglophone legal realm. In fact, the combination of linguistic penetration and immersive dissemination had now made this division possible in a different way and on a global scale. (Misa 2011)

In this new regimen, much of the transcendent ruling strata would operate as it had before. It would still work on the principle of face to face collegiality acting upon the fixed printed text. The unity of such an organic tradition had always lay in strong personal commitments to a strictly imposed ethos, along with a shared collective purpose—as well as the financial opportunity it represented. It had begun centuries before as a guild of trade, with induction to membership and investiture to office; it had grown into a bond of cohesion

by close familiarity and mutuality. Its members were not precisely joined together by institutions, doctrines and principles, or religious beliefs—even though all of these may have been accoutrements of their legal rule. Instead, fundamentally, it was a fellowship joined by voice. That is, by the oath of membership, the argumentation of their procedures, the oracular pronouncements of their judges, and the constant deliberation by which they maintained a workable consensus among themselves.

For purposes of legal rule on a global scale, the many national publics of the world would be comprised of dispersed families and individuated persons. Communication among them would be formatted primarily through mediated channels. Their understanding of the world would not be according to a deeply instilled ideals as in the past; instead, they would inhabit a reality shaped by the continuous flow of electronically transmitted sound and image. Rather than principles formally instructed, they would be guided by the immersive ephemera of information. The level of culture and learning of the global public would be less important than their access to the electronic sources of information. By this immersive atmosphere of sound and image the global population would have a mediated understanding of the world adequate to the purposes of global governance. The internal consensus within the legal fellowship could be matched with an attitude of compliance among the global public over which its rule of law extended. Within such a regimen, however, it was necessary that the whole be done in a single language.

The great advantage of this combination of fellowship and technology was that it could be pragmatically adaptable to changing circumstance. Unlike the Civilian approach, it was not bound by impinging principle and inhibiting doctrine. Nor was it forced to undertake the prohibitively expensive task of educating an entire global population--through an array of innumerable

languages--in complicated structures of knowledge. Instead, peoples of the world could remain individuated, separated by identities of culture, ethnicity, gender, and degree of wealth, but united by a common language of law. Its only real requirements were internal consensus within the fellowship and external compliance among the public. By this means, it may be able to provide, for the first time in human history, a stable and cohesive, overarching and seamless legal authority--an Anglophone Rule of Law in the age of globalization. (Breyer 2015: 167)

SOURCES:

Alston, William 2000: Illocutionary Acts and Sentence Meaning, Cornell University

Austin, J.L. 1962: How to Do Things with Words, Oxford University

Baker, J.H. 2002: English Legal History, Butterworths

Bellomo, Manlio 1991: The Common Legal Past of Europe 1000-1800, CUA Press

Benton, Lauren 2016: Rage for Order: The British Empire and the origins of international law 1800-1850, Harvard University Press

Breyer, Stephen 2015: The Court and the World: Americn law and the new global realities, Knopf

Churchill, Winston 1983: History of the English-Speaking Peoples, Greenwich House

Giddens, Anthony 1991: Modernity and Self-Identity, Stanford University

Habermas, Jurgen 2008: The Divided West, Polity Press

Habermas, Jurgen 1981: The Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and the rationalization of society, Heinemann

Habermas, Jurgen 1979: Communication and the Evolution of Society, Beacon Press

Kallendorf, Craig 2002: Humanist Educational Treatises, Harvard University

Kennedy, David 2016: World of Struggle: How power, law, and expertise shape global political economy, Princeton University

Kennedy, George 1999: Classical Rhetoric: Christian and secular tradition, North Carolina

Karsten, Peter 2002: Between Law and Custom: The British diaspora 1600-1900, Cambridge University Press

Lambropoulos, Vassilis 1993: The Rise of Eurocentrism, Princeton University

Lesaffer, European Legal History: A cultural and political perspective, Cambridge University Press

Luhmann, Niklas 2000: The Reality of Mass Media, Stanford University

Misa, Thomas 2011: Leonardo to the Internet: Technology & culture from the Renaissance to the present, Johns Hopkins University

Northrop, David 2013: How English Became the Global Language, Palgrave

Ong, Walter 2002: Orality and Literacy, Routledge

Potter, Harry 2015: Law, Liberty, and the Constitution: A brief history of the Common law, Boydell Press

Radding, Charles 1998: The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence, Yale University

Rumble, Wilfred 1985: The Thought of John Austin: Jurisprudence, colonial reform, and the British Constitution, Althone Press

Searle, John 1969: Speech Acts: An essay in the philosophy of language, Cambridge University

Slaughter, Anne-Marie 2004: A New World Order, Princeton University

Wendt, Alexander 2007: Social theory of International Politics, Cambridge University

Joseph P Garske is writes and speaks on topics of legal culture, technology, convergence, and globalization. He holds a bachelor degree in Social Science (History) from Harvard University serves as Chairman of THE GLOBAL CONVERSATION.

http://theWebalyst.com

Geostrategic and Geopolitical interest of the USA in the Asia-Pacific Region

By Prof. Hatidze Berisha,Ph.D.

Summary:

This paper will examine the geostrategic and geopolitical interests of the United States in the Asia -Pacific region, taking into account the specifics of the US as still the only global power and aspiration to retain the current unipolarorder at the global level. Also it will be discussed conversion of the soft and hard power which United States projected into the concept of *smart power*.

The Asia - Pacific region (APR) as a priority of US foreign policy, through consideration of the characteristics and importance of the region, transferred the center of gravity of US foreign policy from the Middle East.

The aim of the study is to examine the application of the concept of smart power in geostrategic and geopolitical interests of the United States in the Asia - Pacific region.

Further considerations and the work as a whole, does not prejudice the reasonableness of the United States on a global scale, but points the comprehensiveness of approach to the application of available power

http://theWebalyst.com

resources in achieving national interests in certain parts of the world, and in the specific case of the Asia - Pacific region.

Keywords: interest, the Pacific, the United States, China, a global force, national safe performance,

Introduction

United States, still the only global power after the Cold War period, which owns the entire range of power resources, gain this positionthanks to decades of strategic development of   military, economic and cultural resources, supported by constant development of trade and economy, the constant influx of academically educated people from around the world who have made an outstanding contribution to the technological development of the United States, as well as the favorable geographical position.

The rule of law and the inviolability of private property, as well as planning and aggressivepropaganda of "American" way of life with the design benefits of achieving the "American dream", available to any member of any nation, race or religion, with economic and military power on the rise as the elements that manifest a particular strength nation, were advantages that United States gain, after the victory in World War II, and also one of the most desirable country to live in and develop the professional level.

In this way, the United States have created the image of justice, *"the American way"* to a number of countries , which was on the foreign policy often manifested in significant diplomatic activities and the use ofmilitary power, performing a military action or formal military presence and intimidation in order to protect national interests.

In pursuit of the realization of the proclaimed national interests and strengthening the force of the attractiveness of American values, theofficial US administration have used for decades the levers of power that has its basis in economic, military and cultural resources.

The influence of power in international relations and the tendency of leaders of the great powers to reach the maximum power in all domains, to change the behavior of other entities in order to achieve their own interests, to link the states and empires that have throughout history of human civilization achieved the most significant impact on the geopolitical environment, both at regional and at the global level.

Cold War era was characterized by the projection ofsoft and hard components of US power in order to realize the national interest in all meridians, depending on the current balance of power the United States and the Soviet Union in a particular region and globally, as well as the strategic plans of the current administration of both sides.

Post-Cold War foreign policy of US performance has been characterized by unilateral military action in all regions where the vital interests of the United States were threatened. The soft component of power, as an instrument of foreign policy in achieving geopolitical and geostrategic interests, was used for aggressive performance in the glorification of American values in the form of popular culture and universal values of the American model.

However, in the second decade of 21st century, which is characterized by the rise of new powers and understanding that only hard power in the realization of the vital interests of the nation is ineffective, forced the United States, as the only force of global reach, to accede to the creation of a new concept of integrated power.

The rise of emerging powers in the Asia-Pacific region, led by the People's Republic of China, resulted in the need for creation of new strategies projection of US power in this economically and militarily the most dynamic area of the world - a strategy that will require leadership skills of efficient combination resource of soft and hard power.

As in previous times, each geographical entity - region, thanks to its characteristics, required a special strategy for the projection of power by the United States in order to achieve the national interest. The specificity of the Asia-Pacific region, which is reflected in the level of development of resources hard power of PR China and the DPR Korea, energy dependence and intricacy of military-economic interests of the US and China, Japan and R. Korea, relations of the countries in the region and their historical heritage, and the current redistribution of the power at the global level among the emerging powers, suggests a new qualitative approach in dealing with potential security threats.

With the expectation that the economic, cultural and military power of countries of the Asia-Pacific region in the near future will reach a very high level of development,it is inevitable that their sum is reflected in the political power and international credibility, which the countries of the region assumed the position and gaining recognized actors in global framework.

Bearing in mind that in terms of scattered power onseveral international entities and non-state actors, not any unilateral military engagement at the global level can successfully solve perceived problem, the US implementation of the concept of "smart power" in the future guidelines of foreign policy engagement, proclaimed a new approach in solving international issues of interest to the United States, with special emphasis on the application of this concept in the realization of the interestsin the Asia-

Pacific region.

Smart power, as well as the ability to combine the resources of soft and hard power in a successful strategy, is closely related to the context in which it will be projected. With this hand, the appreciation of the historical heritage, political system, religious, ethnic and cultural characteristics, as well as past and current geopolitical and geostrategic aspirations of countries in the Asia-Pacific region, will represent only the basis for the initial hypotheses about the possible reactions of regional actors in the projection of a new integrated power of the USA.

The exceptional dynamics of development of the countries in this region in the fields of defense, economy and energy, as well as the complex interrelationships bring additional problems and limitations to American diplomacy and suggest constant review of every diplomatic and military step in the region.

Also, the premise for the application of the concept of smart power by current and future US administration will be the status of resource availability of soft and hard power of the American nation, which will be with appropriatestrategies converted into smart power, while the great importance will also be a clear definition of real geostrategic goals and US interests in the Asia-Pacific region.

1. THE CONVERSION OF SOFT AND HARD POWER TO THE CONCEPT OF "SMART POWER"

Throughout the history of human civilization, states and empires have gained and lost power through conflicts with the new emerging powers. Very rarely the power was peacefully passed from one to the other actor such was the transition of power from Pax Britannica to Pax Americana.

In the new millennium,the United States continues to figure as the only remaining force, but at the same time we are witnessing the dispersion of power among multiple global actors and the transfer of power from state to non-state actors - corporations, non-governmental organizations and cartels. In this complex environment intertwined interdependence, where communications with one entity implies the involvement and causal-consequential relationship of a number of other state and non-state actors, the United States, due to the strengthening the powers of other international actors, cannot follow the principles of application of hard power exclusively in furtherance of the national interest. New discourses imply equal participation of a number of relevant international entities, state and non-state. We should take into account Henry Kissinger statements that in the post-Cold War era "power become too diffuse, while the problems that could be resolved only with war forces are greatly reduced ".[1] For a better understanding of the concept of smart power and prospects of its implementation in the framework of the US geostrategy in the the Asia-Pacific region, it is necessary to observe the terms such are hard, soft and smart power. Considering the power, it's influence and leaders aspirations for reaching its maximum in all areas, there is a need to define the concept that essentially cannot be explained by only one generally accepted definition. The power cannot be defined as an impact, although the two terms are often put in an equivalent position, but for the purposes of further discussion in this paper, attention is directed to the interpretation of

---

[1]

Кисинџер, Х.: Дипломатија II, Верзал Пресс, Београд, 1999., pp. 716.

Joseph Nye, who sees the power as "the ability to change the behavior of others in order to achieve the desired outcome. "[2] Also, Nye observes power also as a resource, but primarily as a result of changes in behavior. While on the one hand, John Mearsheimer states that the power is "currency policies of the great powers and countries competingfor," adding that "what is money in the economy, that is power in international relations[3]".

 Joseph Nye in his work ''*The future of the power''* examines power through resources and the outcome of behavioral change, thus the power is transferred from a zone specific and measurable amounts of money, which in all conditions and in unchanged form can produce certain results, subjecting its effectiveness in achieving desired outcomes context between the international actors and an appropriate strategy for its use[4]. It is not necessary to consider the power as thepotential contained in the resource, but as the ability to carry out adequate strategies for resource conversion power in the desired behavior of the target group, that might be the state, federation, organization or other non-state actors, taking into account the current circumstances on the international scene .

    Since there is an awareness of power as the abilityto force others to act in accordance with the requirements of the entity that exercises power, there are two different approaches to the use of power to achieve the ultimate goal. The first approach involves a softer approach and through history is remembered as a non-violent approach to the other side. Conceptually defined as "soft power", according to "Oxford" dictionary is defined as "approach through persuasion in international relations, which typically involves the use of

---

[2] Нај, Џ.: Будућност моћи, Архипелаг, Београд, 2012, pp. 27.

[3] Миршајмер, Џ.: Трагедија политике великих сила, Удружење за студије САД у Београду, Март 2009., pp.

[4] Нај,Џ.: Будућност моћи, op.cit., pp. 26-28.

economic and cultural impact[5]," while Joseph Nye defined it as "the ability to affected on other by resources shaping the agenda, persuading and encouraging positive attractiveness in order to achieve the desired outcome"[6]. Also, in the question - "What is soft power?" Nye states that soft power is "the ability to obtain what you want by making gestures to gain, rather than to coercion or bribery. Soft power rests on the ability to shape the desires of others.[7]"

This approach of the power suggests another element, which Nye defined as "hard power". Thus, the hard power, as an element of the total power, according to the "Oxford" dictionary, is defined as "approach through coercion in international political relations, especially one that involves the use of military force[8]," while Joseph Nye defines it as "the ability to use the stick and carrots in the economic and military power force others to work according to your wishes[9]". In addition, Colin Gray defines hard power as "the ability to carry out deliberate punishment or to reward someone in the way of interest, and for this reason it is likely identify with the military and economic policy instruments[10]."

Analyzing the above definitions of the hard power it can be noted that it is primarily based on military and economic element. However, military power, as a basic element of hard power, is no longer a definite measure of national power. In modern times military power cannot be

---

[5] Available at http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/hard-power, (Last seen: 24.12.2015.).

[6] Нај,Џ.: Будућност моћи, op.cit, pp. 40.

[7] Nye, J.: Soft Power: The Means To Success In World Politics, New York 2004, p. 10.

[8] Available at http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/hard-power, (Last seen: 24.12.2015.)

[9] http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/1240/propaganda_isnt_the_way.html(25.12.2015.).

[10] Colin S. Gray, Hard Power And Soft Power: The Utility Of Military Force As An Instrument Of Policy In The 21st Century, Strategic Studies Institute (SSI), U.S. Army War College, April 2011, p. 28.

reduced to a quantitative comparison of forces and resources among the opponents. In accordance with this "way of deployment is essential. The strategy of combining skills of resources in order to achieve the objectives is a key of the smart military power[11]". Also, it is important to point out that any element of hard power, military or economic, can also be a element of soft power. The key determining factor is the context in which the specific element of power projects and strategies that are use on that occasion, as well as feedback from side to which the power projects. During the Cold War, the United States have largely designed hard power in the countries of the Asia-Pacific region, which, with brutal colonial past in the region, has left asignificant impact and significantly affect on the perception of the region by the presence of theUS and their pursuit of the realization of national interests in the military and economicallymost dynamic region of the world. In the context of an entirely new international andhistorical context, it is crucial that the US approaches exercising their basic geopolitical and geostrategic interests in the light of respect for the complexity and interdependence of the security environment of Asia-Pacific region, economically and militarily the most dynamic regions of the world. Citing the basic geopolitical objectives of the United States, Robert Kaplan reference in his article "The Tragedy of US foreign policy," that "the United States as the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere, still need to prevent any other State to become as dominant in the eastern hemisphere. They must also seek to protect and factual and informal allies, particularly their access to energy. Moreover, as the liberal naval forces, the United States must protect harder the marine lines of communication that enable world trade[12]".

_____

[1]Нај, Џ.: Будућност моћи, op.cit., pp. 62.

[1]2Kaplan, R.: The Tragedy of U.S. Foreign Policy, August 1, 2013, p.1, Available at: http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/the-tragedy-us-foreign-policy-8810, (Last seen 24.12.2015.).

Whether it is the announcement of the new approach to foreign policy engagement exclusive treatment on the basis of lessons learned from the last great campaign in the Middle East and on the African continent, or as the consequences of the economic crisis which had significant implications on the budget in the area of USA defense, in the approach of achieving geostrategic interests in Asia-Pacific region, the US will hardly implementation of the concept of smart power, taking into account thecomplexity of the region comprising, as the country's allies and partners, as well as emerging powers and opponents of the US status as a global leader. Thereby, there is a challenge USA geostrategic interests needs to face in achieving further accentuated by territorial disputes within the APR, the sensitivity of national economies in the security of maritime routes within the region, as well as the aspirations of an emerging force, primarily the People's Republic of China, to further design their own power in region, as a result of increasing economic and military capacity.

Also, the economic interdependence USA and APR countries is a component that is important limiting factor in the taking any unilateral actions of either party. The key to the success of the USA in the Asia-Pacific region lies in the system of alliances power, while the emergence of regional leader in Asia could threaten the advantageous position which the USA has built since the end of World War II.

The contemporary global security environment, which is among other things, the result of active engagement of the United States foreign policy, corresponds to several but not all countries in the Asia-Pacific region. The rise of new forces in the region, such as the People's Republic of China and its activities in theregion and globally, are not in the interest of neither the

United States nor the individual regional actors, so it can be assumed that the USA would continue to play the role of power balancer in this economically and militarily the most dynamic region of the world. From the point of geostrategic interests, control of the strait, the world's maritime trade and military routes and preventing regional hegemon in the Asia-Pacific region, will represent the direction that will be directed projections of soft and hard power of the United States. It remains to, with adequate resources strategies, to convert soft and hard power into smart power.

2. Asia - Pacific region as a priority in USA foreign policy

Intertwining and interdependence of interests that state and non-state actors exert on the international scene indicate the breadth, diversity and complexity of relations prevailing in contemporary international relations. The current global security environment, the dependence of the economy of the world the power of energy and the threat of natural disasters caused the extreme complexity of relationsbetween all the actors on the geopolitical scene. Bearing this in mind as well as study of nature and the power factor and other nonstate actors and determining factors and activitiesthat affect the decision-makers to a specific component of power directed towards achieving the national interest, is a complex problem, subject to constant change.

The Asia-Pacific region covers an area of East and Southeast Asia, Australia and Oceania[13], within which exist two out of three largest world economies (People's Republic of China and Japan), the most populous nations (PRC) and the country with the largest Muslim population (Indonesia).

---

[13]   Certain definitions of the Asia-Pacific region include the country's Pacific coast of the Russian Federation. In various articles, in the Asia-Pacific region ranks also India, which is acceptable only due to the fact that addressing relationships in the Asia-Pacific region with the exception of India was questionable due to the high impact of PRC and India to the entire region. However, a purely geographic terms, India comes out of the Indian, not thePacific.

This region is a vital driver of the global economy and includes the world's busiest international maritime routes and nine out of ten world's largest ports by quantity of goods transported (seven in China, one in South Korea and one in Singapore)[14].

The Asia-Pacific region is rapidly militarized and nuclear potential of a certain countries, additionally actualized significance of this region. Under these circumstances, the strategic complexity that this region is facing is quite unique[15].

Taking into account the spatial definition of the Asia-Pacific region, and a key area occupied by China, Japan, DPR Korea and R. Korea, US geostrategic interests in the region and prospects of applying the concept of smart power, it is relevant to go through the context of US relations with these countries in the region.

2.1. Characteristics and significance of the Asia -Pacific region

As mentioned above, the Asia-Pacific region is a vital driver of the global economy. China, Japan, R. Korea and DPR Korea occupy the most important cities in the region in terms of power resources they have, while their mutual relations and the consequences arising from them, reflect the character of the region, stressing the importance of each of these countries, both regionally and globally.

The most important country of this region is undoubtedly the People's Republic of China, which was, in today's form, established on 1stOctober

---

[14]   http://www.worldshipping.org/about-the-industry/global-trade/top-50-world-container-ports, (last seen 25.12.2015.).

[15]   United States Pacific Command, available at http://www.pacom.mil/about-uspacom/2013-uspacom strategy.shtml, (last seen 25.12.2015.).

1949. In a country with a long history and civilization, different physical-geographical characteristics and a mosaic of religions[16], from the Qin Dynasty until the founding of the Republic of China in 1911, dynasties alternated one after another. Republicans remain in power until 1949, when the Communist Party seized power and proclaims the People's Republic of China. Republicans retreat on the Chinese island of Taiwan, where theyformed government and proclaimed the Republic of China. Taiwan still strives to maintain independence, which causes political disagreements between the People's Republic of Chinaand the USA that tacitly support such a status of Taiwan, although it was recognized as apart of a unified China by re-establishing diplomatic relations and the status of permanent members of the UN Security Council.

PR China with about 1,355 billion inhabitants is the most populous country of today, covers the area of 9.6 million km2, has a land frontier of 22,117 km and borders with 14 countries. At the same time, China has a long coastline length of over 14,500 km, the country enters the Yellow Sea, the East and South China Sea". In the west, extends to the high mountain ranges of the Himalayas, from which in the north located Tibetan plateau and the Gobi Desert. These geographical units are real physical and geographical barriers, which both facilitate cooperation with other countries, and prevent eventual conquest of the Chinese territory. East of these mountain ranges, plateaus and desert stretches all the way to the Yellow Sea, the East and South China Sea, a part of China, which is the most densely populated, in which is concentrated the most important part of the Chinese industry and manufacturing capacity, often called the

---

[1]6   About 60% of Chinese identify themselves as atheists, one third followed traditional beliefs or a mixture of Confucianism and Taoism, 8% or 100 million Chinese are active Buddhists. Buddhism represents the largest organized religion in China. Officially there are 20 million Muslims, 15 million Protestants, and 5 million Catholics.

heart of China or Heartland[17]". This "heart of the country" has been the driving force for thirty years of continuous economic growth so far in an unprecedented global practice.

Extremely quick recovery of Asia-Pacific region was primarily attributable to the economic growth in China, while what should strengthen China in second place on the list economically most developed countries of the world,where in 2010 overtook Japan, is the expectation that in the next 15 years, about 150 million Chinese people will become members of the middle class, consumer society pillar of a state. However, China remains a land of contrasts between the rich and densely populated east of the country and the poor, undeveloped and sparsely populated west, which includes the autonomous regions of Tibet and Xinjiang where separatist movements are administered (ie. External China).

In addition to the economic importance of PR China certainly has in international relations, its role in military terms also grows. Thus, People's Liberation Army (Noack), with approximately 2.3 million active soldiers represents a respectable military force in the region and in the world. At the same time constantly increasing allocations for the military budget which is in the last few years exceed $ 100 billion(starting from 2012), with the technical modernization and modern training, are the result ofeconomic growth, industrialization and the raging commitment, position China geopolitical player of the global reach.

An important aspect for understanding the position of the People's Republic of China in the Asia-Pacific region, as well as how to understand the relationship of China and the countries of the region, as well as China and

---

[1]7   Зарић, И.: Евроазијска геополитичка и геостратегијска перспектива Народне Републике Кине,Степић, М. и Ђурић, Ж.: Србија и Евроазијски геополитички простор, Институт за политичке студије, Београд, 2013, pp.197-199.

othercountries of the world, represent a specific socio-political system of this country, which affects the system of government and the armed forces.[18]

The Asia-Pacific region, as the extremely economically dynamic world region, is also characterized by the fact that the demand for energy among the countries in the region ranked in order of highest priority, in order to facilitate further economic development, while the lack of oil or natural gas produced distortions in the economic sphere, economy and security that would be shed on the whole world. In the response to the question from where is China supplying mainly energy, can be concluded in the directions of its strategies in the 21st century. China is supplying energy principally fromthe Middle East and Africa (Iran, Saudi Arabia, Angola and RF). Supplying of energy due to geographical position of those countries, takes main maritime routes that are under the control of the United States, it is clear that China's commitment to the transition from the mainland to the naval force.

Modern China is at the one of the kind crossroads where it has reached due to a very dynamic development of hard power, primarily economic, which affected the strengthening of military power. In the article "Eurasian geopolitical and geostrategic perspective of the People's Republic of China", Mr. Ivan Zaric noted the dilemma of whether China has the capacity to operate simultaneously in two directions - by land, over the western province of Xinjiang and Tibet through, in order to influence the central part of Eurasia rich with resources necessary for the further growth of the Chinese economy - or, in geopolitical terms, it will primarily turn to strengthen courses of action (Pacific, Indian) caused by 'increasing needs a

---

[18] The authority is presented in the form of the StateCouncil, headed by the Prime Minister, whose members are confirmed on People's Congress (SNK). SNK also confirmed by the President of the People's Republic of China, who is also the General Secretary of the Communist Party and chairman of the Central Military Commission and chief ofthe armed forces. The Communist Party has 70 million members, while the other 8 parties recognize the leading role of KP's Republic of China.

strategic presence in the Eurasian Rimlenda and security of vital marine lines of communication which China imports large part of the raw materials necessary for its economy and exports goods to foreign markets. Thesetwo lines of geopolitical action China amounts another important question: whether China may be the first in the history of the great powers that will be able to align its potential to make the concept of integrated geopolitical power, thus to harmonize its Behemoth i Leviathan[19]?". China will not only be able to formally express it's peaceful path of development, but it will be essential that their energy, economic and territorial aspirations formed in accordance with the imperative of regional stability, which has no alternative if we want to avoid a confrontation, first with the neighbors, and then with the United States, still the only force with global character.

Another country that represents a significant factor in the region, a country with a turbulent and long history, is Japan. With an area of 378 thousand km2, Japan spans the western rim of the Pacific Ocean, in the distance of 2,800 km, and it is home to about 127 million people, while the territory is made up of 3325 islands, including its four largest: Kyushu, Shikoku, Honshu and Hokkaido. When it comesto religion, 85% of the population are Buddhist, while 99.4% of the total population consists of Japanese. Koreans and other minorities make about 0.6%, population and the official language is Japanese. An additional feature of Japan is that it is a highly urbanized country, with 79% in urban areas[20].

---

[1]9   Зарић,И.: Евроазијска геополитичка и геостратегијска перспектива Народне Републике Кине, op.cit. pp. 199-200. Behemoth and Leviathan are mythological monsters from the mainland, and from the sea.

[2]0   Data about Japan, available at: http://webjapan.org/factsheet/en/pdf/e01_geography.pdf(last seen 26.12.2015.).

Despite its turbulent history, wars and destructionthat Japan has suffered, especially in huge losses during the Second World War and with the possession of very few natural resources, Japan has become one of the economically and technologically most developed countries of the world. The recent history of Japanwas marked with the relations with the United States that created security policy economic giant on the Pacific Rim, while at the same time security, territorial and economic relations with the People's Republic of China is very complex. When in 2010 happen the shift between Japan and China in second place on the list of countries with the most developed economies, geopolitical, geo-economic and geostrategic position of the two countries has largelybegun to reflect the different relationships in the waters of the East China Sea and the region in general. In this position, Japan[21] which is dependent on a raw materials is trying to, through the creation of relatively independent security policy, supported by the potential for further independent development of the armed forces of all types[22], to find a new path that will lead to maintaining the city respectable nation, in circumstances where China is surely pavethe way to a position of regional leaders. The alliance with the United States is one of the possible directions Japan in keeping the status of a major regional act.[23]

[21] Japan is ranked as the second largest net importer of fossil fuels in the world in 2012, after China. A change occurred after the nuclear disaster in Fukushima in2011, followed by Japan stopped with the production of el. energy in all nuclear power plants. The loss of nuclear capacity has resulted in a change in the import of crude oiland natural gas. Japan is now the third-largest oil consumer and importer in the world, behind the US and China. In addition, it is ranked as the world's largest importer of liquefied natural gas and the second largest importer of coal, behind China (since 2002, Japan imports all the necessary quantities of coal, mainly from Australia). Japan own source provides less than 15% of the total energy. In 2012, about 83% of Japanese crude oil imports originate from the Middle East, compared to 70% in the mid-1980s. Saudi Arabia is the largest oil supplier to Japan, accounting for 33% of imports. UAE, Qatar, Kuwait and Iran are significant exporters of oil to Japan. For information on Japanese imports of energy seen in Japan is the second largest net importer of fossil fuels in the world see Japan is the second largest net importer of fossil fuels in the world,U.S. Energy Information Administration, GTIS, International Energy Agency, BP, available at http://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.cfm?id=13711(last seen 05.01.2016.).

[22] Ibid.

[23] At the time of the Korean conflict and establishing a balance of power with China and the Soviet Union, the United States has continued to reconstruct post-warJapan. On 08thSeptember 1951. the United States

Next geographical and political determinants which must be given due attention is the Korean peninsula. The space divided into two sovereign territories - the Republic of Korea (R.Korea) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), has not always been disunited[24]. Korea (territories of R Korea and DPRK, or the Korean peninsula) is part of the East Asian region, which lies between China and Japan. "Old" Korea was throughout history been involved in the conflict between the two Asian "giants". However, despite the fact that it is located between two strong countries, it still plays a very important role in the international context, managed to preserve its uniqueness and to develop own culture, identity and advanced technology. The old Korea was far fromweak and small countries. It is proud of the fact that he had never been subdued until the twentieth century when it fell under Japanese occupation[25]. Before that, throughout history, many Chinese dynasties were unsuccessful in trying to strategically occupy the peninsula.

The division on the so-called 38th parallel (38 degrees latitude), occurred after the surrender of Japan in 1945[26]and signing the truce, thus

---

and Japan signedan agreement on mutual security (Mutual Security Treaty), which includes the stationing of US troops on Japanese soil for the defense of Japan. Later, on 8thMarch 1954, the two countries signed an agreement on mutual cooperation in the field of security, which is focused on assistance in the field of defense. Agreement of 1954, among other things, allowed the US to have military bases on Japanese territory. These databases are mostly on the island of Okinawa, which had historical significance for the United States since the fight in the Second World War. The purpose of the upgrade package, in 1960 signed the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and SecurityBetween Japan and the USA.#Data about Japan, available at: http://web-japan.org/factsheet/en/pdf/e01_geography.pdf(last seen 26.12.2015.).

[24] Until the moment of separation, the Koreans were united nation with a long and rich history. The root of the Korean people is located on the territory of present-day Siberia and Manchuria. Korea's real name is Hanguk in the Republic of Korea and DPR Korea in Đoson. Both calls originate from the name of the dynasty that ruled kingdoms in certain specific periods. Cited by: http://www.korea.net/AboutKorea/Korea-at-a-Glance/History(Last see 05.01.2016.).

[25] Period of occupation still affects the relations between Japan and R. Korea. Although the two countriesare allies in many areas, the period of occupation gives negative effects on modern relationships. It is still topical issue of sexual abuse of Korean women by Japanese army during that period.

[26] Demilitarized zone width of 4 kilometers was built after the Korean War in 1953

division of areas of interest between the USSR and the USA. At that time Korea was liberated from Japanese occupation under which it has been since 1910. The division was formalized in 1948 with the establishment of two separate governments with opposing ideologies, the northern (communist) and southern (democratic, capitalist) Korean Peninsula. The reasons of the divisions are debatable, but one thing is certain - different views on the future and communism divided peninsula and the nation in two opposing groups, which led to the outbreak of the so-called "Three Year War", which lasted from 1950 to 1953 when a ceasefire agreement was signed. The war has never formally terminated, while occasional incidents taking place even today. The United States played a key role in the division and conflict, insisting that the formation of R. Korea could stop the penetration of communism to Japan and further in the region. On the other hand, it was the interest of the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union to stop penetration of USA over the 38th parallel, which prevents the use of the peninsula as a possible support for future endangering of China and USSR.

Since 1960, economic development of Republic of Korea was export oriented,and it was so significant that it was named the "miracle on the river Hangang". Through the expansion of international trade and commerce, R. Korea has shown the world its rich cultural heritage, as well as modern technology. Possibly distortion of the security situation would produce negative consequences for the furthereconomic development and progress of the country. Republic of Korea, with the security arrangements it has with the United States, continues to invest in its own defense system and the growth of the military budget was up to 31.9 billion USD in 2014[27]. It has a well-equipped army of 640,000 soldiers and it is putting efforts to build a

---

[27]   Cited by: Ministry of National Defense RoK, http://www.mnd.go.kr(last seen 27.12.2015.).

secure environment for further development.[28]

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as the northern neighbor of Republic of Korea is an independent socialist state guided by the Juche[29] idea and the Songun[30].

These ideological ideas were guiding the North Korean policies and have significant impact on the socio-political structure of the country. Thus, thesupreme leader of the DPRK is also the first president of its Commission for National Defence. The highest authority is Supreme People's Assembly, whose mandate lasts five years. In the National Assembly, there are three parties which always made uniform attitudes, on the orders of the supreme leader. Such a political system and ideology exert a crucial influence on economic policy and economic system of the DPRK. The resources of production are owned by the state and the social and cooperative organizations, while the economy is planned.

───────────────

[28]   During the 50's, R. Korea was ranked among the poorest countries. However, the economic reforms thatthe R. Korea carried out mostly under the influence and with the help of the United States, contributed to the economic recovery, so that its economy is now the 14th largest in the world. US influence on R. Korea is also reflected in the social system, and perhaps the most in the security domain, given thatthe United States give security guarantees that country. After the end of the Korean War, in order to establish a "dam" by the advance of communism from the direction DPRK, 1954, the US and R. Korea signed the Agreement on Security (ROK / U.S. Mutual Security Agreement), in which they agreed to defend each other in case of external aggression. In 1978, the two countries have established combined forces command, based in Seoul and the US Armed Forces generals at the helm, in defense of R. Korea. U R. Korea has stationed around 28,500 US troops. Ruler. Korea believes the US military presence crucial dissuasive factor, and some officials worry thatreducing America's role constituted an encouragement for a possible negative effect DPRK. Cited by: Jayshree Bajoria, and Youkyung Lee, The U.S.-South Korea Alliance, October 2011, Council on Foreign Relations, available at: http://www.cfr.org/south-korea/ussouth-korea-alliance/p11459(last seen 06.01.2016.).

[29]   Juche idea means, in short, that the masses of the people the masters of the revolution and construction company, and they are the main motive force of the revolution and construction. This idea is based on the philosophical principle that man is the master of everything and decides everything. Specified by: Official webpage of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, available at: http://www.korea-dpr.com/juche_ideology.html (last seen 06.01.2016.).

[30]   *Songun* politics is rooted in the ideology that gives priority to the military and which generates the idea ofJuche. President Kim Il Sung (he was a leader of the DPRK since its inception in 1948 until his death in 1994)is the founder and leader of Songun ideology Songun revolution. Specified by: Ibid.

However, giving the fact that DPRK is closed to the outside world, it does not provide a more precise insight into the economic indicators of organized planned economy. Common speculation that DPR Korea is among the least developed countries of the world, and that in it the population is largely affected by the hunger. One of the important factors of foreign policy positions, in this context, are the relations with the People's Republic of China, which is the most important economic partners and donor for DPRK for food and raw materials. Despite difficult economic conditions in which it operate, DPR Korea seeks to establish a national unity with the south of the country to the complete victory of socialism[31].

DPR Korea occupies an area of 123 thousand km2[32]and has population of about 25 million people, mostly Buddhists and Christians. With the weak economy, defense spending represents a major item in the budget of the DPRK. Thus, the allocation for defense accounts for about 22% of GDP (about 8 billion USD), a DPRK armed forces number about 1.2 million active-duty soldiers[33].

However, despite the relatively outdated military technology form eastern origin, the main and still unconfirmed force the North Korean Army are ballistic missiles of medium and long-range nuclear warheads. Since 1964, when the complex for nuclear research was established, with the symbolic help later from the USSR, DPR Korea has repeatedly signed and violated agreements with the United States and the international community on the use of material for military purposes. A key feature of the foreign policy of DPR

---

[31] Available at: www.naenara.com.kp/en/www.korea-dpr.com
[32] In the official records DPRK does not recognize R. Korea and calculates the total territory of the two Korea, stating that the country consists of the northern and southern parts. According to these allegations Korean Peninsula has an area of 223,370 km2. The northern part covers an area of 123,138 km2 and 100 232 south. Specified by: http://www.korea-dpr.com/location.html (last seen 06.01.2016.).
[33] Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/world/datablog/2013/apr/08/south-korea-v-north-korea-compared.

Korea, in addition to the closure to the world, also makes thestruggle against imperialism, for which North Korean leaders directly accused the United States and Japan. Because of this policy DPR Korea is one of the most prominent security andforeign policy problems for the US administration.

In addition to these four countries, the impact on development and stability of the region exhibit also Australia, Indonesia, Singapore, Vietnam, the Philippines and Thailand. At the same time, these countries have more or less, close relationship with the United States and frequently seek to achieve a symbiosis of theirown national interests with the interests of the United States.

On the significance of Asia-Pacific region for the future geopolitical and geostrategic considerations, scientists and politicians were pointing in the period between the two world wars. Thus, the American geopolitician Nikolas Spajkman anticipated three large centers of world power, "the Atlantic coastal region of North America, Europe coast and the Far Eastern coastal areas of Eurasia[34]". By introducing the concept of the *Far plunger,* Zbigniew Brzezinski points out that "regional dominant Chinashould become an USA far east anchor In traditional domain of power politics[35]," and continues that ".... with the implications of these realities need to be faced, because the current interaction in the Far East between three the major powers - the US, China and Japan, createsa dangerous regional intertexture and almost certainly will produce a tectonic geopolitical shift[36]". Certainly, a major cause of action of the USA active foreign policy in the APR,according to Brzezinski is the growing power of China and the potential volume of Chinese spheres of interest and point of conflict.

---

[34] Небојша Вуковић, *Логика империје:* op.cit., p. 29
[35] Бжежински, Збигњев: *Велика шаховска табла,* op.cit., p. 180
[36] Ibid, p. 143

The growing economical, cultural and military power of the countries from AsiaPacific region in the near future will be reflected on the political power and international credibility, which are conditions for complete access to the international scene, while an active contribution to international progress (Bank of BRICS) can bring countries in the region to the positions recognized leaders in global terms. Since we live in era of energy, dependence on the future development of energy will create access to the vital national interests of the APR. The growth of the economy of developing countries also creates a new global dependencies. Key countries suppliers relying on exports to China - which is the ultimate destination for more than half of the total amount of metal ore that is exported from Australia, Indonesia and Peru, and more than a third of exports is from Brazil and Chile.

Characters of future alliances or conflicts betweencountries in the region depend on the awareness of the inevitable co-existence in the geographical area that represents a constant of their relationship and forces external factors to seek to achieve their national interests in the Asia-Pacific region. The most powerful external factor that threatens to change power relations in the region are the UnitedStates, who are planning a "rebalancing" of military deployments to the economically most dynamic region of the world in order to achieve geostrategic interests.

2.2. The transfer of the center of gravity of US foreign policy from the Middle East to the Asia - Pacific region

Topical of USA foreign policy is characterized by the involvement in war and economic tension, through the pursuit of security environment that guarantees the realization of national interests in full scale in more than two regions of the world simultaneously. Current available economic

resources of the United States and current trends dissipated power in a number of state and non-state actors do not contribute to the sustainability of such state. Rebalance of military assets from one to another more acute security regions, is perhaps the only viable solution for the United States.

"The end of the war in Iraq and reducing engagement in Afghanistan allows us to transfer effort from these wars to stabilize our presence in the Asia-Pacific region[37]", is the official statement one of the members of the Obama administration, in light of the transfer of the center of gravity of US foreign policy from theMiddle East to the Asia-Pacific region.

The engagement of the US in the APR and move the center of gravity of foreign policy, does not mean the abandonment of the defense of nationalinterests of the American nation in the region of the Middle East. Permanent presence in the region of the Middle East, where the involvement of US troops began immediately after the Second World War, caused the obvious difficulties related to the implementation of Western values.

Inconsistency in support of Sunnis and Shiites has produced anti-American sentiment in majority of the Muslim population, especially in the region of the Middle East. A priori the US position on the exclusive right on oil from the region and the necessity of implementation of Western values, was the cause of seven decades of a long diplomatic and military engagement of the US in the "global zone of potential violence[38]."

Realizing the fact that they do not have the capacity to control equally the global ambience and paying attention to every region that is of their national interest, the United States submitted a role of the global

---

[3]7   The Rise of Asia and New Geopolitics in the Asia-Pacific Region, As Prepared for Delivery by Deputy Secretary   of Defense Ashton B. Carter, Jakarta, Indonesia, Wednesday, March 20, 2013, available at   http://www.defense.gov/Speeches/Speech.aspx?SpeechID=1761.

[3]   8   Cited by: Збигњев Бжежински, Велика шаховска табла, op.cit., pp. 52-54.

leader to theinterested partners or allies. In this way, the US transferred the focus of the foreign policy towards the regions where countries strengthen their resources of power, challenging the leading position of the United States in the 21stcentury. The Asia-Pacific region in this century represents a qualitatively new stage to USA to demonstrate their power to persist in achieving interests and to confirm the role of a global leader. Also, during the search of ways for a speedy recovery of the economy and society after the financial crisis, "this region has a remarkable economic importance to the United States, so US presence produces multidimensional consequences[39]", while US investment in the region counts hundreds of billions of dollars. This points to the conclusion that "no matter of the attempts to create exclusive trade bloc thatcould disenable economic access to major US trading partners in the region (particularly Japan, China, Republic of Korea, or Taiwan), or actions that threaten the economies of major trading partners, would be threatening to the USA vital national interests[40]". At the same time, the US military doctrine "Maintaining global leadership: Priorities for defence in the 21stcentury", from the January 2012, China and Iran were put in the same context as potential opponents, stating that the two countries would continue to use unconventional methods to reduce capacity for the projection of US power[41].

Demonstrating the capacities and determination to solve the outstanding issues of Taiwan, islands in the East and South China Sea, where exist a close US allies - Japan, Vietnam, Singapore and the Philippines, China is turning from a state of passivity by announcing its

---

[3] 9 Вуковић, Н.: Логика империје: Николас Спајкман и савремена америчка геополитика, op.cit., p. 251

[4] 0 Clif, R., Tangredi, S. and Wormuth, C.: The Future of U.S. Overseas Presence, in: Flournoy, A. Michaile (ed.), QDR 2001 Strategy – Driven Chioces for America s Security, NDU Press, Washington, D.C., 2001, p. 251, у:Исто, p. 251.

[4] 1 Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense,p. 4.

way to the status of a regional power. China is developing stable economic relations with Japan, R. Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines, putting into the background historical heritage, ideology and current territorial disputes. This may lead to interference with the US to fully realize their interests in theregion, while further strengthening the power of China and the possibility of the formation of the allied relations between these countries in the region which would create the possibility of a new Asia-Pacific region with a weaker US influence. The US military doctrine indicates the maritime crisis as a certain scenario in the case of restraint striving for the realization of the US national interests in the region. Accordingly, it has been announced the deployment of 60% US naval forces in the region and capacity building to fight under the nuclear, air-naval, missile and cyber threats. Development of a new, air-naval combat concept as anew operational doctrine, underlines the willingness and determination of the United States to oppose the strengthening of the military power of the People's Republic of China and the DPRK threats[42].

All this points to the remarkable interplay and interdependence that characterize the interests of the US and China in the APR, and that is conditioned by the "historic relocation of relative wealth and economic power from West to East[43]". The Asia-Pacific region is undoubtedly a testing ground for the USA big game, and the growth power of China is the main cause for that. Moving the center of gravity of the foreign policy will be realized primarily through the dislocation of military assets in the area

---

[42]   Shambough, David, China Engages Asia. Reshaping the Regional Order, op.cit., p. 5.

[43]   U.S. National Intelligence Council, Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World, Washington, D.C., November 2008, p. 3, available at: http://www.dni.gov/nic/NIC_2025_project.html (last seen 27.12.2015.).

of the region, as already proven recipe, while the strategy of using these new deployments depends on the context.

The presence of about 100,000 troops permanently stationed with the USA 7th fleet RM guarantees the development of the security situation, more or less in line with American plans and long-term stability in the region. If necessary, the withdrawal of part of military assets due to falling economic power of the United States would open the possibility of conflict, primarily between Japan and China regarding the territorial disputes in the East China Sea.

China, Japan and R. Korea, as the Far East (also arguably the world's) economic and commercial forces, and their needs for fossil fuels have attracted worldwide attention and started the process of transformation of international politics. In circumstances where an increasing demand of the Asian countries for energy and when relocation of the center of gravity of the geostrategic interests of the US in the region of the Middle East to the APR is announced, the geo-strategic interests of China are moving towards the Persian Gulf, and especially to the maritime route from Ormuz Strait to the Strait of Malacca, as a major maritime route for the transport of energy resources from the Middle to the Far east. The USA will, in order to maintain the position of global power which tends to keep control of all the most important strategic points in the maritime world, will find economically viable modality of the strong military presence in the two most important regions of the world. Control Rimlenda has been and will remain the most important zones of American geopolitical and geo-strategic engagement.

2.3. Geo-strategic interests of the United States in the Asia - Pacific region

Spikeman's *Rimlend*,the zone of the geopolitical challenges and new global

challengers, the is the stage for establishing a balance of power at the beginning of the 21st century. By integrating hard and soft power through smart strategy, the United States, which still have the largest capacity of economic, military and political power, will use the unique ability to mobilize for action allies and partners and thus to design their own power and influence at the global level in achieving their vital national interests[44].

Therefore, according to the Strategy of National Security from 2002, in order to maintain its presence in the APR and achieve geostrategic interests, some of which will be largely depend on economic growth and security environment, the United States emphasized support in providing the conditions for the continuation of their development and the realization of common interests.

The Strategy from 2002 highlights the following:

• It will be provided to Japan all necessary conditions for the further strengthening of power in the direction of positioning as one of theleading economic powers of the regional and global level on the basis of common interests, values, diplomatic cooperation and mutual security commitment,

• The cooperation with Republic of Korea will continue to strengthen economic growth and prudent security policy towards the northern border, which would through clever use of military assets and security hinterland in the form of the United States be a reliable guarantor of stability in the region and the world as a whole,

---

[4] 4   Alliances do not exist, there are only interests. "It is naive to think in these terms, it is the mainelement which is connected or connecting. Classical Geopolitics, geostrategy ie, preaches another principle, which is that the alliances and connections dictated by the highest and the most pressing national interest - the preservation of the state. Accordingly, in one-time ally of the one that supports just such interests against threats that evidently exist. The closeness of ideology is of secondary importance. Look at the attitude of the West and Tito's Yugoslavia fifties and cooperation the United States and Saudi Arabia. "Quoted from: Bjelajac, M .: Gavrilo Princip was not a terrorist, MC Defence, Belgrade, 1December 2013, p.

• Traditional military cooperation with Australia, which has its roots in battle during World War II, will greatly facilitate taking of thesame approach regarding the current global and regional security issues,

• Maintenance of the respective military assets in the region of the Pacific reflects the US commitment to allies, based on actual demand of the US to take advantage of its technological, economic and diplomatic superiority to control the most important strategic points in the region,

• Improving the stability through alliances, as well as through institutions such as ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, on the development of various regional and bilateral strategies to managechange in this dynamic region[45].

Doctrinal document of the highest USA stateinstitutions, actions and performances of the most prominent individuals of the current administration headed by President Obama do not diminish the actuality of the stated goals proclaimed in 2002, but they significantly stress them. At the same time, all interested international actors deals the analysis of the stated objectives deal and in the announced changes on theglobal scene[46]. In contrast to the NSS in 2002 when, under the definition of cooperation in APR explicitly

---

[45]   The National Security Strategy of the United Statesof America, The White House, Washington, September 2002, p. 26, available at http://nssarchive.us/?page_id=32&page=10(28.11.2015.)

[46]   President Obama's policies regarding the APR is largely characterized by addressing three questions: 1)   strengthening ties with Japan and other US allies in the region; 2) strengthening the relationship between the US partner in the region, including the countries of SE Asia and India and 3) forming a multi-layered network of relations between the countries gathered around the US alliance with the addition of significant strategic engagement in the framework of the Summit of Eastern Asia (East Asia Summit), as well as with other regional institutions. In this context, the United States seek to strengthen not only its traditional alliances, based on bilateral arrangements, but to establish the so-called. minilateralne relations through arrangements between the US - Japan - South Korea, the US, Japan - Australia and the United States - Japan - India, through the expansion of cooperation in the joint military exercises and training. For a wider view of the East Asian Strategic Review 2012, National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Japan, p.6, available at: http://www.nids.go.jp/english/publication/east-asian/e2012.html. (Приступљено 29.11.2015.).

stated goals of cooperation for each country individually, National Strategy of 2015 represents a continuity of improvement, expansion and establishment of new partnerships in the APR, according to the which will

promote cooperation and establish, but does not explicitly targets for each country individually[47].

It is evident that the US doctrinal and strategic documents, such are the National Security Strategy and Military Strategy, apropos National Defense Strategy, as well as the declared goals of the Obama administration towards APR, have China and it's growing power in the middle of geo-strategic considerations at the beginning of 21st century. The growing military power of China, according to the interpretations of American analysts, is the threat to US interests in the region[48]. Geostrategic positioning of military and civilian capacities in the area of the United States in the Indian Ocean, the Strait of Malacca, the South and East China Sea, the waters around Taiwan,the base in Japan, Republic of Korea, Australia and islands near the American region (Guam), will enable the United States to be able to follow the further growth of China and DPRK nuclear armament[49]. At the same time, this will provide the most dynamic presence in the field of maritime trade routes today. Strengthening maritime power of USA allies and partners in the region, with the imposition of

---

[47] https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf, p. 24 (last seen 29.11.2015)

[48] Daggett, S.: Quadrennial Defense Review: Overview and Implicationsfor National Security Planning, Congressional Research Service, May 17, 2010, p. 17.

[49] Guam, the largest and most populated island in thesouthern part of the archipelago of the Marianas. It was in the possession of the United States from 1898 to 1941 and then from 1944 onwards. During World War II it was occupied by Japan. It is now one of the largest military bases (aviation, naval infantry) United States in that part of the world. Administratively under the Department of the Interior (Department of Interior) of the US. Quoted from Columbia Viking Desk Encyclopedia, p. 549 in Mirkovic, T .: The US military strategy - yesterday, today, tomorrow, MC Defence, Belgrade, 2012, p. 58

service in the fight against pirates and terrorists, will enable the improvement of the image of the countries in the region and beyond, while the combined actions will limit the projection of naval power of the People's Republic of China. Stating that "dynamic international environment, in which different nations are growinginfluence ... while emerging powers in every region of the world tend to be more expressed[50]", President Obama suggests the US role as a balancer of power in the APR, in order to prevent the occurrence of regional hegemon that would brought uncertainty among neighbors.

The economic part of the strategy the United States is committed to strengthening freedom of the market at the global level, where stand out as particularly important arrangements like Trans - Pacific Partnership TPP and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership T-TIP. It is pointing out that security is based on the strong US economy, and the freedom to use the most important routes for conducting free trade is presented as a necessary condition for maintaining the security of the United States. In accordance with the interconnection of economic and security aspects, the United States will enter the revision of its military capabilities, in particular the 7thFleet, whose strength will be projected to about 60% of the total capacity of RM.Further, the base on Guam ("unsinkable NA") will get more and more important, which will require modernization and capacity increase of the base.

In addition to the requirement for strengthening democracy, free markets and human rights, with transparent presence of military assets as a security guarantor countries of the region, the US will seek the way to "suppress" the enemy military force which would threaten vital US interests in the region,

---

[50]   United States National Security Council, US National Security Strategy 2010, p. 43, available at
        https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf(last seen 28.11.2015.).

deter aggression against countries allies and partners, and ensuring access to markets and partners in the region. Creating security environment in Asia- Pacific region by strengthening allied relations andpartnership, is the concept of US foreign policy, which, in terms of the economic interdependence of the United States, China, Japan, R. Korea and other countries in the broader region, represent the best way to achieve geostrategic interests. The circumstances that currently prevail in international relations, reflecting the needs of the majority of countries for security engagements with allies, partners and neighbors, lead to the conclusion that only with comprehensive smart strategies, countries can create a safe environment and ensure the realization of their national interests.

In this context, regional initiatives which USA try to revive, and new ones that are established, are gaining in importance and are taking positions that allow them to monitore directions for further development of China, preventing the establishment of alliances with other countries in the region and possibly containment if there is a mutual opposition of vital national interest. Engaging all elements of soft and hard power which United States have at their disposal and skills of their conversion into smart power for appropriate strategies, will be a challenge in relations with stakeholders in theAsia-Pacific region.

3. The application of the concept of "smart power" in achieving the geostrategic interests of the United States in the Asia - Pacific region

Former US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton stressed the importance of US policy of smart power during exposure on her appointment to this position in 2009. On that occasion she pointed out that "America cannot solve on it's own the most pressing problems, and the world cannot solve them without America ... I believe that US leadership was required, and coveted. We must use what

we call "smart power," the full range of tools at our disposal - diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal and cultural - with the selection of appropriate or a combination of tools available for each specific circumstance. With smart leadership, diplomacy will be the vanguard of foreign policy[51]". In the light of the statement, the United States turned to the EU as a strategic partner, which focuses on trade and financial stability of relations with countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

At the same time, measures were also undertaken to strengthen ties with alliesin the wider Asia-Pacific region, so that the United States continues its active foreign policy administration by combining all the elements at their disposal, which eventually makes smart power. Examples of this approach are economic arrangements that the United States seek to ensure with countries with Europe and the Asia-Pacific region such are Trans - Pacific Partnership TPP and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership T-TIP. While T-TIP refers to an agreement with the European Union, the United States TPP arrangement considered vital for their involvement in the APR, but also as a strong signal of the commitment and demonstration of determination to remain a driving force towards prosperity and security in the region[52]. The primary aim of the arrangement of TPP is growth of the American economy (increase exports, competitiveness, preservation of jobs, establishing middle-class workers, creating the conditions for the marketing of goods of individual producers, small and medium enterprises), as the basis of stability, security and creating conditions for the manifestation of global influence.

---

[5] 1 National Public Radio, Transcript of Clinton's Confirmation Hearing, January 13, 2009, available at: http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=99290981(last seen 25.12.2015.).

[5] 2 https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/TPP-Strategic-Importance-of-TPP-Fact-Sheet.pdf(last seen 25.12.2015.)

To achieve a goal, TPP emphasizes the importance ofestablishing a "fair conditions" at the global level, which creation would allow the US economy to be dominant, without possibility that any growing economy endanger it. It is not difficult to conclude that the "fair conditions" means those conditions that will be in support of achieving the national interest of the US, and therefore the impact on global flows.

The circumstances under which the US would seek to achieve geostrategic interests in the Asia-Pacific region are different from all previous and certainly represent a new quality.

After many more or less successful, military, diplomatic and cultural offensive that led around the world, the United States have become aware that "power always depends on context" and that "power in the world today, distributed in a pattern that resembles a threedimensional chess game. On the top chessboard, military power is largely unipolar, and the US is likely to retain the championship in the foreseeable future. But on the middle of the chessboard, economic power has been for more than adecade multipolar, including the USA, Europe, Japan and China as the major players and others who are becoming increasingly important ... Lower chess board is the area of cross-border of international relations which are beyond the control of government and include a variety of non-state actors, such are bankers ... terrorists…or hackers ...

This chess board also includes new transnational challenges such as pandemics and climate change. Onthe underside of the board, power is widely scattered, and there is no sense to speak ofunipolarity, multipolarity, hegemony or to any other similar cliché ...[53]"

---

[5] 3 Нај, Џ.: Будућност моћи, op.cit., p. 13.

In considering the circumstances that affect the application of an appropriate foreign policy strategy of the USA in the region, it is necessary to acknowledge values, interests, motives and traditions of the involved stakeholders, with their aspirations for the magnification power and resources while ensuring the integrity of the territory. Also, alliances and partnerships among countries in the region are a manifestation of power focus resources towards the achievement of a stable security environment, "... in order to reduce the uncertainty of their mutual relations[54]." Also, knowledge of how the individual countries of the region perceived threats from the US and its neighbors is another very important segment that complements the "framework for action" of the US administration.

Circumstances that will significantly shape the strategy for resource conversion of the soft and hard power into smart power, the tendency towards achieving US geo-strategic interests in the region, are: historical, colonial,cultural and religious heritage of the region, increasing the resources of hard and soft power countries in the region and the emergence of the People's Republic of China as a regional leaderand a global force in economic, military and political relations between the countries of the region and their impact on future cooperation through regional arrangements and alliances, territorial disputes between countries in the region and US interests in resolving these disputes.

Impact on the security and control of strategic maritime and inland areas, ensures the safety of others of the consequences of modern threats, the armed forces of the United States supported with the diplomatic actions, try to frameand set the agenda which will make the preferences of China and the DPRK irrelevant and beyond the boundaries of tolerance of other actors in

---

[54] Keohane,R. After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1984, p. 54.

the region. In this way the US military or diplomacy may not have to force the partners to the operation against the forces that want to change the existing situation (status quo), but will "shape the preferences of others so they will affect their expectations in terms of what is legitimate and feasible[55] ". The fact is that "whoever controls the Malay Straits holds effective in the grip of a Chinese strategic energy transmission and can jeopardize Chinese energy security at any time.[56]"

At the same time, the outcome of US smart power projection would mean to protect economic investments of the US and EU in China and the region, as well as the prevention of conflicts between countries in the region. The complexity of the security dilemma in which the growing power of China leads to a tendency towards balancing power by the countries of the region, conditions inevitably share the strongest global reach balancer of power - the United States, in setting the geopolitical agenda. Achieving positive effects of the application of the concept of smart power will be conditioned by the ability of the US to establish an agenda, or "framework for action" to ensure the implementation of geostrategic interests.

We can conclude that the application of the concept of smart power in the exercise of geostrategic interests of the US in the Asia-Pacific region, its scope and efficiency, will be conditioned on the specifics of each individual geo-strategic interests. In addition, the specificity of the geo-strategic interests are reflected in the characteristics of the geographic area for which the interest is linked, the current situation of mutual relations of neighboring countries as

---

[5] 5   Нај, Џ.: Будућност моћи, p. 30.

[5] 6   Erickson, A., Collins, G.: „China's Oil Security Pipe Dream – The Reality, and Strategic Consequences, of
Seaborne Imports", Naval War College Review, Spring 2010, Vol. 63, No. 2, p. 90, у: Зарић,И.:
Евроазијска геополитичка и геостратегијска перспектива Народне Републике Кине, op.cit., p. 205.

well as geostrategic perception of anyinterested state and non-state actors in the region and beyond.

CONCLUSION

The Asia - Pacific region is a vital driver of the global economy and included the world's busiest international maritime routes and nine of the world's largest ports by quantity of goods transported. Region has been rapidly militarized and nuclear potential of individual countries additionally actualized significance of the region. Under these   circumstances, the strategic complexities that region is facing is unique.

Intertwining and interdependence of the US and China interests in the APR, are conditioned by historical relocation of relative wealth and economic power from West to East. The Asia-Pacific region is undoubtedly a testing ground for the big USA game, a growth power of China is the main cause. Moving thecenter of gravity of the foreign policy of engagement will be realized primarily through thedislocation of military assets in the area of the region, as already proven recipe, while the strategy itself will be using these new deployments depends on the context.

The   contemporary   global   security   environment,   which among   other things, is the result of active engagement of the United States foreign policy, corresponds to several, but not all countries in the Asia-Pacific region. The rise of new forces in the region, such is the People's Republic of China and its activities in theregion and globally, are not in the interest of neither the United States nor the individual regional actors, so it is likely that the US will continue to strive to maintain the role of balancerof power in the economic and military most dynamic region of the   world. From the standpoint ofUS geostrategic interests, control the straits, the world's maritime trade and military

routes and preventing the emergence of a regional hegemon in the Asia-Pacific region will represent the direction that will be directed projections of soft and hard power of the United States. Geostrategic positioning of military and civilian capacities in the area of the United States of the Indian Ocean, the Strait of Malacca, the South and East China Sea, the waters around Taiwan, the base in Japan, R. Korea, Australia and the US islands in the vicinityof the region, will enable the United States to follow the further growth of China and DPRK nuclear armament.

The circumstances that currently prevail in international relations, reflecting the needs of the majority of countries for security engagements with allies, partners and neighbors, lead to the conclusion that only comprehensive smart strategies, countries can create a safe environment and ensure the realization of national interests. In this context, regional initiatives USA revive and new established, are gaining in importance and are taking positions that allow them to monitor directions of further development of China, preventing the establishment of alliances with other countriesin the region and possibly containment if there is a mutual opposition of vital national interest. Engaging all elements of soft and hard power that United States have at their disposal andskills to converse them into smart power application of appropriate strategies, will be a challenge in relations with the most important factors in the Asia - Pacific region.

The real starting assumption for the application of the concept of smart power is the availability of resources and assessment of soft and hard power which will be with the appropriate strategies converted into smart power. Clearly set goals of US power projection in the region are one of the most important steps and certainly precedes them define the real degree of viability of national interests. Of importance to the selection of appropriate strategies will be the assessment of the state of resources of hard

and soft power of countries to which it plans to exert influence. Good assessment of the context involves continuous to monitor aspirations of potential actors in which power projects and the status of each actor in a network of interdependence and intricacy of interest.

The leaders of the United States will inevitably follow key trends both in the AsiaPacific region, as well as in their own country, with special emphasis on the perspective of developments in the security, economic and political spheres. In the end, Joseph Nye argued that Americans would "have to stop to ask questionsabout who is number one, and to give up talking about domination and begin to ask questionshow the different resources of power can be adjusted in smart strategies for power with others rather than just over the other nations[57]"

Only under these conditions, the application of theconcept of smart power in the exercise of geostrategic or any other US interests in the Asia-Pacific region has good prospects.

LITERATURE:

1. Бериша, Х. Талијан, М.: Заједничка безбедносна и одбрамбена политика ЕУ-између меке и тврде моћи, Политичка ревија бр. 5/2015. Београд, 2015.

2. Бжежински, З.: Велика шаховска табла, ЦИД Подгорица, 1999.

3. Бјелајац, М.: Гаврило Принцип није био терориста, МЦ Одбрана, Београд, 2013.

4. Вуковић, Н.: Логика империје–Основе Спајкманове концепције. Библиотека Моба, Бгд, 2007.

5. Gray,C.: Hard Power And Soft Power: The Utility Of Military Force As An Instrument Of Policy In The 21st Century, Strategic Studies Institute (SSI), U.S. Army War College, April 2011.

---

[57] Џозеф Нај, Будућност моћи, р. 15.

6. Daggett, S.: Quadrennial Defense Review: Overview and Implications for National Security Planning, Congressional Research Service, May 17, 2010.

7. Зарић, И.: Евроазијска геополитичка и геостратегијска перспектива НР Кине, објављено у Степић, М. и Ђурић, Ж.: Србија и евроазијски геополитички простор, Институт за политичке студије, Београд, 2013.

8. Kaplan, R., The Tragedy of U.S. Foreign Policy, August 1, 2013, http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/the-tragedy-us-foreign-policy-8810

9. Keohane, R.: After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1984.

10. Кисинџер, Х.: Дипломатија, Клуб плус, Београд, 2008.

11. Кисинџер, Х.: Дипломатија II, Верзал Пресс, Београд, 1999., стр. 716.

12. Килибарда, З., Основе геополитике, ЈП Службени гласник, Београд, 2008

13. Мирковић, Т.: Америчка војна стратегија, јуче, данас, сутра, МЦ Одбрана, Београд, 2012.

14. Миршајмер, Џ.: Трагедија политике великих сила, Удружење за студије САД у Београду, Март 2009.

15. Нај, Џ.: Парадокс америчке моћи: зашто једина светска суперсила не може сама, БМГ, Београд, 2004.

16. Нај, Џ.: Будућност моћи, Архипелаг, Београд, 2012.

17. Nye, J.: Soft Power: The Means To Success In World Politics, New York 2004.

18. Russel, G., „Alfred T. Mahan and American Geopolitics: The Conservatism and Realism of an Imperialist", Geopolitics, No 11, 2006.

19. Shambough, D.: China Engages Asia. Reshaping the Regional Order.

20. National Public Radio, Transcript of Clinton's Confirmation Hearing, January 13, 2009, доступнона: http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=99290981

21. United States National Security Council, US National Security Strategy 2010, стр. 43, доступно на:

https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf

22. The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, The White House, Washington, September 2002, стр. 26, доступно на: http://nssarchive.us/?page_id=32&page=10

23. East Asian Strategic Review 2012, National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Japan, доступно на: http://www.nids.go.jp/english/publication/east-asian/e2012.html.

24. https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf

25. U.S. National Intelligence Council, Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World, Washington, D.C., November 2008, доступно на: http://www.dni.gov/nic/NIC_2025_project.html.

26. Clif, R., Tangredi, S., and Wormuth, C.: The Future of U.S. Overseas Presence, in: Flournoy, A. Michaile (ed.), QDR 2001 Strategy – Driven Chioces for America s Security, NDU Press, Washington, D.C., 2001.

27. Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense,p. 4.

28. The Rise of Asia and New Geopolitics in the Asia-Pacific Region, As Prepared for Delivery by Deputy Secretary of Defense Ashton B. Carter, Jakarta, Indonesia, Wednesday, March 20, 2013, доступно на:

http://www.defense.gov/Speeches/Speech.aspx?SpeechID=1761

29. Jayshree,B. and Youkyung,L.: The U.S.-South Korea Alliance, October 2011, Council on Foreign Relations, доступно на: http://www.cfr.org/south-korea/us-south-korea alliance/p11459

30. http://www.korea-dpr.com/juche_ideology.html

31. www.naenara.com.kp/en/

32. www.korea-dpr.com

33. http://www.mnd.go.kr

34. http://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.cfm?id=13711

35. http://www.mod.go.jp

36. http://www.korea.net/AboutKorea/Korea-at-a-Glance/History

37. http://www.worldshipping.org/about-the-industry/global-trade/top-50-world-container ports

38. http://www.pacom.mil/about-uspacom/2013-uspacom-strategy.shtml

39.http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/1240/propaganda_isnt_the_way.html

40. http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/hard-power,

41. http://www.theguardian.com/world/datablog/2013/apr/08/south-korea-v-north-koreacompared.

42. http://web-japan.org/factsheet/en/pdf/e01_geography.pdf

43. https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/TPP-Strategic-Importance-of-TPP-Fact-Sheet.pdf

Prof Hatidze Berisha,Ph.D is profesor on a School of National Defence, Ministry of Denfece, Serbia.

Reopening the Kosovo

Upper Airspace

Analyzing the first year of operations

By Schvab Zoltan,Ph.D

Abstract

 After 15 years without flights, the Kosovo upper airspace was reopened on the 3rd April 2014. Due to diplomatic reasons and a technically well founded project proposal, Hungary and its air navigation service provider, HungaroControl Hungarian Air Navigation Services, was selected to act as the technical enabler of the renewed activities in the airspace and provide the air navigation services. Besides successful diplomatic negotiations, this necessitated a proper technological background, including the availability of radar and radio coverage, air traffic management and voice communication systems, just as well as the adequate training of the air traffic controllers. After one year of operations, the paper presents the characteristics of this reopened airspace, along with a detailed statistical analysis of the traffic volume encountered in this period.

Keywords—Kosovo; airspace reopening; technical implementation; statistical analysis

Introduction

Our decade is increasingly being characterized by remote operations. Present state-of-the-art research and development projects see the growing demand to be able to operate airports and even airspaces from remote locations [1, 2]. This is not only facilitated by the enhanced opportunities inherent in modern communication systems [3, 4, 5, 6], but also by the security gains and, in certain cases, the environmental benefits to be achieved by remote services. The reopening of the Kosovo upper airspace is a demonstration of some of the above points, even though the main reason behind providing remote services was of a diplomatic nature [7].

After 15 years of no flights in the upper airspace, it seemed viable to delegate the tasks of the air navigation service provider (ANSP) to a neutral provider, who, solely as a technical enabler, could provide air traffic control in the Kosovo airspace. Knowing the effects air traffic operations have on the environment [8], it was expected that the reopened airspace would enable the planning of shorter routes hence leading to considerable fuel cost savings and lower emissions. Now, one year has passed since the reopening of that Kosovo upper airspace; thus it seems reasonable to look back on that one year of operations and analyse the situation that has evolved since then.

So, the rest of the article is organized as follows: after this introduction in Section I, Section II highlights the diplomatic background of the airspace opening, while Section III recounts the implementation of the project with special emphasis on the technical facilitators contributing to this intelligent transport system of remote services. Section IV provides a detailed statistical analysis of the first year of operations, and finally, Section V offers the conclusions.

Preparatory phase, diplomatic preliminaries

As based on the UN Security Council resolution 1244 (1999), since the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, sovereignty over Kosovo airspace has been maintained solely by the NATO International Security Force in Kosovo (NATO/KFOR) and in accordance with the Military Technical Agreement signed at the end of the wars, it is still under NATO/KFOR jurisdiction. Except for flights to Pristina, the airspace has not been available for civil aviation in the last fifteen years. As the general level of security has been increasing in the area, since 2003 the Organization has been striving to provide the technical conditions to reopen the airspace.

In line with this goal, NATO invited certain states in the region to potentially carry out the task of airspace opening. The North-Atlantic Treaty Organization contacted the relevant NATO member states and partners at geographically favourable locations; and among these, also Hungary. The question was whether one of these states was capable and also willing to control the upper airspace over Kosovo and provide civil air navigation services. Hungary was officially contacted on 22nd July 2011.

It was in September that Hungary indicated to NATO its theoretical intention to participate in the call, and that it was capable and also willing to provide the air navigation services and further relevant tasks. To prepare and compile the Hungarian proposal, experts were delegated by the Ministry of National Development, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defence, the National Transport Authority, the Transport Safety Bureau and HungaroControl, the Hungarian Air Navigation Service Provider (ANSP). The proposal was presented by Hungary on 5th December 2011 to the participants of the 17th NATO Balkan Aviation Normalization Meeting (BANM), the forum organized by NATO to normalize the aeronautical situation in the Balkans.

Apart from Hungary, Macedonia and Albania also handed in their proposals, while Austria also showed interest after the dismissal of a prior, Italian concept.

Facilitating the success of the Hungarian proposal was the fact that, within foreign affairs, the Hungarian government had assigned special priority to the stability of the Western-Balkan region, and would have liked to positively contribute to the success of NATO activities in Kosovo. Being a full member of NATO and a reliable partner of its allies shed further positive light on Hungary, just as well as the capability of its national aviation service provider to be technically and technologically apt to deliver the necessary services. The favourable financial construction developed by Hungary proved also to be significant: this built on a minimum of investments, utilizing to a large extent the infrastructure already present in the region. The geographical proximity was also seen as an advantage, coupled with the political neutrality of the country. Last but not least, the on-site visits of the Hungarian delegation and the prior negotiations with the stakeholders in the preparatory phase of the proposal also contributed to the success.

The National Supervisory Authority conducted a detailed examination to determine the subtasks in the application phase and then, before the commencement of the service, to officially certify that HungaroControl complies with the European laws and regulations and is fully able to act as the air navigation service provider.

The proposal on the Hungarian participation in the reopening of the Kosovo upper airspace, also covering the detailed tasks in case of a successful NATO proposal, was accepted by the Hungarian Government on 29th February 2012. Subsequently, on 13th April 2012, the North Atlantic Council authorized Hungary, KFOR and HungaroControl within a so-called silence procedure to

conduct the bilateral and multilateral negotiations and conclude the agreements necessary to implement the programme.

The Government of Hungary and the International Security Force in Kosovo (KFOR) signed the 'Implementing agreement for the provision of air navigation services and other relevant activities in the designated airspace over Kosovo' which was published on 29th December 2013. By accepting this consignment explicitly as a so called 'technical enabler' and only on a temporary basis, Hungary revealed that it did not intend to influence the diplomatic and political situation of the region through this project. The assignment covers solely the area control in the upper airspace of Kosovo, it does not include approach and tower control. The consignment is special in as much as within it, it is the first time that an air navigation service provider offers 'remote' services and it controls the aircraft not from within the country, from its own base, but from the so-called ANS III centre of HungaroControl, in Budapest [9].

To implement the project an inter-departmental working group was established. Here, the project was born as a concerted action of experts delegated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Administration and Justice, the National Transport Authority, the Transport Safety Bureau and HungaroControl under the leadership of the Ministry of National Development.

The airspace could only be reopened as a result of international cooperation within the NATO BANM. The successful collaboration of members from a multinational region was one of the success factors of the project.

To enable the airspace reopening, the cross-border activities of nearly 15 organizations from 8 countries had to be harmonized, while the support of NATO, KFOR, EUROCONTROL, ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization),

IATA, European Commission, just as well as the regional partners, Serbia, Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Kosovo, Croatia and Montenegro, had also had to be secured.

The continuous provision of the service requires a close and on-going cooperation of HungaroControl with the air navigation service providers of the

region, i.e. M-NAV (Macedonian Air Navigation), SMATSA (Serbia and Montenegro Air Traffic Services), Albcontrol (Albania), BHANSA (Bosnia and Herzegovina), BULATSA (Bulgarian), ANP-Kontrolli Ajror "Adem Jashari" (Kosovo) and KFOR [10].

Implementation

A.Technical implementation

As also outlined in the proposal, the Hungarian air navigation service provider had planned to prepare for the airspace opening by relying on the already existing infrastructure of the regional partners. This solution did not require the instalment of new radar sites, thus the Hungarian project could be executed considerably faster, simpler and in a less expensive way than those of other applicants, who intended to provide the necessary technological background by building new facilities.

The new and modernised air navigation centre of the Hungarian air navigation service provider, the so called ANS III, was inaugurated at the end of 2012. The centre was created with the aim to leave room for developing the Hungarian, and even Central-European, air navigation infrastructure, just as well as its capacity and efficiency. In the course of the constructions, the operations room of ANS III saw backup controller working positions (CWPs)

installed, which could then be turned into CWPs where the Kosovo airspace could be controlled from. The Hungarian airspace is controlled with the help of the so called MATIAS software (Magyar Automated and Integrated Air Traffic System). It was on this basis that, in close cooperation with THALES Air Systems, HungaroControl developed the KATIAS software (KFOR sector Automated and Integrated ATC System) applicable to the Kosovo upper airspace.
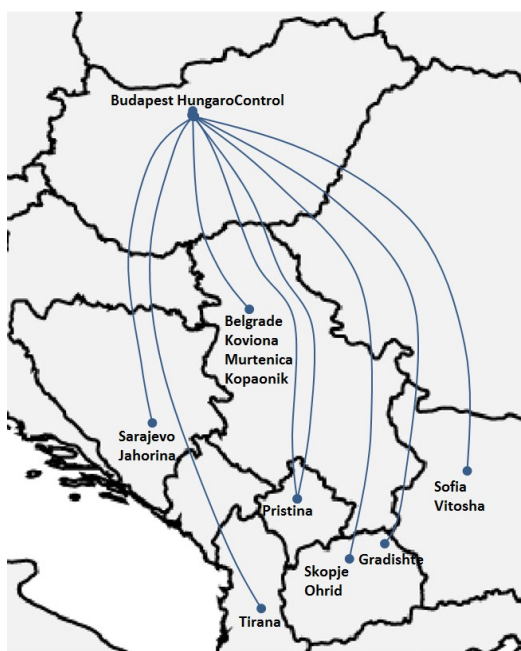
1. Data links

Besides, to provide the further technological background of navigation and the operationally required double radar coverage, data from 5 radars of the region needed to be procured. Best radar data coverage serving aviation safety is ensured by

 - the Vitosha radar from BULATSA, the Bulgarian service provider,

 - the Murtenica and Koviona radars from SMATSA, the service provider of
    Serbia and Montenegro,

 - the Ohrid radar from M-NAV, the Macedon service provider

- the Jahorina radar from BHANSA, the service provider of Bosnia and Herzegovina (see Fig. 1.).

Processing the data from these radars provides the air navigation service provider with the required multiple radar coverage. Aviation safety is guaranteed also in case of the further, relevant technologies by multiple, redundant solutions [10].

Prior examinations and the results of the appropriate technical analyses showed that by means of relatively small alterations with the contribution of the Austrian Frequentis AG company, the existing voice communication system would be fully capable to offer the voice communication links needed for navigation purposes. In addition to the Hungarian sites, the infrastructural background and continuous availability of the radios is granted by the Gradishte radio station of M-NAV, and the Kopaonik site of SMATSA. This is how, by means of regional cooperation, the services of radar and radio sites imperative for providing the services from Hungary can be integrated into the system.

The data link between the countries of the region and HungaroControl is ensured by protected, leased telecommunication lines. The protection is either put in place at the level of the provider, where the services of different telecommunication providers are contracted for the same connection; or at the level of the communication itself. In this case, the telecommunication provider guarantees the existence of two, physically independent linkages between the endpoints. As there are multiple lines and services, several telecommunication providers are contracted for these services, such as Magyar Telekom, GTS and ONE (Slovenia Telekom).

I.   List of connections

Partner ANSP	Services	
	Type	Site
PIA Kosovo	telephone line	Pristina
	hotline telephone	Pristina, KFOR Joint Operations Centre (JOC)
SMATSA Serbia	radar	Koviona
		Murtenica
	radio	Kopaonik
	FMTP, 1 MFC, 1 ATS Q-sig. connection	Belgrade
BULATSA Bulgaria	radar	Vitosha
M-NAV Macedonia	radar	Ohrid
	radio	Gradishte
	OLDI, 2 MFC	Skopje
AlbControl Albania	ATS Q-sig.	Tirana
BHANSA Bosnia and Herzegovina	radar	Jahorina

II.

Table I.

lists the connections in detail. It shows that apart from the radar and radio data flows, there are further services which link the countries. One of these is the On-Line Data Interchange (OLDI) facility (see the Skopje connection), which enables, traditionally using the X.25 data connectivity, the exchange of standardized messages the for the execution of notification, co-ordination and transfer of communication to flights between air traffic control units by the use of electronic data transfer between flight data processing systems [11].

As the X.25 data communication networks are becoming increasingly costly and have a limited lifetime, it became necessary to adapt the former EUROCONTROL Standard for Flight Data Exchange Interface Control Document from X.25 to TCP/IP. This is how FMTP (Flight Message Transfer Protocol), the TCP/IP based solution for the exchange of OLDI messages has evolved [12], and is for instance used in the communication with Belgrade (see Table I).

The further links referred to in the List of connections are enablers of the voice communication between the air navigation service providers. MFC (multi frequency coding) numbers provide direct, point-to-point voice communication services between the relevant sectors as based on an analogue protocol. Finally, ATS Q-sig. connections also provide voice communications, but as based on a digital protocol.

Operative cooperation and management between the air traffic control units of the region is also vital for the provision of seamless services. Hence, the means of cooperation were laid down in so called Letters of Agreement (LoA) with all the partners. Such an agreement was concluded with KFOR as well. This includes the details of cooperation with KFOR which is still overseeing the relevant airspace.

No coverage

Single coverage

Double coverage

Triple coverage

Quadruple coverage

Fivefold coverage
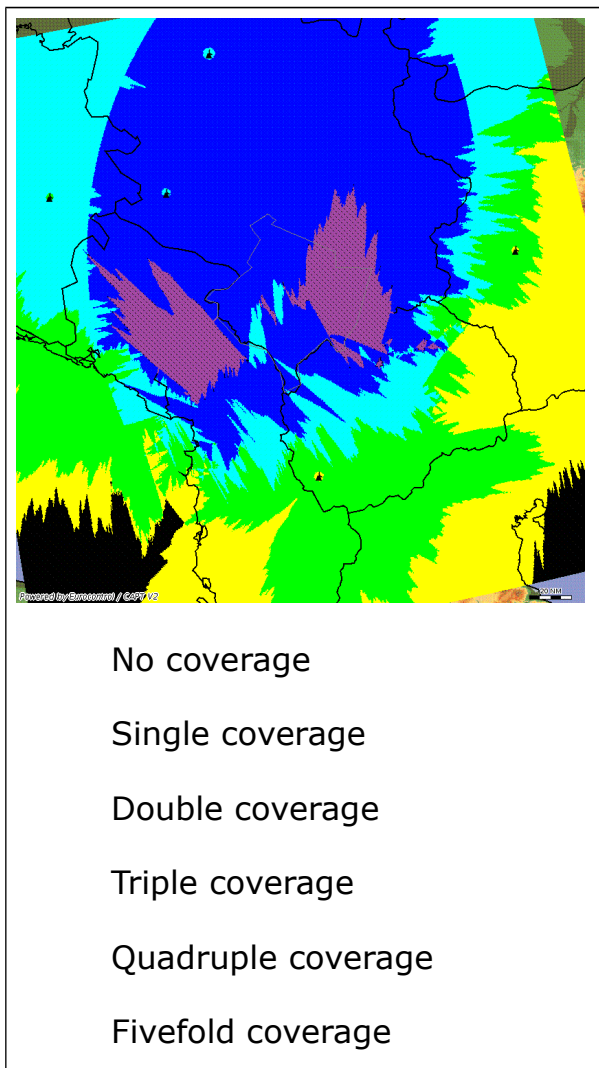
- Radar coverage [10]

A. Trainings

HungaroControl can only provide these services seamlessly if its human resources are also adequately developed. Thus a training agenda had been developed, which could be used, after approval from the national supervisory authority for the training and examination of the future air traffic controllers of the Kosovo sector. As a first step, the instructors were trained in the CRDS centre of HungaroControl (Centre of Research, Development and Simulation).

In cooperation with regional partners, the selected team studied the airspace in detail via a specially compiled package of exercises, covering extreme traffic and weather conditions.

The air traffic controllers possessing Hungarian licences but also selected to be handling the KFOR sector participated in a retraining course. Here, they got familiar with the features of this airspace and with the stipulations of the LoAs in place with the regional partners. Aware of characteristic weather conditions and knowing the geographical layout of the area, during the training in theory, the controllers conducted an in-depth analysis of the potential points of conflict and other dangerous phenomena. After the theory, they participated in a complex simulation for one week.

The aim of this was to train them for controller work in the given area within an intensive, real-time summer traffic environment. Until the day of the airspace opening, the licences of 55 air traffic controllers were extended to include certification for controlling the upper airspace of Kosovo. Now, to ensure a balanced workload of the human resource, all air traffic controllers with licences older than one year are also trained for the KFOR sector.

A. Kosovo upper airspace and its characteristics

The upper airspace of Kosovo is a small airspace with a diameter of 62 nautical miles. Its borders are determined by the limits of Tirana FIR (Flight Information Region Albania) and Skopje FIR (Macedonia); while on the side to Serbia and Montenegro the administrative border of Kosovo is delineating the airspace. For an aircraft it takes approximately 7-8 minutes to cross the area. The vertical limits of the airspace extend from flight level (FL) 205 (approx. 6250 m) to FL 660 (approx. 22 000 m – the upper limit of controlled airspace).

From the air traffic controllers' view the airspace is characterised by the fact

that while it is relatively small, the aircraft cross it at a high velocity. Although, due to its traffic volume and its route structure this small airspace is not very complex, it still holds several challenges, mostly due to its size.

Namely, the high speed crossing traffic here needs to be controlled knowing that there is very little time available to execute any changes. Thus, risk assessments and preliminary analysis becomes particularly significant. The upper airspace of Kosovo is controlled the same way as that of Hungary. Two air traffic controllers work at the same time in the sectors: the executive controller and the planning controller, the latter being responsible for assessing the potential conflicts and coordinating on telephone with the air navigation services of the neighbouring countries and Pristina. The role of the planning controller gains emphasis here, as every move needs to be planned in advance and quick improvisation might become necessary[10].

A. Simulation and testing

Significant difficulties were encountered while preparing the simulations essential in the preliminary stage, as the airspace had been closed for one and a half decades; thus actual data were not available either as based on traffic history, on characteristic conflict points or on the basis of former cooperation. In lack of real-life data, CDRS created the exercises relying on the database of EUROCONTROL and on information acquired from as many partners as possible. Nearly 70 air traffic controllers from 8 countries, employees of the Macedonian, the Serbian, the Albanian, the Greek air navigation services, and in an observer status, those of Kosovo, participated in the simulation training sessions organized in the first week of December 2013.

The launch of the service was preceded by an integrative phase: with the permission of NATO/KFOR, HungaroControl conducted a multiple hour long test flight in collaboration with the Serbian air navigation service provider, SMATSA

and KFOR. The test had to be carried out on two altitudes, at FL180 and at FL340, flying along the sector boundary being 30 nautical miles in radius, just as well as all the routes. The calculations proved to be correct in this real-life situation. It was shown that the Bosnian, the Serbian, the Bulgarian and the 2 Macedonian radars provided a perfect coverage above 3000 meters above this hilly area. Hence, they could be used for the continuous and safe data provision fed into the navigation centre of HungaroControl. The test flight was conducted with active participation from the national supervisory authority. The complex testing included not only the radar but the radio coverage as well [10].

A. Publication of the service

In accordance with the international rules and regulations, HungaroControl revealed the date of the airspace reopening and the data required for flight planning first to the aviation community in the AIP (Aeronautical Information Publication). The relevant data were integrated into the electric database of EUROCONTROL (EAD - European AIS Database), accessible to all airlines.

The target date of the airspace reopening was determined by the 18th NATO BANM in the summer of 2013, with view on other on-going developments within the region, just as well as on the schedule change. Although choosing the AIRAC date of the 3rd April enabled preparation for the summer schedule, it entailed a very tight preparatory phase for HungaroControl.

HungaroControl provides en-route air navigation services to the crossing civil aviation aircraft in the KFOR sector. Approach and tower control is executed by ANP-Kontrolli Ajror "Adem Jashari", the air navigation service provider of Kosovo, until FL205.

HungaroControl also offers the complementary services: alerting and flight information services, airspace management and flow control. The assignment has been given to HungaroControl for 5 years, which can be extended or

shortened and it only includes services of a technical nature.

A. Route charges

As based on the agreement between NATO, EUROCONTROL, Serbia and Montenegro, a new charging area, the Serbia/ Montenegro/KFOR charging zone was introduced. In the trilateral route charging zone the charges are uniformly determined on the basis of full recovery, thus, all costs   of the service provision, including the costs of launching the service are born by the airspace users. In line with the structure generally applicable to European air navigation services, route charges are paid by airlines using the services in the upper airspace above the common charging zone. These charges are collected by EUROCONTROL and then redistributed to the national air navigation service providers, and thus to HungaroControl as well.

The route charge applicable in the Serbia/Montenegro/ Kosovo sector was set to be 50.42 EUR from 1st April 2014. At the request of the airspace users, this was revised during the year by the members of the charging zone, and so the unit rate was lowered to 47.82 from August 2014 onward. Due to the periodic adjustment of the unit rate with regard to the changes in the exchange rate, the unit rate has been changing every month since then to a minimal extent. HungaroControl receives a share from the revenues generated in the common charging zone proportionately with the KFOR cost base.

Consequently, HungaroControl is accorded a given part of the revenues, proportionate with the KFOR cost base, after each and every flight crossing the common Serbia/Monenegro/KFOR charging zone, independently of whether the aircraft eventually entered the Kosovo upper airspace, or it just proceeded in the airspace of Serbia and/or Montenegro.

Regarding the cost structure of the airlines it has to be emphasized that utilising this previously closed piece of airspace may lead to shorter routes, thus the air carriers may reduce the mass of fuel burnt, leading not only to

decreasing emissions but also to lower fuel costs. Moreover, the shorter routes also imply lower maintenance costs [10].

Analysing the first year

I. The first year of operations has been completed on the 3rd April 2015, one year after the first flight, SWR257 from Tel-Aviv to Zurich, crossed the reopened airspace. It is reasonable to examine the tendencies present throughout the year and to take a special look at the statistical characteristics of this year of operations.
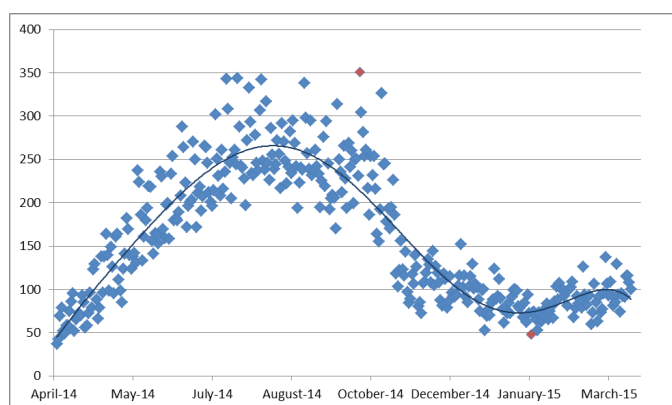
- Daily number of operations

Fig. 3. shows the daily number of operations from 3rd April 2014 until 31st March 2015. It can be seen that April and May were months of growing traffic, leading to a summer peak in the months from July to October. The maximum traffic volume in this year was achieved on the 11th of October, while the overall minimum, not surprisingly, was seen on the 3rd April 2014, the day of the launch of service. Nevertheless, this data should be excluded from the investigation, as it belongs to the period when the service was introduced. Thus, it can be stated that the true minimum occurred on 27th January 2015, when the number of crossing flights was 48 (for the maximum and the minimum see the red mark on Fig. 3.).
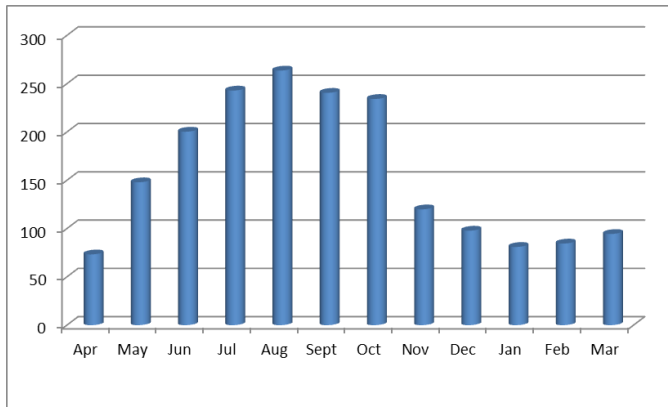
- Average number of flights in the different months of the year

The average daily number of flights in the first year was 158, with a deviation of 76; while the modus (the most frequently occurring value in a range of data) of the period was 72, with the median (the number in the middle of the set of given numbers) being 135. Analysing the average monthly values of the operation yields some further insights (see Fig. 4.).
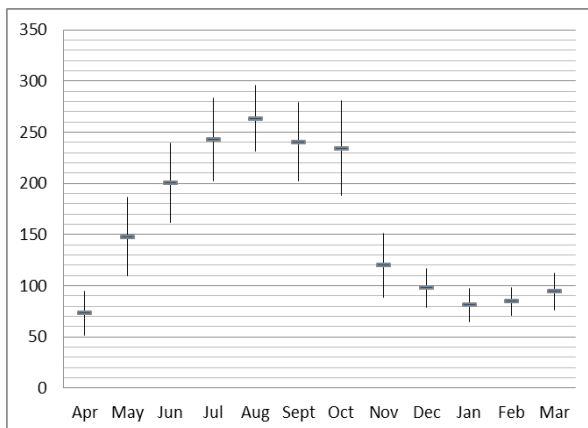
- Average number of flights with the standard deviations

Adding the standard deviations to the picture (see Fig. 5.), seemingly shows a marked difference in the deviations also as based on the reference period, with the high traffic season having a higher standard deviation (an average of 39),

while in the low traffic season the deviation of the values is also smaller (with an average of 20 movements). However, it should be kept in mind that the base values are also different in the high and in the low traffic season, and this creates the seemingly big difference between the standard deviations in the different seasons. In reality, the numerical values of the deviations are 12.3% to 20.1% of the base value. An exception is the month of November, where this number is 25.9%. As November is the month where the change occurs between the high and low traffic season, this can be seen as an outlier value.
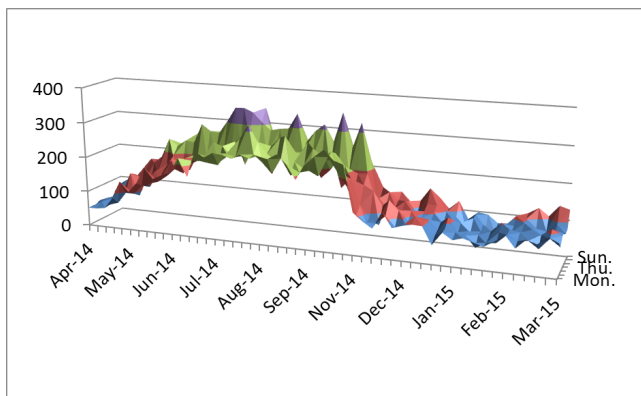
- The yearly traffic as a 3D surface

The numbers in Fig. 4. reinforce the impression that the first year of operations can be divided into 3 subparts: April and May of 2014, when the number of flights was in the initial growth phase; a season of higher traffic volume (June to October), and one of lower traffic (November to March). Thus, the further investigations will focus separately on the latter two periods, omitting the first two months of operations.
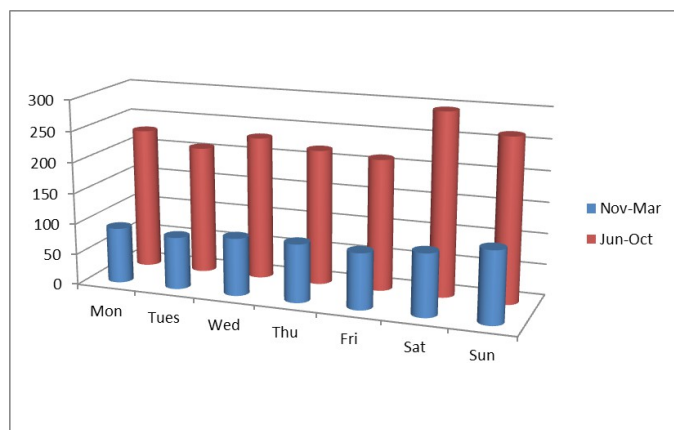
- Average number of flights on the given days of the week

The traffic change effected by the day of the week might also be interesting to be investigated. Fig. 6. shows the yearly traffic on a 3-dimensional surface, ordered according to the days of the week.

The summer peak is also obvious here, and the effect of weekends is slightly palpable in the high traffic season. To be able to get clearer results, the numbers have been reordered to get Fig. 7.

Fig. 7. shows the average number of movements for the different days of the week separately for the high and the low traffic season. It can be seen that the weekend has an effect on traffic data especially during the summer peak, while in the low traffic season it does not have such a significant influence. These data are in line with the results of Erdélyi [13], who discovered the effect of weekends on the data. However, for him, low season values were not yet available. Now, we could make a distinction between these two seasons, and could get a clearer view on this effect.

Regarding the distribution of traffic among the different airlines, it can be stated, that it were the low cost airlines, which reacted the quickest on the airspace opening. Among others, Ryanair, WizzAir, Easyjet, just as well as other big airlines, such as Austrian, Lufthansa and El-Al use the reactivated routes

regularly, if they can reach their destination through the Kosovo airspace in a more optimal way. The most aircraft travel along the west-northwest or the east-southeast axis, about 8 to 10 times more so than along the quasi north-south route. Most often the destination of the flights over Kosovo is the Near-East, Tel-Aviv, Egypt and the Syrian area, and, in the other direction, Munich, Zurich, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, England and Scotland. Many summer destinations (Cyprus, the Greek island, Turkey, the Aegean sea resorts, Israel and Jordan) may eventually be reached on a shorter way through the Kosovo upper airspace.

I. **Conclusions**

The present article has investigated the air navigation services provided in Kosovo upper airspace after one year of operations. The technical background: the radar and radio data flowing in via leased telecommunication lines, the air traffic management and voice communication services have proved to be adequate for the delivery of the service. The number of air traffic controllers trained for the purpose of service initiation has also been sufficient. As now all air traffic controllers with a licence older than one year are also trained for the Kosovo sector, a bottleneck due to human resources is not to be expected.

The traffic volume saw an initial increase in the first two months of the service, reached a higher plateau in the summer months, the peak month being August with a cumulated traffic of 8171 movements. Then, as expected, the winter period entailed a lower traffic volume, with also a lower standard deviation of the values. Regarding the day of the week, the weekends proved to bring a surge in the number of movements, but this was mostly significant in the period characterised by higher traffic volume.

To highlight the potential horizons of further research, future investigations in connection with the Kosovo airspace could include a detailed analysis of the rate of airlines utilizing the services depending on the seasons. As a separate issue, the usage of the voice communication channels and services could also provide further insight into the provision of this remote service. These are the directions in which the authors aim to direct their future examinations at.

References

1. Zoltan Schvab- Rita Markovits Somogyi 2015 Models and Technologies for Intelligent Transportation Systems (MT-ITS) 3-5. June 2015. Budapest, Hungary

1. D. Dudás, R. Markovits-Somogyi, Á. Török: "Virtuális repülőtéri irányítóközpont", Közlekedésbiztonság: A Nemzeti Közlekedési Hatóság Lapja, vol. 3-4., pp. 14-17, 2012.

2. A. Isaac, "Effective communication in the aviation environment: work in progress" Hindsight, vol. 5., pp. 31–34, July 2007.

3. L. J. Prinzel, K. J. Schelton, D.R. Jones, A. S. Allamandola, J. J. Arthur, R. A. Bailey, "Evaluation of mixed-mode data-link communications for NextGen 4DT and equivalent visual surface operations, Air Traffic Control Quarterly, vol. 18., pp. 177–212, 2010.

4. J. Pouzet, "Moving aviation towards a 21st-century communications system", Skyway, vol. 54, pp. 10-13, Winter 2010.

5. M. S. B. Mahmoud, A. Pirovano, N. Larrieu, "Aeronautical communication transition from analog to digital data: A network security survey", Computer Science Review, vol. 11-12, pp. 1-29., May 2014.

6. Z. Schváb, Gy. Győri, K. Szepessy. "Megnyílt a polgári forgalom előtt a Koszovó feletti magyar légtér", Magyar Közlekedés, p. 4., 7th May 2014

7. B. Sridhar, N. Y. Chen, H. K. Ng, A. Morando, "Modeling and Simulation of the Impact of Air Traffic Operations on the Environment", Air Traffic Control Quarterly, vol. 20, pp 285–310., 2012.

8. Z. Schváb, Gy. Győri, K. Szepessy, K. Szalai, "Összhangban az európai törevésekkel: A KFOR (Koszovói Nemzetközi Biztonsági Erő) szektor megnyitása – határokon átívelő szolgáltatás a magyar léginavigációs központból", Közltudományi Szemle, vol. 6., pp. 36-44, Dec. 2014.

9. Z. Schváb, "HungaroControl: kiemelt fejlesztések", Magyar Közlekedés, p. 4. 16th Jan. 2013.

10. EUROCONTROL Specification for On-Line Data Interchange, Edition 4.2 Edition date: 16/12/2010 Reference nr: EUROCONTROL-SPEC-106, ISBN: 978-2-87497-061-0

11. EUROCONTROL Specification of Interoperability and Performance Requirements for the Flight Message Transfer Protocol, Edition 2.0, Edition date: 14/06/2007, Reference nr: EUROCONTROL-SPEC-100, ISBN: 978-2-87497-064-1

12. P. Erdélyi "A KFOR szektor távoli irányítása", BSc thesis, Faculty of Transportation Engineering and Vehicle Engineering, Budapest University of Technology and Economics, Budapest, Dec. 2014.

Schvab Zoltan

Vice-president of the Hungarian Scientific Association for Transport, former Director-General of Civil Aviation, former Director of HungaroControl Supervisory Board, NATO Transport Group Hungarian representative, Budapest, Hungary

http://theWebalyst.com

De-Globalization to
Re-Globalization:
It's time for new Perspectives

By Prof. Jagdish Khatri,Ph.D

The Era of Globalization

We have all been a witness to the significant era of Globalization that helped in creating a boundary-less world allowing free movement and exchange of products, services, technology, capital, people and ideas across nations and continents. The gradual interlinking of various regions, countries and people has been one of the most positive developments in this era.

In past three decades, the process of globalization has helped in lifting millions of people above poverty, with the share of people living in extreme poverty in the developing world falling from 47% to only 14%.

The era has seen significant improvement in the quality of living. Average life expectancy rosefrom 48 to 71 years, albeit with difference between countries. Infant & maternal mortality rate has almost halved. The process of globalization has provided opportunities to underdeveloped parts of the

world to increase their GDP; encouraged communities to acquire new skills, and given employment opportunities to people irrespective of their background across the continents. World trade has multiplied several times during this period.

Emergence of De-Globalization

However, we are now witnessing a different kind of upheaval in the past few years in social, economic and geopolitical spheres. Old paradigms are being replaced by new ones.

The world is changing from 'uni-polar' to 'multi-polar' one, with new power-centers emerging and alignments being made or broken. Regions are going through the cycles of economic crisis and recovery. There are more concerns about security of people and boundaries.

Yet, one particular phenomenon which has taken the policymakers all over the world by surprise has been the widespread disenchantment against the process and policies of globalization, which is now being termed as 'De-globalization'. There have been protests by working class even in developed countries. Media pundits have been proved wrong by the results of Brexit and US Presidential election.

According to Ruchir Sharma in his scholarly analysis in an article, Brexit was not as much a cataclysmic cause as a symptom; a manifestation of the anger unleashed as an after-effect of 2008 global crisis.

Many other independent and interdependent factors also contributed in development of an antiglobalization sentiment across nations. Fiscal crisis in Eurozone nations, oil & commodity price crash, unsuccessful rounds of

multilateral trade negotiations, avoidance of countries into entering new trade agreements – all these factors have also contributed in building an atmosphere of economic gloom.

Slowdown in global economy since 2008 has further resulted in loss of jobs, unemployment and almost stagnation of incomes, thereby causing rise in inequality among sections of communities. Pumping out easy money to uplift

the economy by Central Banks and Governments, in place of fuelling job growth & incomes, has resulted in accumulation of financial assets owned by rich individuals and corporations at the cost of wage increase of working class.

On one hand, the number of billionaires has been constantly on increase; stock markets indices are shooting up; while on the other hand, wages are stagnant or even decreasing in real terms.

In a global survey by McKinsey Global Institute released in 2016, it was revealed that there were 65% to 70% households whose incomes stagnated or declined between 2005 and 2014. This is staggering compared to only 2% in 12 years before 2005. Hence, the people in these segments believe that global economy has not been good for them anymore.

This situation has provided fertile ground for eruption of dissent and a backlash against the process of globalization. In fact, the Brexit vote was more against the global elite and big business houses that received the maximum profits through free markets and open borders. When David Cameron went on canvassing to remain in EU, the argument given was that remaining a part of EU will be good for British economy. Because of high level of trust-gap between general electorate and the big business, the

perception was that 'whatever is good for the business must be bad for the common public'.

Lessons from History

It is not the first time that the process of globalization has to make a retreat. If we look back at history, similar trends cropped up twice during 20 th Century. Extraordinary four-decade period of rising migration and open trade came to an abrupt end with the outbreak of World War I in 1914. This was preceded by a period of rising prosperity where millions benefitted, but inequality also rose. This resulted into discontented lot turning to firebrand nationalists to be their savior by putting controls on free trade and movement.

This retreat of globalization continued for more than three decades, again resulting in weakening of economy and the great depression of 1929.

The resentments fuelled by weaker economy and inequality again caused ultra-nationalist and anti-immigrant sentiments in Europe, culminating into the outbreak of World War II and the catastrophic loss of lives and property.

Once again, a similar phenomenon is before us. The hectic pace of progress achieved in period after 1980s through another wave of globalization that was further strengthened by the technological advancement and which brought people nearer. However, the financial crisis of 2008 caused slowdown and provided ground for rise of inequality and unemployment.

Once again, we are witnessing an uprising of populism, protectionism and a backlash against globalization. Again, the borders are being sealed, autocratic leaders emerging, anti-immigrant & antiminorities sentiments gaining momentum. Ultra-nationalist forces are at work in exploiting the frustration to their advantage by blaming neighbours or migrants for loss of jobs and advocating for harsh actions, including armed interventions.

The symptoms of present state of retreat of globalization are frighteningly similar to the first two waves of retreats which had resulted into World Wars, followed by still worse economic conditions, thereby further deepening the crisis. It's time we learn from history and take necessary corrective steps.

It is rightly said, **"Those who do not learn from history are condemned to repeat it."**

Different Dimensions of De-Globalization

Apart from the unexpected results at political levels, the aspect of de-globalization has many more related dimensions which need detailed attention and analysis. Brexit and de-globalization protests had a Domino effect resulting into rise of ultra-nationalist sentiments. Right-wing leaders and political parties are able to exploit the frustrations of working class for their political advantage. They are busy in convincing the local population about immigrants stealing their jobs and causing social unrest. This propaganda has found much ground in US and European countries like Germany, France, and Netherlands. Even countries like Bulgaria and Hungary are resorting to tough immigration laws.

http://theWebalyst.com

One of the important aspects is an anti-establishment revolt that was brewing in the minds since the 2008 crisis. Out of 30 major elections in democracies after 2008, only one-third incumbents have come back to power. Also, popularity ratings of incumbent leaders have dropped significantly after 2008.

There are several other side-effects of de-globalization trend. The millennial youth born in an age of prospering globalization and abundant opportunities, seem to feel lost and unable to cope with the changing times. Their personal lives and jobs have been greatly affected due to sudden rush for protectionism and closed borders.

Another impact among these millennial sections has been fast erosion of faith and respect for the democratic process of governance. They are disenchanted with the widespread corruption among political leaders, criminals getting elected, influence of money and muscle power in elections, merit giving way to caste & religious preferences and ineffective governance unable to solve basic problems.

In a study at Harvard, it was shocking to note that percentage of people, especially young ones, who prefer authoritarian leader rather than democratic one has significantly increased in past two decades. They would like to support a strong leader who doesn't care for norms, parliament or elections. Although this trend is being observed in almost all democracies, it is frighteningly higher in countries like Russia, Romania, India, Ukraine, Philippines, Pakistan, and South Africa. In another survey, respondents in US and Europe belonging to 16-24 and 25-34 age groups have expressed the opinion that democracy is rather a bad way to run their country.

Another effect noticed among young generation has been an indifference towards national issues and declining interest in politics. Such a scenario becomes a fertile ground for military interventions or groups with vested interests taking over the reins and autocratic leaders slowly damaging the democratic institutions and processes. Such dissatisfaction and indifference may pose serious challenges in future to reestablish the democratic norms.

Myths about Globalization

Perhaps, globalization has been the most debated, hated and least understood phenomenon in past three decades. In spite of the benefits earned from globalization process, the wave of anti-globalization anger has been sweeping across continents. Yet, it requires a detailed analysis whether the perceptions and presumptions of people about impact of globalization are well-founded on facts or not.

As America is now reeling under this anger and protests, let us have a reality check on how much globalized America has really been so far. In a classic article, "Is America enriching the world at its own expense? That's Globaloney", the authors Dr. Pankaj Ghemawat and Dr. Steven A. Altman insist with data that America is far less buffeted by international trade, immigration and other aspects of globalization than is normally assumed by American people. The authors have termed this practice of overestimating the level of globalization as 'Globaloney'.

As per data in the 'DHL Global Connectedness Index, in 2016, US ranked 100thout of 140 countries surveyed. US had imported just 15% of goods and services for its gross domestic consumption in 2015.

Another revealing data: Just 3% of money spent in US goes to imports from China, while it is normally assumed that everything used in US is from China and all money is going to Chinese firms. Even in case of immigrant population, US ranks 27thin metric of first-generation immigrants with the figure being only 14% of US population.

As highlighted in the paper by Ghemawat and Altman, we all have exaggerated assumptions about the level of global trade. Only a fraction of food products produced is traded internationally on a global basis. Rest all production is still consumed domestically.

In reality, these are the domestic policies like distribution logistics, local taxes, region-wise consumption, labor regulations etc. that have more profound impact on the prices and availability of necessary products. Even the level of inequality is affected by these factors, and by the technological changes.

Moreover, the trade relationships between communities and countries depend more upon the distances involved, geographical patterns, time zone, and language used than on economic policies being pursued by countries under the process of globalization.

Evaluating correctly since 19thCentury, technological advancements and automation have cost many more jobs than immigration or international trade.

In reality, globalization has actually been a helpful tool for solution of the same economic & social problems, for which it is now being blamed.

Responses to De-Globalization

Misperceptions about globalization among masses have been further fuelled by political rhetoric. The response of Governments and political leaders to this spate of de-globalization has only deepened the self-destructive trend. Inward-looking policies have put restrictions on imports, immigrant workers, and flow of capital which will further aggravate the woes of people. In fact, the anti-immigrant sentiment is going to cause greater harm to the developed countries that are having shortage of working-age group population.

It is ironical to see that the erstwhile champion of capitalism & free market, the USA under Donald Trump's administration, is now advocating policies like 'America First', planning for construction of walls at its southern border, curtailing visa quotas, blocking immigrants and travelers from specified Muslimmajority countries and withdrawing from international treaties and groups. In fact, the US Presidential election itself was won riding on the popular misconceptions about impact of globalization and promising to 'Make America Great Again' by withdrawing from its usual economic and geopolitical policies so far.

On the other hand, a Communist country, China is strongly advocating for continuing the process of globalization. President Xi Jin Ping emerged as a champion of globalization at World Economic forum Meeting at Davos in January 2017. He insisted that despite western backlash, globalization still had the power to transform people's lives for the better. Xi made it amply clear that China is willing to leadinternational society towards a more just and rational world order through a revised form of globalization.

IMF Chief Christine Lagarde, who had already cautioned leaders about coming backlash due to rising inequality four years ago at Davos, has again emphasized on shaking up our governance models and conduct more analytical work before going back on globalization.

It's Time for Re-globalization

The 'Rewind' button on a tape recorder should not be taken as 'Stop' button. Hence, there is no point in **Reversing** the process of globalization. What is needed is the **Revising** or **Redesigning** Globalization to incorporate the learning of the past three decades and make it more inclusive and sustainable.

Today, although Governments have to do the fresh thinking, but private sector and business cannot shun its role and responsibility in reshaping the process of Globalization. There is thus an opportunity to advance a new kind of capitalism – Inclusive Capitalism – that does not just work for increasing profits but also creates more opportunities for everyone to be a part of this process.

Governments have to redesign their economic policies keeping in mind the diverse needs of its people in different regions and income levels. Business has to work for higher purpose of solving community problems through more value addition. Their survival will depend upon the solutions they provide, the employment they generate and the role they play in uplifting the society.

One of the major lessons being learnt through the wave of de-globalization is the disconnect between the elite & wealthy class people living mostly in cosmopolitan cities and their fellow citizens living in towns and smaller

cities, whose incomes were stagnating and who faced the negative impact of globalization process on their jobs. That's why it took all the media pundits and cosmopolitan people by a huge shock when the result of Brexit came, followed by the defeat of favorite Hillary Clinton in US Presidential race. Both these events brought to the fore the so far ignored sentiments of working class.

Why this disconnect?

People are feeling disenchanted to see that decisions affecting their own lives, jobs, incomes and children are being taken by people who are not like them, sitting in faraway places either in multinational boardrooms, foreign banks, capital cities, or in corridors of power. They felt lost and cheated. These people availed the chance provided by referendums to 'take back control'.

Hence, in the light of above, it is utmost important to find ways to return power to the people by involving their representatives in decision-making on issues of their concern. The regional disparities in terms of resources and requirements must be kept in mind by providing some amount of flexibility in policy designing and implementation.

It's time to deflect investments and resources to those areas or regions that have been left behind, beginning with education and skill development. Appropriate level of technological advancement must be imposed in different regions and jobs. Impact of automation and the Fourth Industrial revolution must be carefully monitored to create more opportunities rather than taking away jobs. This may require 're-skilling' too.

It's time, rather than trading products to distant lands for consumption, investments are moved to the lands where these products are needed and customers' lives can be improved by them. This will also provide ample job opportunities to the local populace.

Also, it's time to redesign policies to be Region-centric that have so far been Western-centric only. The 'one-size-fits-all' kind of economic policies will not work in all regions. It's not only the economics that has to be revised, but also our models of governance. Let inclusivity and equality of opportunity be the guiding principles of our governance models.

Re-globalization would not only save the process of globalization but also the spirit as narrated in ancient Indian scriptures as **"Vasudhaive Kutumbakam" (Whole World is One Family).**

References:

- Sharma, Ruchir (2016), Globalisation as we know it is over – and Brexit is the biggest sign yet…, https://www.theguardian.com/opinion/Globalisation. July28, 2016.

- Jones, Geoffrey G. (2017), We are in a deglobalization period:
http://www.livemint.com/Companies/people. (Feb18, 2017)

- Deglobalization: The New Dictator- The Radical Economist
www.radeconomist.com/world. Nov18, 2016

- Sharma,Ruchir(2016),When borders close
https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/13/opinion/sunday/when-borders-close.html

- Irving Wladdawsky-Berger, Globalization at the crossroads: what's next?,

https://blogs.wsj.com/cio/2017/05/12/globalization-at-the-crossroads-whats-next/

Prof. Jagdish Khatri is a popular Management faculty, speaker, trainer & motivator; with over 41 years of work experience in industry and academics. He is associated with Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi University, USA and Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow and a number of other reputed institutions. He has been Director of Business Management & Chairholder of UNESCO Network Chair at Mandsaur University and Director at Sanskaar College of Management, Allahabad, India. He has conducted training programs for industries & students for more than 40,000 man-hours on different topics. He has presented dozens of papers & articles, and organised several National level Conferences. He has also been a Council Member of All India Management Association and President of Allahabad Management Association. He is Member on the Editorial Boards of several international journals.

Legitimacy limits Territory
Territorizing Limits Legitimacy
Between State and Anti-State in Global Time

By Prof. Musa S. Dobadj,Ph.D

Introduction

Modern political philosophers have discussed different aspects of moral and legal legitimacy of modern states. Different political, legal and constitutional legitimization of modern states have been included into discussions of political philosophy, from Hobbes, the father of modern theory of state, to Marx, Nietzsche and into the post-modern era and attracted the attention of many important modern philosophers.

Philosophers like Michael Foucault and Habermas have discussed the legitimacy of states. According to their critical theory approach, political philosophy must seek to improve the rational criteria for the examination of the legitimization or lack of legitimization of states.

Habermas assumes that all views about legitimization could be criticized.[1] He holds that dialogue is a principle, prior to all other civic principles, used to determine the proper destiny of the polis. This primary principle is realized through communicative cooperation and the legal medium.[2] In The Post National Constellation (2001 a), Habermas seeks the conditions for broader institutional pluralism..

He has a special social consensus theory which is not defined by conditional or theoretical assembly, but it is natural one that includes politico-legal orders, being derived from shared communication.

According to Habermas those communicative rules and presuppositions can give legitimacy if only a distinction be made between a compromise among free individuals and that of conditional and coercive consensus (Crisis of Legitimacy, p. 188).

For the legitimacy of states, Habermas turns to Marx rather than Weber. Accordingly, it is not enough for a state to uphold a modus vivendi, but it must be possess a legitimacy that is founded on convictions. He does not accept legitimization of law, because it is enforceable by established legal procedures.The aim of this study is to open a critical and analytical discussion about state legitimacy in the context of globalized political theories by asking

---

1

Habermas Jurgen *Legitimization Crisis*, Translated by Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), p.100.
[2] *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas*, Edited by Stephen K. White. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 206.

whether there is any need to redefine the concepts of human rights, legitimacy and that of limits and territory. Habermas describes transnational political order in which self-determination becomes the decisive criterion of democracy

that is realized through legislation. I believe that the legitimization of power must bear non-constitutional parameters of power.

Obviously, the main legitimacy subject of concern is not political and social

issues related to very social and political satisfaction or dissatisfaction of national citizen.

This article attends on the front lines in legitimacy for both state and its anti-thesis, anti-state potential, that is obviously effective based on a compromise among different groups of free individuals (or non-legitimacy when become an accusation term in return to the other part). Lack of consideration of the principle of legitimacy will result in precipitous judgment in both theoretical studies, as well as practical, of political societies.

It will be accompanied by incompatibility and contradiction in theory, creating doubts and chaos in political actions. In studying the principle of legitimacy, the boarders of global powers, states and anti-states must be taken into consideration. Political scientists have identified legitimacy as one of the important issues confronting the study of the limits of power from foreign-state perspective, the global evolution of the state as well as of anti-state organizations.

Legitimacy plays a central role in conflicts between states and anti-state organizations and state confrontation with global threatening entities.

In order to be able to create a new definition of legitimacy we must regard all novel conditions of the global limits of territory. Political sciences, as well as

social studies, must focus on the concept of territory as one of the crucial elements that determines the legitimacy of the state in the global context.

Acquisition of political legitimacy is a territorial phenomenon which involves both states and counter state organizations and in such a way that the question of legitimacy becomes endangered from two controversial enemies. Martha Crenshaw regarded legitimacy as a critical problem in studying political violence and conflicts between states and terrorist or anti-state organizations, as each contest the other's legitimacy (Crenshaw, 1983 a: 2).

Locke talks about political importance of ethics but he disregards moral contents of politics or political legitimization[3].

In Essay concerning Government, political power deserves a right for compiling civil rules while these are the necessity of political or state power. Would this mean that legitimacy of powers is not reducible to moral legitimization? Moral contents of social affairs have been interpreted in different localities, so that some activities are considered positive in some societies and countries, but are negative in others.

The differences of moral and aesthetical aspects of human action may have less sources in those social affairs immediately drives from power and politics. Sovereign power is territory bound and the origin of legislation and the administrating of punishments.

It is generally recognized that the jurisdiction of states is primarily territorial. The international court recognizes that ICCPR extends to "acts done by a state in the exercise of its jurisdiction outside of its own territory." (ICJ 2004), saying that the limits of territory are not necessarily

_____

3

Essay Concerning Human Understanding, Book II, ch. XX VIIII.

coextensive with the limits of the law does not indicate territory not become the subject of law. Each State Party undertakes to respect and to ensure all within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the international court (United Nations 2006: 4).

Recognizing this essential condition of the law, Hobermas notes that Europeans can consider that the conventional law possesses social efficiency and that there is no need for accounting for.[4] Whatever reason provides to the political power for its legislation, it rest on the convention for its rule while the

citizen enjoys the right to decide obeying or not obeying laws. But still human rights, as individual or subjective rights, possess a judicial nature. From a political point of view, unlike ethical law, judicial law is obligatory.

From the perspective of the concept, law makers can reconsider their place in legislation.[5] Human rights are also ethical custom-like and naturally conform to human beings. Yet, the main subject of this right is legal and judicial. Yes, human rights and the freedom of human beings are political issues, due to the fact that they will be questionable conventional rights. Human rights, as common legal customs, support individuals, being related to a kind of judicial society and to citizens of a nation-state.[6]

One should note that individual rights have been abstractedly determined by law. They are also defined prior to any human action. In his article "Are there any Natural Rights" Hart argued that special rights must presuppose general rights, that is an equal right to liberty. Ronald Dworkin express in the United States citizens supposed to have certain fundamental rights against their Government, certain moral rights made into legal rights by the constitution.

4

[4]   PNN4
[5]   PNN5
[6]   PNN6

It would be wrong for the Government to stop them from speaking even when Government believes that it will cause more harm than gain.(Ronald Dworking. "Taking Rights Seriously" in Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthologyd be wrong for the n moral rights made into legal rights by the constitution. P.332)

In Practice the Government of United States will have the last word on what the individuals' rights are, because its police will do what its officials and courts say. (Ibid. P.328)al rights must presuppose general rights, that is an equal right to liberty

Concrete right of individuals, however, are considered to be evaluated on the basis of this law and cannot be realized prior to human social deeds or actions. Indeed, they are both inevitable dual social aspects of human beings. There are no legal abstracted subjects outside of society, being considered by law.

Legitimization of the law leads to the respect of the law, but this respect will not result in making individuals objectively obey legal requirements.

There should be distinctive line between legitimacy of law and morality of obligation as Habermas has preserved.

On the other hand, this kind of undertaking is not considered a necessity of logical or moral legitimacy of the written law. Undertaking of law happens for person on the basis of major individual

interests and social and practical purposes, without any essential need to admitting or even knowing its legitimization.

Actually, the first step of the process to make people comply to rules is to make all people subject to the law, subjects to a legislation with permanent characteristics with unchangeable, metaphysical, religious and ethical nature.

According to Habermas, nation is placed between, on one hand, the organic nature of people-nation and, on the other hand, the legal structure of the nation.[7]

Legislated rules shape the history of a society, nation and state, as much as this law will resist against historical changes. Political powers are established on the basis of conditional rules.

Unlike natural laws, conditional or legislated laws are considered out of political powers as illusionary. Legislated laws, gradually become historical issues in human social sciences like political studies and politic.

Finally, in a perpetual company with power, legislated law deserves to show a unique reality that then appears to transform itself into a state of natural law.In combining legislated laws and legitimate political power, it is, therefore, not possible to infer the historical legitimization of a state or a political system merely through its constitutional law.

Indeed, is it true that possess of powerful state of law is different from that of a weak state. This is why a state will not territorialize or determine itself, in spite of law. The pragmatic consideration will be more helpful and more realistic than that of abstractive evaluation of the constitution, through a summary vote of a "yes" or "no" choice. Practical determination of a state will

---

7

occur out of small voting boxes deserves a kind of validity in considerable space of time.

Let us look at an example more closely. Let us take the constitutional legitimacy of the Islamic Republic of Iran and its republic constitution as the starting point.

It is meaningful to state that the permanent structural features of state legitimization in the Islamic republic of Iran are, in part, the canonical laws and its existential characteristic is determined by the will of referendum. The public origins of the legitimacy of State, and the current system appear prior to legal constitution.

Clearly, its legitimization of constitution is grounded in the constitution itself which makes it possible to call it a constitutional government. Of course the conflict between the terms of "constitutional legitimization" and the jurisprudence legitimacy seems in this part either secondary or formal.

Actually, the origin of the constitutional legitimization is related partially to political hermeneutics in pragmatic search for canonical recognition and other constitutional devices, such as practical demonstration of national promise. The written constitution must not be taken as an absolute constitution.

As I have stated in explaining textualization procedure of the constitution text(The Authenticity of the Text, ch.3) the ontological constitution reveals concretizing absolute through the act of political will of textualization which is prior to the written constitution. T

he written constitution reveals as a result of the act to concretize the Text.

In the absence of the legitimate political characteristic, the first one that is, legislated law will not be present. And if the state is not upheld legally, the system will not be deemed legitimate.

A political system is selected by people, but not rendered legitimate by this selection process. On the other hand, each state requires its own constitution and laws related to its will to power. The fact is that there is no judicial system without the approval of a state, as source of realization, whether it possesses legitimization or lacks it. This is what we may observe throughout Europe or Asia, where we find different kind of democratic, liberal or socialist states.

In cases where the legitimization will be caused merely by constitution, then it will be a big lie in the political history of humankind, because it is not possible to make referendum for or against a constitution, without a de facto existing political system within a defined territory. The space of juridical competence must apply in the space of the territorial sovereignty. Thus we cannot apply a kind of conventional inside/outside logic to state/constitution, or vice versa, without considering the main principle of the territory.

So, it appears that any kind of state legitimization is related to political and military power of a given territorial state. When a state is willing to dominate another state, beyond its own territory, globalization dominates states within their own territories, a state's superiority over anti-states are via the territoralizing through the use of power, as Jean Bodin and Machiavelli pointed out. This illustrates the dominating nature of the political power of human beings.

Governing is inevitable a part of human nature. Actually, this is the main significance of the governing characteristics of human beings which is a natural factor. The main questions, then, are whether natural sovereignty as legal and legitimate is possible? And, is it legally advisable to govern others or to accept others to govern one's self and within one's limitation of being?

If we accept that in order to hold power or balancing it in society we need legitimization, then we need to accept the essential value of power and sovereignty.

John Astin was correct in believing that the law originates from a prior power and is performed through punishment. This means that political power seeks any kind of tools to develop and extend itself, using legal instruments and legitimization for this purpose.

The power of legal democratic states is combined in its capability of social and political participation of its citizen.[8]

According to Habermas, it is not necessary that a democratic order be derived from a 'nation', as a pre-political society, or based on the common destiny of the people.[9]

The principle of democracy does not occur from a law system, but from democratic values of natural freedom. The human rights are not considered as having prior privileges, but they include the relations that result in a real recognition of others in its own territorial sovereign.

Unlike the classical theory of social contract, Habermas offers a method that does not require normal justification for forming a social unit from legal parties. Functional justification is sufficient for making decision. Actually, the collective will be sufficient as a national will and decision principle.

The five thousand years-old Asian and European civilizations indicate that there would be no proper alternative for the state itself, especially in Asian societies, since the rejection of the state has led vast anarchism.[10]

---

[8]PNN8.

[9]   PNN9.

[10] PNN10.

Without taking into account the priority of the human societies and the people, how is it possible to talk about the legitimization of a political authority? Those who consider the main purpose of the law to apply to individuals have neglected the collective and the societal nature of political will and intelligence.

National sovereignty comes after national will and social intelligence. According to Habermas, the legitimacy of the law rests on the participation of the people in rational discussions. This comment ignores the fact that the majority of the citizens have accepted this law, without falling into conversation about it.

The sample of anti-deduction of Habermas is his above statement. The historical preferring of political ideas pleional preferring tstinarch for shall be analyzed without interfering and entering into the political conversation. This is the result of a combination of existential and ethical reasons. Indeed, Habermas's comment resembles merely an ethical invitation, rather than an indication of a preliminary conventional consensus.

New possibilities in the reflective understanding of global societies indicate new opportunities for human civil social experiences. In the context of globalization, state legitimization needs a new hermeneutic of legitimate power.

Modern states must consider new meanings of power controlling, to defend themselves against the risk of the globalization of trade, economy, market, the development of big cities, the internationalization of private companies and be aware of the global ghost who expands its territory over, within and against national sovereignty.

Globalization has questioned, historical or geographical, national legitimization and prevented the realization of a nation desire. States modern responsibilities will be reduced by the extension of global functionalism and be a cause of the gradually weakening of legitimization.

Habermas identifies economical and administrative crisis as the beginning of the motivation and legitimization crisis. These kinds of crises will occur when current patterns of social and political values and traditional struggle mechanism are not sufficient in this part.

According to Habermas, globalization deconstructs the territory of nation-states and alters their control over space and time. Finally, nation-states will lose their power.[11]

Berthold Goldman, a man with his brilliant anticipations, asked lawyers to accept this fact and admit that international economical relation shall be free from influence and enforcement of states rules.[12]

For most states, the acceptance of individual rights and freedom of this new system of global rights must not be taken as much dangerous as mummifying and dismantling of regional systems and nations in globalization process which carry the responsibility of maintaining the physical and spiritual life of the nation.

---

[11]Agnes and Corbridge T *Mastering Space*, London, 1995, 216.
[12]   Gold Man, 1964, p. 177.

In this complex condition, a careful evaluation of the necessities of modern life reflects on the primary vital global needs and benefits of human beings. A focus on the freedom of individuals, coupled with less participation worldwide, regional and international disorders and their influences on human life will generate threats from decreased state power to control over its own territory, as very immoral and unprincipled.

The global shuttle of powers runs all across the territorial sovereignty recognized by all different parts of states. Global movement does not claim changing territory yet it may request a new geopolitical understanding of world stations according to the economic emerging powers. Globalization is derived from the term of global.

It is obvious that political world, or globe, is determined by place. Space is very effective substance in creating human. Cradle and grave are placed on the earth, as places.

Identity of human beings is realized and grows in a place. This identity, either individual or collective, is not clear, unless it becomes realizable in place.

If perfection is gradually obtained for human and society, it must occur in place, and considered in territory, i.e., a country's place.[13]

On the other hand, government and globalization have basically spatial characteristics. The meaning of a nation consists of a combination of realization and identification of human local requests in a broad wide of a particular territory. People with a specified common history will gather, while any method of realization of the historical will of the people will rejoin temporal social needs and identity itself will be related to a national certainty of possessing a territory.

---

[13]Look at Sack *Homo Geographicus*, p. 132.

Territorial integrity must be respected by all states, because each state is identified with its own territory. Both political independence and territorial preservation represents one and the same identity, external and internal sovereignty.

The security of citizens of a country and the conditions of a nation, in comparison to other nations, depends on it. This national identity is not necessarily subject to the government, because, internal loyalty of family or other social group activities may be accomplished without the presence of a government.

The spirit of a nation is related to the geography of its people, combined with a specific race or races or other geographical potentialities. At a higher level, it spreads over language and religion.

The historical will of people, and the potential values of race, language, religion and culture, accompanies nation to create a new construction of government.

A country inhabits a recognizable territory with geographical boundaries. Indeed, geographical and historical ties are identified within the territory. The country is considered a space-nation, for different regimes, during various historical periods.

Hence, the legitimacy of a state is mostly defined by its geographical and historical boundaries.[14] For the realization and the fulfillment of the national state, it is necessary that a nation be settled into certain geography and territory, rather than its ever intending arbitration of history.

---

[14] For studying legal foundation of place look at: Nicholas Blomley, *Law, Space, and the Geographies of Power* (New York: Guilford, press, 1994).Gordon Clark "The Geography of Law" in New Models in *Human Geography* ed. R. Peet and N. Thrift (London: Unwind Human, 1989), p. 37- 310.

The meaning of the nation-state converges with that of country, although order, rule, city, citizenship, people, and nation are determined by land. The space-nation is not considered entirely for its power, because security and integrity will not be fully attainable, in spite of all the security and military endeavors. Therefore, any state is destined to live despite its weaknesses or lacks of control over some of its affairs as long as it deserves to have a determined territory.

The principle of territory will be a cause of separation of nations as well as concreteness of the authority and rule of the various states. International communication recognizes geographical limitation and national territorial integrity in international law, under Article 2 paragraph 4 of the UN charter.

Let us again note that territorial integrity plays a regulative ideal in world order. It imagines, creates and maintains a semblance of order at the international level of this global system. Internal policies are concerned with land preservation or continuity, foreign policy having the same purpose, yet being considered from the broader perspective of international relations. Actually, the state's power and ability are related to the geopolitics potentialities in its territory.

So it would not be possible to imagine a non-territorial state since sovereignty become safe guarded through pervasive territory building fluid and flexible or strangled and fixed. It is necessary to protect frontiers against foreign threats of other peoples.

In his view of the future of democracy and of post national systems, Habermas warns us against the territorial trap in the theorization of politics, a famous phrase quoted from John Agnew (1994): that states have exclusive power within their territories as represented by the concept of sovereignty, that domestic and international spheres are distinct, and that the borders of the state define the borders of society, so that the latter is conditioned by the

former. The modern geopolitical imagination to which Agnew refers is one that relies upon, and reproduces a familiar story about the birth and the subsequent development of the sovereign territorial state in early modern

Europe at the end of religious wars of the 17th Century. Accordingly territorial states were prior to society and its formation, yet in rarely determined condition.[15]

Habermas's theory of globalization disregards the principle of territory or belonging into one concrete space of world, which must be taken as the most geographical undertaking of politics in different kind of states, states of various historical class or kind of foundation.

This ignorance maybe judged as considering impossible evacuation governments from geography. Indeed the territorial facts have resulted into variety of military blocks and powerful governments throughout the classical and the modern worlds. These blocks existed during First and the Second World War, as well as during and after the Cold War eras.

New territories, e.g., in the Balkans and Sarajevo, were carved out of preexisting blocks, each state having a defined land and boundaries possessing geographical privileges within an intended territorialized destiny.

---

[15] Agnew and Cambridge "The trend from boundary to flow" in *mastering Space*, London, 1995, 216, p. 94.

Constitution is determined by the characteristics of the land, more than that of the population. People live on a land. It is not possible to find people that do not have a land; even Palestinians have the dream of their land.

David Sack assumes that territorial rules are considered as instruction for state and making it power full. For, if violence, violence crowned by fate, is the origin of the law, then, it may be readily supposed that where the most extreme violence exists, i.e., over life and death, it occurs in the legal system, the origins of the law being manifested fearsomely into existence.

For in the exercise of violence over life and death, more than in any other legal act, the law reaffirms itself. But in this very violence something rotten in the law is revealed, above all to a finer sensibility, because the latter knows itself to be infinitely remote from conditions in which fate might imperiously have shown itself in such a sentence (Benjamin 2004: 242 emphases added).

These kinds of rules create the state, through political sovereignty, power or citizenship. Space and social order will disappeared, without the territorial rules, the land rules, such as "cars there", "workers here", "citizens here", "tourists, emigrants and refuges" and etc. [16]

As a state is created within a territorial space, and several climatic and natural limitation restrict it as the self occupied land, so this natural situation will be the cause of expanding invasion over other state. This essential characteristic of a state, as possible invader of another state, is the result of its own territorial power. A power must discover other territorial powers.

---

[16]Sack, *Homo Geographicus*, p. 90. ... As we pointed out, the legal system will not be merely analyzed by considering ethical issues in human rights or government (such as Rousseau's concept of social contract).

It must limit them, degrade and push them aside left them dead without a territory and even let them disappear. Connolly refers to the etymology of the concept of territory as deriving from the Latin root terrere, which means to frighten or territories (Connolly 1995: xxii).

From here, Connolly suggests that territory can be thought of as "land occupied and bounded by violence".

Hence, to territorialize is "to establish boundaries around [territory] by warning other people of" (Connolly 1995: xxii).

This etymological connection between territory and violence is also identified by Barry Hindess. Here, it indicates the weakness of control over the natural, climatic, territorial boundaries and one's own people.

Maybe the spirit of discontent among people and rise of anti- state in the absence situation, via invasions of foreign countries or the influence of other powerful governments, can be the cause of this territorial discontingency.

In Brest-Litovsk, Leon Trotsky said that each state is created on the basis of power and ability. According to Hegel, the power and force of a state were very holy and transcendent. Its power is considered as the highest human power. Actually, it is not just a positive or constructive factor, but also a negative or deconstructive one, when it is a potential treat to a state.

Thus, power is situated at the highest level, inciting to subdue other powers that try to resist or reject its rules.[17] Although the power of a state is not just related to its capability of invasion, to force and domination, it is also related to its ability to counter threats posed by other states and to prevent others subduing it.

---

[17] Hobbes, 1928, p. 26.

Anyway, state power is considered categorically as the ability for the purpose of attending develop other territorial characters through retaking share of what other states able to possess or interested to obtain.

As, it shall be determined by its status among other ones, then it would be righteous for different states in global time to consider new understanding of territorial characteristics. In this part, state seeks its protection, through saving it against all territorial unfriendly powers.

In the context of globalization, national consciousnesses are worldwide and modern globalized states have developed accordingly. State historical realization seems tantamount to national conscious of territorial development. As, national identity shall accompany by weaken, failure and lack of territorial consciousness, then final state is weak and precipitate.

The legitimacy of a state is always coextensive with the national promise or public will as we noted earlier, but we must add the fact the nation state recognized by the national consciousness of the people realizes itself according to a specific conscious territory. What is the meaning of a historical state built on such territorial awareness?

Like societies, states find their continuity in basic implicit historical consensus, but fulfillment of this consensus does not result merely from a pure democratic circumstances. Actually, the state's continuity is due to the fundamental consensus tied with the lonesome existence of the state.

The history of state's decisions, rational or irrational, are essentially related to its own limitation of life. However, it is important to project the "other" as limit meaning and as origin for developing a state. Though state creation is internal and a valuable factor, it is not possible without a confrontation with other states. The term of "others" disrupts the state's functional character and angers the normal course of thing. This will occur much faster with globalization's internal norms and anti-state forces which are now part of the power structures.

Indeed, a state will complete and compile collective decisions, by governing. A system and a state will maintain life through the act of governing. So, political decisions are more complex. On the one hand, government is more rational in different circumstances which reflect the image of decision-makers of a state. By determining civic duties and controlling public institutions, army, police, etc., the state is viewed as the monstrous conscious territory of government, being realized within a territory aims to transform territory in its own history.

We must remember the fact that the term "state" been used by Machiavelli in The Princess as territorial sovereign government. Now, if state has a territorial primary characteristic, the political history of the state transforms the territorial identity. The history of state mirrors the destiny of its territory.

We do not limit effective structure of policy to the power of state. Those unlawful deconstructive enemy organizations, all gotten worldly reputations now by the favor of globalized media, acting against the formal government in different parts of the world, enjoy form the similar nature of organization power formed of different collocations of minds and bodies.

These non-state structures of powers have completed their special political actions so strong which deserve to contain sometimes historical impressions. As we see the concept of state presupposes the enemy concept disclosed internal as well as external.

The historical will to have territory is a general concept covers both state and non-state. So this will is by nature prior to order and seeks legitimatization as much as possible by order and revolution yet does not prevent anti-state movement and transcends all hetero-globalization partners.

The political communication of those organization, I phrase as "anti-state" entities, obey a high–level center (supreme committee, revolution or leadership council, etc.), in spite of the partial independence allowed to its agents in performing its activities.

These kinds of organization will resort into aggressive activities for the purpose of demonstrating their power. Here, I need to emphasize the term "demonstrative power". According to Weber, legitimate force is just for state though the structure of policy is not limited to it state still been able to restrict power into itself and recognize the similar power for the other.

But, how can one account for the exception of power used by anti-state organizations, such as those responsible for September 11, 2001, which was so impressive Habermas remembered as a widespread awareness of living at a turning point in history.[18] Like state, anti-states resort to force in the performance of their social actions. J.H. Scheer believes anarchist and anti-state activities performed by individuals are related to their questioning of the government not having been answered.[19]

---

[18]*philosophy in time of terror: Dialogues with Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida* by Giovanma Borradori.

Resorting of anti-state activities and unconstitutional actions is not merely considered underground performance of aggressive activities, for the purpose of maintaining their interest, but it is also a decentralized activities of autonomous units, within anti-state elements whose general function is to limit the space/ power of the state, or making globe smaller for the purposes of the global states. Although riot and chaos is not considered a prerequisite of anti-state activities, they are a preferred political strategy to undermine the territorial power of government institutions.

Anti-state does not appear merely as an enemy inside teasing for deconstruction or decreasing the power of territorial state. Here, the prime target is rather the destruction of the territorial concept of state legitimacy or let us say the territorial legitimacy.

There are anti-state disciplinary powers type of which described as non-territorial deconstructive political entities which are at less territorial branded of political actions in favor of which state anticipate the future of globalization in ambiguous. Connolly, Hindess, and Walker thus emphasize a deep connection between borders, territory, and the law triad and violence that is not only etymological, but also historical, structural, and colonial.

As Hindess reminds us, the territorial order of states often fails to domesticate terror: when states do not have a monopoly on the legitimate use of force: when terror is used as an instrument of policy by a state against its own people or other states' population, when there are disputes over the government of a population that are under the jurisdiction of another state, "While terror may sometimes pose a threat to the territorial order of state, the possibility that territory and terror derive from the same Latin root suggest that it might also be an integral part of this order's functioning" (Hindess 2006; 244)

For Hindess, terror and territory are intrinsically linked, not just because territorial impulses imply violence to those who are deemed not to belong, but also because the threat of violence is also imminent to those who do belong through the regulation of conduct using fear (Hindess 2006: 244).

We may accept the idea that the specific political distinction that is the basis for all potential activity and impulses is the distinction between friends and non-friends or enemies.

The political corresponds with the relatively autonomous criteria of other antithesis. According to Schmitt the only source of legitimacy is the sovereign decision to distinct friend and enemy. But any other political entity other than state may possess such a power to decide a particular state as an enemy.

Yet Schmitt thinks that the distinction provides one with a definition in the sense of a criterion rather than something definitive or substantive, The distinction between friend and enemy denote the highest possible intensity of a union or separation of an association or dissociation (The Concept the Political, p. 26).

We think that the distinction above does not uncover a scientific estimation of the story unless be tied immediately with the border among and that is territory. The criterion of the territory comes into play when political enemies will to struggle. The enemy does not attribute the counter as an morally evil or with an aesthesis ugly face rather take it as some dangerous to the territory. The dangerous comes from the territory itself, a predetermined political cause that swallows both and allows both good and ugly distinctively to pay for. It says which legitimacy belongs to outside and which belongs to inside boarder.

The kind of legitimacy proclaimed by anti-states in their social struggle does not necessarily be conflicted in nature with the legitimacy of states. Of course anti-state organizations would like to challenge formal legitimacy of state as much as possible while as ultimately are engaged in a search for legitimization (look at: Irving Horowitz, 1983: 46).

These two are not exclusively negating the other. The terrorist organization ordinarily entitled for the long struggle of losing, gaining and bargaining legitimacy through international as well as domestic political activities.

Obviously anti-state individuals and groups who are deprived of constitutional legitimization or rights seek natural law, acting like deconstructive invaders against state.

This kind of power is a part of legitimization, such as state power, but it is a symbol of a natural legitimate right.

On the basis of Hobbes's point of view, human rights for creating riot are related to their natural rule of law. According to natural rule, human beings have the right to resist against the government, "If there are any moral rights at all it follows that there is at least one natural right, the equal right of all man to be free".[20]

---

[20]*contemporary political Philosophy*: An Anthology "the social as Ideology" David Gauthier "Are there Any Natural Rights?" H. L. A. Hart, p. 320.

Marx takes away legitimization from state and restricts it to revolution. Nonetheless, the crude but naturally legitimate activities of anti-state in global time could be compared to other historical events cased by territorial states.

In the context of globalization, anti-state organizations perform like a bureaucratic state, because they deprive human beings of their desired conditions.

It is not difficult to identify inhuman actions of anti-state organizations, for example, the Taliban and Salafid suicide attacks in Afghanistan, Iraq or Pakistan. With such dramatic actions, anti-state actors seek freedom, although it did not explicitly grow out of social consensus.

Unfortunately, Habermas's analysis of anti-state activities is totally insufficient. He does not consider the natural roots of deconstructive activities which lead him to overlook the political motifs of religious fundamentalism.[21] These deconstructive unconventional powers have determined in oppositeness with other territorial powers.[22]

Anti–state activities against different states do not require any recognition by any concrete land while tries to increase resistance potentialities outside as well as inside borders. It is not easy to re-determine any power, either positive or negative in this battle.

Locke considers a human right to revolt against the government. Hereby, we can conclude that anti-state activities has its special political subjects, about power as like as state does such where no will of people become subject of its power.

---

[21]*Philosophy in a Time of Terror*, After Sept. 11, the United States army and other global forces has taken a long war against anti- states in the middle East region. That time in his interview he criticizes the term "war" stating that P.
[22]   22.PNN19.

The state is for people, unless it would not be able to represent and introduce territorial destiny for the most part. The state is not a special kind of society but rather the broadest possibility of social politics recognized by having autonomous laws.

Actually politics as history shows is prior to state covers state activity as well as other social non-state activities since it got far wider through determination of polis as well as state. So a territorial society would have a particular unity beyond sovereigns.

If we regard state formation to be reducible to a social entity, then the state, from one side, and society, from another side, both indicate a combination, shall be called territorial society.

Therefore, there would not be a complete definition of historical state possible merely on the basis of nation's developing nature unless surround its territory.

It is not deniable that globally consensus of human right not deserved become a permanent or valid replacement for the kind of unity being appeared in nation- state politicum imagina.

The reason for this is that civic unity is derived from vital collective identities, whereas global unity focuses primarily on the ethical rather than the territorial generalization of human rights. Habermas describes the unity of the global citizens as reactionism.[23]

_____

23

The above-mentioned unity develops global solidarity by fighting against the violation of human rights and preventing the violation of human rights by various states.

Habermas is optimistic about realization of this global unity. There may be no structural obstacles for the purpose of developing national civic unity into a global federative one, yet one should note that the political culture of global society does not participate of common political–ethical points of view, what is most essential for a global society.[24]

Human intelligence generally tends to global unity. Meanwhile, in civil societies of different parts of the world, national sensibilities are going to preserve very effectively regional and national identities. New political systems and parties will fail to perform effectively basic political duties, as a result of lack of modern construction of national consciousness. Turning back to the authentic territorial values preserves from the potential treats of the global modernization of societies. I believe this territorial cautiousness is the most important challenge of societies in coming half century.

Habermas's point of view on global state has several contradictions which would require further discussion. Speaking generally, I believe, however, that the political value of legitimacy of the global state is lower than the one of the national state.

The global state is not the possessor of an effective political principle higher or nobler than territorial one. Apparently, there is a main deficiency in desires and wills of national states so far that a meaningful position of global state may not be proved merely by these weakened wills.

PNN20.
[24]PNN21.

At least, it is not possible to attribute originality to these global policies, compared to the ones one observes at the local level of the state.

Off course we can't think the idea of state in historical-political analysis shall be omitted. Actually, it is not accepted to talk about omitting history of Asian state, specially, states of the Middle-East.

The idea of state never contains all the fundamental facts about Asian societies and the related political subjectivities, although investigating Asian history will be incomplete without studying the more broad application of the idea of territory.

Indeed, malicious extremism against global unity cannot be hampered without the powerful idea of territory.

Prof. Musa S. Dibadj is Professor at University of Tehran,
 Dept. of Philosophy

http://theWebalyst.com

In the name of Allah!

Placing Geographia:

(Philosophy of Place and

the Subject- matter of   Geographia)

Prof. Musa S. Dobadj,Ph.D

Summery:

Philosophy as the fundamental Knowledge of being, as well as the substantial knowledge of all natural and human sciences, conditionalizes all other branches of sciences through its basic and important questioning. The general philosophical ideas might convey certainty or uncertainty of propositions to other kind of geographical propositions. The vast broad of philosophical doubts and destabilized world- views can bring the geographical propositions to the level of uncertainty and hesitation.

Occasionally in different articles such as *Farideh Maknieh* and *Arschia Makanieh* (written in Persian) related to the concept of space as a pure one or the concept of place I have discussed the absolute and non- conditional certainty hidden in the concept of space. The self certainty of the concept of space deserves much attending above other supper philosophical concepts as being, truth, substance or else, this certainty seems as a unique solution for difficult questions in human knowledge and epistemology as well as for fundamental paradoxes or perplexities hidden in the subject matter of Geography.

http://theWebalyst.com

Within different divisions of geographies, appeared from Ptolmaeus time until now, the idea of substantiality of space/ place can surely direct us to unveil the true meaning of determined and particular places. In geographical knowledge, including the various' divisions, natural as well as human geography, the place accepted as the same and one subject matter.

With all different intentions, beliefs and personal tendencies and views, so far, all geographers agreed the place as the most united subject that assisted geography became generally a unique knowledge compare to the other human sciences, in example, the rival knowledge of history, fulfilled by rather stable and reliable statements and propositions, far from, doubt and hesitancy. It is said that Strabo wished a geographer- become finally a philosopher, indeed this wish has been realized from the starting phase of geography even before appearing of Strabo.

Introduction to Our Question:

The original ideas in philosophy have power to form, reform or even change the basis for other scientific propositions included geographic. The certainty or uncertainty rooted in philosophical subjects can stretch over geographical domains, make the value of geographical proposition more and less relativistic. Thus, in order to escape from the chaos of anti-determinism and uncertainty one should resort to the philosophy again.

As I demonstrated carefully in my book *Fi- ALmakan* (On Space) the certitude of the concept of space/ place is of such strong, out of risk of hesitation and beyond doubt absolutely. Therefor this concept might provide geography a chance of refining its subject- matter which has been interrogated through the history of this knowledge, or let us say the history of the subject- matter in geography.

As we demonstrated carefully the occasional recognition of the place in spite of differences among super famous geographers and geoscientists as well, with different world views, different philosophical orientations and thinking styles, caused geography, to be a united knowledge compared to other human sciences, less contradicted. Geographia, a concrete knowledge which because of the concreteness of its statements and propositions became a more reliable science compare to other rivals as historical knowledges. The Strabo's dream in his historical great work *Geographic* has been realized truly and geography united with pure philosophy of space.

I think we must mention primarily the human kind native consciousness of space/ place. This essential consciousness is not restricted at all to any kind of scientific data on space or spatial epistemology. Our being present at space or place seems exclusive and unique, not be found in any other else consciousness cases. We are beings in nature while our awareness of nature become increasingly variant and vast. But, the natural environment exists without us and our awareness of being environmental or our negligence of the fact does not change its truthfulness at all, yet we cannot neglect that through our knowledge of natural world we become aware of its existence. Hence the concept of *environ* is a conditional compared with the unconditional concept of space/ place. We already know what space is since our birth time arriving in this world, without being owed to our sensations, individual understanding or social affairs and political activities and other similar attitudes.

Of course, this does not mean that we have a perception of space not detachable from us. Rather it must be stated that space cannot be driven to any human conception or imagination. We have variety of spatial images, of spatial beings such as mountains, oceans, moon and stars and other spectacles, visible small or big things in our imagination or located in their own places around us, in an open environment, of which some can be seem, moved or changed by imaginal invention.

Obviously, we cannot grasp the place of things as such. Place itself cannot be seen by our eyes while each micro and macro of phenomena in places could potentially be seen. We cannot occupy the places belongs to things as long as occupied by themselves.

Other aspects of physical beings might be retained by our acquaintance except spatial aspect. Because human mind cannot intervene in the places of things in the objective world outside nor in the subjective world, human being cannot retouch the place quo place of beings. As subjective beings, if we cannot create in our imagination any true picture of the places in which things are, could it possible to obtain the places of things as they are. Of course, we are certain that things are located in their places, a wonderful necessary result of the concept of space. As final word, it must be concluded that although human mind is where all things are located subjectively in, never it would be where the place itself in.

Human being is a spatial being rests in a place but also, let being existed on the earth, the mother of his special natural place. Perhaps, because of the importance of the human terrestrial place, in his book called *Geographica Generalis*. Varenus considers the terrestrial as absolute place.

This means that being spatial, privileged human of other non- terrestrial beings. Earth is, a mother land for vital and non- vital terrestrial beings but it is only human being deserved to have terrestrial determination before become created materially. The Scripture has narration of the fall of human on earth reflects the mystery of terrestrial destine of human being.

People are living of earth, in different parts of the world, no matter they be aware or not be aware of the value of the dwelling land. In return the Earth, does not ask people living on its surface of what they will or not and do not beg for self terrestrial consciousness.

The general geographical hermeneutics

Geographia can be considered generally having relation to hermeneutic of both natural sciences and human sciences. The difference between these two refers mostly to experimental investigations, observations based on experiences and also mathematical and statistical analysis. Geographia become in cross with hermeneutics. From one side, since hermeneutic defined as the knowledge of interpreting being, inclined to discover ontological foundations of the worldly beings included the determined existence human being of on the surface of earth.

Understanding and interpreting being become possible throughout ontological foundations of individual as well as collective human living on earth. From the other side, the knowledge of Geography joins the hermeneutical interrogation of space/ place. This interrogation is not merely about discovering the nature of space rather, how "interpreting space" and "thinking about space" throughout different branches of natural and human sciences became qualified.

The German philosopher, Martin Heidegger describes understanding being through his fundamental ontology. Human being, Dasein- as he introduced, regarded as a mile stone to know other beings and entities. In his view, unfortunately, there is not any original linkage between Da- sein, and from other side, distance and being spatial. The Da in Dasein not regarded as "Spatial da".

No 1/2018

I assume that Heidegger's thinking on Dasein and sein is negotiable through a language based on the conscious of space. If there were not spatial & geographical available terms it was not clear then how we could explain or define the basic concepts of Dasein and human being. In Heidegger's master work titled as S*ein und Zeit* in most times although crucial words of "being" and "time" been used, he frequently takes advantages of many "space" related words and terminology in order to express what might be "being" or "time". Al though Heidegger never got the chance to deliberate enough on the concept of space and place as such, i. e. he never found out that "projection" more likely is a geographical and spatial characteristic of Dasein rather that of its temporality.

In Heidegger view, facticity as a mode of Dasein, in which human finds himself, not referred to geographical realm and situation but rather defined as historical and cultural characteristic of Dasein.

One can conclude that based on Heidegger's view on two categories time and space, the world is not located in space but vice versa it is the space seated in the world. All restricted to the human world rather than world per se. The foundations of Heideggerian world is not realized in space and never can be considered spatial. Space and to be in space as well place and to be in place(*ad place*) all regarded finally as human characteristics, while human being is the only one that enjoys of having world, i. e. in- der- welt sein.

Even the spatial extensions that already in Kantian idealism taken as spatial essentials, interpreted by Heidegger merely as different dimensions of human world. Against his explicit interpretation of dimensionality of natural world, we are sure that other animals have sense of been physically in a dimensional

world as like as we have. Spatial distances for Heidegger not viewed as depended on the characteristic of space per se, rather, they are secondary consequential and characteristics of human being.

This is human being, in his account, who brings things close to himself as though been spatially close or far depends on whether a thing is in possession of human being or not. Human being causes things be spatial, geographical and related to a place.

In other words, in Heidegger fundamental ontology, Dasein (Da- sein), or being- in- the- world, cannot bear any indication to space. He explicitly claims there is not any spatial correspondent meaning for *da* of place so by making it following the temporality of being we remind Hegel in his abstracting the real world when he puts all emphasis in spirit.

We observe that in spite of all scientific endeavors by those geographers translating Heidegger's thinking into geography, there is no place in S*ein und Zeit* for the concreteness of space and indeed most credibility remains rather for the *historische Koncretheit*.

In Heidegger's view, the spatial order of things is not independent of human activity. The order and arrangement of things is not related to geometrical divisions of space. Place concerns to the special place of instrument (*der Zeug*) and instrumental context.

The relation between humans and environmental and internal spaces is due to the instrumental conditions. There appears variety of grounds in *Zeug* for human being based on which the spatial and place related distances been measured.

We have pointed out that many geographers who highly respect Heidegger like to interpret his view in a way corroborating modern theories emphasizing the privilege of space. For example, it has been asserted the ontological

interpretation of space as a localized affair with quantity mixed with the analysis of our practical exchange with world/ space existentially seems twin with temporality. Pickles, explicitly agrees with the theory of world's invasion and fulfillment with caring things. Periphery, for him, is not an already existent spacenees, rather a collection of inhabitants constituted by a world full of human occupations and interactions.

The phenomenological task in the realm of geography defined by him as reconsideration of basial concepts of geography. He is of those scholars interested to expand Heidegger's hermeneutical vision into geography, tries to show how ontological analysis of spatiality can introduce a new geographical wisdom, humanist as well as beyond spatial determination represented by Descartes, Newton and Kant. Indeed, the fundamental structures of geographical subject lied in the manner of occurring our everyday experiences of the world.

The fundamental phenomenology of Heidegger considers mostly the basic links between human and his world, that means, human is a being occupied with world. But in confronting worldly things, we are sure that the case is not a mere relation based on self- excited consciousness. This view can be helpful in phenomenological explanation of geography once we consider human employment directed more than anything to space and spatial world.

The world no longer viewed as an abstractive world credited fully by human being and full of his consciousness and self- consciousness. Rather, it is a real world, created in space and place, a real world stretches over all beings, includes the earth, that is a geographical world. Geography refers essentially to man kind's experiences of the world, the world, and human interpretations of it. This experience of "world/ space" and the interpretation of it by human being

guarantees both fundamental structures of natural geography as well as human geography.

Of those thinkers who spread Heidegger's thinking into geography one important figure is Edvard Relph. In his work *Place and Placlessness* he tries to distinguish between practical knowledge of space and the theoretical one, considering the first knowledge as essential and important for human being. He claims place as geographical phenomenon of living world which can be discovered thorough ordinary experiences. Does this mean he had decreased the scientific value of space subject to a practical class of category.

My reaction to Edward is if place merely defined as limited to deep and interwoven (complex) experiences of the world made by man there no place principally would be a place. Such claim reflects the ultimate arrogance of human being where as he thinks place, where he finds his reality and actualization, is purely due to his existence? There would be no place without human being!

Thus far there is not left any solution except to find out completing terminology in philosophical theorems of geography, that is to say we human beings were never practically isolated from space so far in any past state of our life and living and there would never be so in future too. It is obvious this spatial terminology finally leads on most to the interest of the substantiality of space as we have demonstrated than the theory of temporality of Dasein. The cause is so evident: To say that we are outside of a place or inside of the other is of less validity than to say this is a place we are in or that is a place we are not in. The space is where we are in or out.

No 1/2018

It seems other that of Heidegger's hermeneutics needed to apply here in order to explain the world according to the philosophical and primordial concept of space.

Therefore, Da in Dasein must not be taken along the criteria confined in temporal and historical basis. Da is primarily a spatial definition. The fundamental ontology must describe spatial phenomena, as far as they lead to the purposes determined by variety of manners in which lives in space.

As Relph explains along with the geographical scientific doctrines, the placelessness arises because of spatial identities left into dangerous state. Placelessness is a description for the spatial conditions in which spatial identities sunk into weakness and illusion. Compare with the geographies of macro- world and even that of micro- world, i.e. the earth, the theory of placelessness limits the case study to some determined parts of the earth stresses the lack of meaning in human living via mystical and symbolic language.

The modern social life causes the placelessness of large masses of people in different cities and urban areas. But the fact of displacing masses reflects only the living identity of human being in some restricted areas and the concept of placelessness is not applicable to all spatial states and instances of human being.

Relph has a famous phrase expressing peoples are places for people. The place and space are the place and space for people, whether the immediate places like houses, alleys and streets or the mediate places for mankind as sights, mountains and rivers, i. e. the places that form world of environment partially in which human enjoys living.

Of course, the place accompanies human spatial in substance. Relph does not consider place as an accident within the table of categories in Aristotle's classification.

Rather, in his view the place has an origin in human substance meanwhile human substance takes room in place. Our roots are in places. Therefore, we now must face a question in front of us: If space is not a substance rather than an accident, how deserves such incredible privilege in human determination and life. Certainly, without the doctrine substantiality of space/ place it would not be possible at all. We observe here the important of space is one not like the spatial character of human.

The spatial Existence, the human home same as the spatial things in nature are equally in space. For example, that tree in our garden has a place at the same quality as you and me do. The same story with this pen in my hand and the book in this room. In comparison, temporal beings, one can say, do not enjoy of the same quality of time. There are spatial things, like as human, animal, planet been different in temporality.

Vis- a- vis one can understand that temporal affairs and historical phenomena are equally in space. To spend in the cold whether Siberia or in hotness of Sistan been in space appears the same. Of course, we can measure different of quality, distance, magnitude, size and else qualities in one space in order to classify the living and biological diversities, as one does usually in environmental kind of investigations, but to be or appear merely in space seems not differ for human being as well as for other vital beings.

The material thing would change, its situation undergo change, if may disappear because being temporal is nothing than appearing and disappearing frequently where as to be in place principally does not change and remains unmoved and firm.

The main paradox in spatial knowledge including geography is that we cannot imagine space/ place in its being general despite the firmness and steadfastness exist in each place. Rather as we expressed earlier. As much as we think a material thing in space or its parts, we cannot percept its place or the place of its parts. We are sure that spatial figures and things have pieces we can imagine a square, its geometrical sides can be imaginal as well.

The frequency in our perceptions and imagination of geometrical figures and spatial things does not occur in our thinking of place itself. Suppose that there would be possible to have a perception of place- though that is not possible at all- this perception never undergoes change, modification and transformation. In other words, in all different circumstances and conditions human and other conscioused beings would face undivided spatial identities.

The truth is that perceiving and imagination of space/ place never been possible for any created being included human. We cannot have in our mind a picture of a place never been existed already. Against what has been suggested by Kant, there would not be any apriori general form of place to be applicable to individual cases. Rather as one can observe that any geographical region and point is different that of other each place has its own authenticity of placeness.

In the real place as such, one cannot see of the plurality of geometrical relation in kind be found in the imaginative figures and forma. Perhaps, for the same reason some of geographers correctly have stated that geometry cannot help describing geographical phenomenal, though it may helpful in explaining them.

A person while standing to any direction or moving toward in any direction, be in move or stable state, can look some things above his head and some in down. Even when moves his head toward under horizontal line, there seem

some things above his head and some down his head. The world of a cultural things for the viewer divided to up and down portions. Things are ups & down's. the wonderful phenomenon is this: as much as the viewing horizon becomes open and, so to say much more full of space, the up things and down things, the world up and the world down get closer and closer to each other. So, at final our view touches the supposed horizontal line, if you pass the line, the horizon less world disappears in space, in a unity that has not the above and the beneath.

Based on this introduction, we can conclude that spatial direction would not be a pure spatial affair as Kant used to think in that way. Reciprocally, the spatial direction depends essentially on our manner of consciousness about space. Our grasp of the world is not characteristically isolated of spatial directionality. Therefore, direction in space must not be understood as of absolute objectivity, like as presupposed in Euclidean geometry, rather of its ties with a relative objectivity (cases of which can be show in human geography).

Now it become clear why Heidegger against philosophers and physicists rightly takes the opposite view thinking the directionality of the things as an abstractive understanding of space. He regards the true and real space equals directionality of sein and his tendency toward proposed regions.

But the pure space, unhuman and impersonal in its true meaning is out of our access, and in spite of the fact that everything is circumcised in and captured makes the closeness and touchiness containing with contained unfounded and empty. This mean, as much as we get close to the space and fastened in it, understanding becomes much more deficient and improper and we became disable to provide a fit explanation. Hence, reducing directionality in accord

with the condition of human existence should not be defined in a way removing it from the environmental space and pure space. Since the human existence also been arrested by space and space directionality. Through his understanding of his distance of the world in which he lives, human being insist to get close to it and make the world as his home. For this reason, our house, village, earth and world, determines the inner connection of our place makes them in order and meaningful.

Based on the argument expressed above, David Sack defines space place and location as dependent parts of human world. In his theory called the geography of spatial separatism he persists the independent role space impresses human behavior. In his note no. 18 in chapter III of his master work called *Homo Geographicus* he recognizes physical space is there having central role, "Humans do not make, produce or build everything". According to him, places have influence on each other became they are related already in physical space. The spatial impressions and impressible caused by the relativistic situations in physical space.

He acknowledges the independent space, i.e. the space not conditioned by human being, meanwhile recognizes the more complexity hidden in place and locality than in space.

The places are places we are in. They function in such a manner contain things and forces or detach them. The places have causing forces, forces that motivate structures and make them exhilarating and full of cheer. How places act in combination with each other. Indeed, they do everything. This is quiet truth even in the very tiny places of modern world. The place that for everything is place and everything in place. This consciousness that places contain all thigs in the same manner, it can be concluded that everything which is behind appears in a supporting role.

The place assists us to develop our conceptions of the world and of ourselves. In the heart of these conceptions lies the difference between nature and culture.

The distinction and combination of the nature & culture require place so that place gains its fundamental structures, from city with art museums and administration buildings to the heart of Alaska forests and the desert of Sonora, from places that are considered primarily cultural to the places primary natural.

This geographical collection of differences give shape to these realms. Sack continues this collection leads to a third branch, for the cultural branch divides up to social and meaningful links. The place and space help this fundamental structure of nature, social and giving meaning relationship constituted and balanced, through delineation all in the special proportions.

In Sack's view, places become united through moving ingredients toward each other in the space. One can experience space due to the feeling of such a movement, everything been felt in movement and continuation in time. Such a feeling happens when we are travelling by train and drive a car in states high ways or even more when we are on plane and the openness of undeferential regions can represent a horizon that merely looks like an empty space.

According to the existentialism, space becomes uncovered when we change our perspective. So, mere thinking about space seems not much useful neither fruitful. We imagine ourselves abstracted looking from top heaven to the world.

So that places in a spatial system or geometrical net would transform to situations. This idea has been rendered in modern topography and for this reason can be called spatial analysis. The known analysis creates models of spatial interactions.

As Sack notices this analysis based on space presupposes a combination of harmonic systems, geographical length or width provide structures for space, so in such a spatial system, we can put activities, occasions, groups of people and places of the world. From this view, the space is a starting point and places in company with other things are regarded situations in that space. Based on Sock thinking place must not be taken as a fundamental category in the world, rather a mere toll to describe a collection of activities. With such of view, space is due a secondary place in the table of categories, or becomes a secondary term. The activities are of more validity than spaces containing activities.

Sack claims spatial understanding based on law of physics included Newton's referring to the opposite relation of spatial distance and gravity attraction seems no sufficient and complete in order to explain space or spatial distance. Newton's laws are not verisimilitude concern absolutes space, unless we define the domain relatively. Also, the doubt is there whether physical laws can be imposed on the understanding of pure absolute space. Sack expresses that we are living in a spatial world described by physics in which the behavior of atoms and planets are relativistic impressed by distance.

In the same way, our worldly engagement been effected by distance, so therefore by abstracting space of these laws of inside or outside of place we also make culture abstracted of space.

But there a question raises whether this abstraction of space becomes possible unless through understanding pure space with its supreme laws? In our imaginations the space can exist ever without spatial parts, included things or forces placed in it. Therefore, understanding pure or absolute space before than anything whether contained or container refers to the priority of space pure itself.

The general space & special space of Geography

In Kant's view geography counted as a way toward an experimental science required by philosophical investigations. He was seeking for a philosophical foundation for geography in order to transcend the role of it. For Kant, geography is a science the task of which is to study phenomena belonging to a space. In spite of these searches general geography as pure philosophy has faced with the difficulty of determining and defining its subject matter. The kea secret of geographical subject lies in mystical philosophy of space.

The category of space or place if taken as substantial one in the science of philosophy not only the relation between geography and pure science or philosophy became more easy and fruitful for both sides, but also, based upon this foundation, the geographical judgments and propositions would enjoy immediately of the sources of certainty lied in the fundamental judgments of space. Thus, the geographical judgments take advantage of borrowing necessity as well as certitude from ontological judgments of space. As a result of this the geographical hermeneutic would unite with the philosophical hermeneutic on space.

In geography, the space/ place is unveiled not for its apparent character of been extensional as one can observe in the pure philosophical knowledge of 'space'. Geographical space as much as defined by its terms of terrestrial expansion, transformation and development, it also determined by the contractibility, continuity and being homonymous in different parts, regions and sectors.

Human being stretches out his social life and concentrates in the specific geographical region and centralization becomes part of being social. Metropolitans and urban areas are central places in which big multitude communities as well as limited ones' marsh, are mediums for large or limited economical complexity. The human social reality and political community becomes appear simultaneously in one specific geographical piece and makes society become more geographically completed.

Spatial centralization can be classified due to prosper of authority and control, order, politics and economic, culture and other social pillars, accordingly to different ranks.

Each of geographical region based on its classification orders a kind of authority proper to its geopolitical space. Spatial assemble gives spatial determination to other assembles of power, investment, market and money and working forces. Spatial kind of concentration gives to collective identities like city or state nation a concrete and real meaning. The distance between the central part of a city and surrounding urban areas, represents minimum or maximum capacity, discloses the process of centralizations and also the unique identity of that city. This concept of geographical concentration, compared with the philosophical concept of spatial expansion, proposes human geography as an independent and serious knowledge in contrast to philosophy.

A knowledge which introduces an exclusive unprecedented understanding of space. Geographical spaces in general, whether in subject class of natural or of human are differentiated and detailed. The cause for this difference is reality of space itself. Being concrete and allocated found in space not restricted to the natural or human geography, rather, space itself identifies with concreteness and allocation, from which else substances and accidents are excepted.

If we take the subject matter in geology and geoscience as the kind "surface of the earth", the geographical subject comparatively restricted and limited. Therefore, the subject matter of geography becomes defined to experimental conditions behalf of which spatial activities and distributions on the experimental realm of the earth surface are examined.

The science of geography becomes as a transcendental kind of knowledge if the subject of which bounded to the surface space of earth mean while not determined thorough mere physical determination. It is regarded as a transcendental because of the fact in its subject matter spatial relations reflected beyond geometrical conditions. In such a science, space meant the unconditional spatial distributions without presumption human being. The spatial sciences included human geography does not resist with anthropocentrism, because with this supposition that earth moves on its axis for the sake of human, the human geographical disabled to reach the spatiality as such and cannot undertake the essence of space.

In summery, there pure science geography, as the theory of geo systems not conditional by human presence on the surface of earth meanwhile such a science not meant as in contradiction with the limited and determined human geography. Accordingly, pure & natural geography been distinguished from human geography while both become united and joined their borders are still distinct.

Now it becomes clear why R. John Johnstone in his book *A question of place, the practice of place: exploring the practice of Human Geography* takes his task to develop concept of space as the central axis in geographical investigation.

Despite the fact that geography felt into different divided parts, yet it has invented a substantial estimation, a safe realm for the theory as well as practice of space where as history of philosophy fallowing Aristotle shows a coming short to recognize the substantiality of space this represent a shining historical event in the history of sciences and the totality of consciousness of human.

Hetner and Heartschon known to be Kant followers, insist on the identical aspects of geography, but I think David Sack emphasizes much more to explain and define the geography as a science concerns space. He spells out space as a basic framework for all aspects of thought while geographical space in different manner possess the obvious validity in all times and variety of cultures. Sack express space been build up by humans into different mediators so that if human being as well as culture were not existed, and place too was not at all, then space or distance affected our interaction more easy and simple.

Space in our treatment disclosed relatively. The pure space does not have any power and energy by itself. It is not like a thing that immediately possess its own force. Both space as well as distance will get energy whenever medication intervenes and become relative.

If human being under steamed taken merely as a natural being, deemed with lack of social relations and spiritual modes there would be no place at all.

Of course, the space be there ever but no place is imaginable. As it is obvious the place so been reduced to the second level of meaning, that is the place for the interactivity of the natural things in space.

Till what time, things are for human and till when for nature? Sack states of laws concerning places, places be inside or outside become annulled loses credibility i.e. all different regional roles went out there remains nothing except secondary places and people and the things which are in counteraction with each other in space.

Natural Geography and Human Nature

Now we can reach the conclusion that the natural Geography in its truly defined term never been in the opposite place of human geography. The judgments of human geography in its different branches not deemed as that of social sciences propositions which not been necessitated by space. It can mostly be esteemed as a spatial social science which enjoys nourishment in the field of natural geography, as its mother originality, but also transcends it to the human living privileges, the ground of human geography is not like social sciences as abstractive or totalistic.

In spite of the fact that as other sciences it faces different of subject matters different and dispersed in the geography of human physical being, population, the geography of dwelling and habitation, economy geography, and political geography and etc. For all scientific study and knowledge of earth, space & place, location, grant that science the concrete identity despite the independency of each section in geography and the concentration in the defined section there neither from the nature and the earth nor from the consciousness pure human, the holistic spirituality spread over guarantees the productive results for other natural and human sciences.

From the other side, we are witnessing the gradual approximation of geography of geography to the concept of space. In pass years of 50 & 60's in 20th century though we saw geography distancing from the quantitative space, yet it does not mean that special and place- related concepts and debates had been removed in this period.

The current process of geographical investigation seeks for a concept of place and space which would be capable to contain controversial aspects of the live of earth combined with human living on earth. Such an approach no longer would be based on abstractive perception of earth and living places of earth. So, the geography of abstractive space replaced by the geography of concrete place which can be prosecuted and observed in the live- world.

Geographers have become aware that as much as geography get near to the truly space or place, its scientific propositions get more justification and validity. As far as the environment as general concept and environmental geography comes into combination with the nature of human, a unification of natural geography and human geography deserved to gain educational privileges and as a result of this instead of the term "space" the "place" seems more attractive.

In human geography, the predict of space carries conceiving more acquainted and human, indicates the subject of place and demonstrates the manner of spatial possession of things by man.

From the perspective of classical philosophy, the natural substance of human body does not reflect all human essential characters. Thus, as we observe in Ritter's definition of geography as an example, the human nature was not restricted to earthy and non-metaphysical modes. In his teaching, the geographical nature is not contradicting the nature of human.

No 1/2018

But rather, this lather originated from the other. It is certain that the human being is part of general geography, material nature and environment. The process of socialization and civilization of human rooted mostly in the geography of periphery.

In retrieve, it plays as a cause of it too. Human consciousness brings changes in his environ and transforms the geological patterns, and changing environ provides new measures of development prosperity for human societies and individuals.

Richard Pitt has talked about the sincere relation between human space and environmental space, there a synthetical system dominates that combined of different generalizations.

Nicholas Entrikin once stated the place, is the center for human meaning and sympathy. Yet one must not conceive that human is the only creature living on earth. Nor that living conditions lonely be passible on earth, neither that the earth is alone in sky. Of course, geography deals with the 'place for human' more than other places, but this does not mean that such a science of place can disregard the absoluteness of place.

Geography must take a combination of both regards of general space and particular space, i. e. that in which human lives. What Kant was telling about the a priori synthetical privileges as the only criteria for scientific judgments, may be taken here usefully.

The claim of the so called humanist geography that the geography should not be absorbed into subjectivation seems absurd and vague. The truth is if geography become intended to face the world as where humans are living in, it is inevitable, therefore to draw distinction between general space and particular space and so therefore subjectivation is unavoidable. The emphasis must be added that the human geography is not representing general of natural geography in all aspects.

We do not deny that there are magnificent part of geographical researches dealing with the lives of various groups and races of different nations, the states of collective, disciplined and social lives, but although it is out of realistic assumption to think all existing geographical scientific data conditioned and restricted to our knowledge of human life or his social living environment. In other words, it would be mistake to think the natural environment have no reality but it being source for spatial reflection on human society.

It is truth that geography of natural environ though distinguished but not divided up from geography of human home. As far as the destiny of human being is concerned, it must also be added accordingly logical judgment of space, there is non-differentiated state among the geographical space, the geography of environ and the geography of home in spite of dividedness. Inwardness and outwardness counted by Relph as included in the existential experiences of human, are relative and not absolute. Though there are some things for human regarded as external nonetheless there is not anything outside of general space. The deficiency hidden is that Relph view not explicitly explains the inwardness and outwardness both through referring to the structures of the concept of space.

He likes to explain it by referring and explaining the concept of human. In his view, the authentic human dependence to a place lead to existential inwardness, and the human dependence to space, if become inauthentic leads to outwardness, in which all places are not different.

In such a state, the geography takes places as equal subjects. Through categorical articulation and arrangement based on data he tries spaces become scientifically explained and clarified. Disregarding the fact that he already swept himself presupposing outside of space.

We repeat again human being can be outside of his home, but not outside of space, since the general absoluteness of space/ place discards all exceptions because each external thing gets a way to space before been realized. Thus, the absolute space, sinks both (spaces of) natural geography and human geography as well. Metaphorically, the home is inside the environ space prefects its space inside facing no damages at all.

Sack expresses that the house can make a balance among nature, meaning and social relations. These elements differ in different houses and for this reason, each one found on a specific balance, emphasizes to one or some elements more than other. In order to explain clearly, he makes an interesting example.

.از اینجا متن هوموجئوگروفیکوس ص 63- 66 چاپ شود

The Geographical Conscious of Time and the Historical Space

The geography thinks about living nature as a general nature which includes human nature.The fundamental subject matter of the science of geography, the same that of natural sciences, deemed to be interesting research subject in other sciences of biology, hydrology, meteorology and other and other similar natural sciences: the primary interesting subjects of natural sciences are environ, botanic, wild and botanical and animal description of life and death.

The nature, the mother case be studied by geographies, i.e. what determined in the science of vital organism in relation with outside environment is not merely ecological. In first step, geographer like a friend of geologist looks after the process of realization of natural environ around the globe. At the second, he enters into studies in which the relation of human and nature determined in spaces matters.

As conclusion, we state firmly that geographical study of nature more intended toward investigating the place of nature rather than history of nature. The space in which nature glorifies is the unique criterion in so called historical phenomenology in geography.

In the opposite if Hegel's historical thinking in which nature must be ascended to history, here, the geographer tries indeed to explain different samples in natural becoming and transformation, not in the historical and temporal columns rather in the spatial rested fields which have gotten atemporal unhistorical situations. The study of the history of human world, the *Leben welt* and evolution of species been circumstanced and become valid by spatial settlement.

It can be stated that natural environ create the concept of spatial geography, rather on the contrary, natural environ, is the created natural space, natural space surrounding human life. In Hettner view the difference between history and geography is not that geography indented to study one time, especially current time, rather the big difference is that in geography the temporaldimension of propositions and phenomena becomes a secondary cause, takes the back seat.

It might be stated that in regard of a historian, the temporal dimension of the events and phenomena is authentic, to which serves the spatial dimension and the spatial phenomena rolled by temporality of event.

On the opposite, a true geographer thinks of the sciences to do respects the spatial mode of phenomena reflected in its propositions followed meantime by the temporal and historical aspects. Becoming and transition in human as well nature and temporal, historical and periodical concepts described and explained by and through circulation around spatial axis of meanings.

The Kant's idea about space shows a very deep distance with what have suggested so far in the substantiality of space and the certainty of space. In his account of space, there would be no place there, neither the independent substance relied on itself.

The space merely serves as supposed pure general which makes the sensitive perceptions and experimental judgments possible. Therefore, in contrary to David Harvey inventory interpretation of Kant's concept of space and the form of pure space, Kant himself not suggested any essential and logical description for the state of singularity and exceptionality of space. Thus, the theory of pure form of space looks not sufficient at all.

The historical consciousness in its generality and expansion has got chance in the geographical space. Space deemed here not like an empty thing, outside the corporal, social and historical reality.

Henry Lofevre in his book *The Production of Space* (1991), has noticed correctly the potential power in terminology and language of space in a doing deep interpretation of history. In his interpretation, for Hegel the space of the historical time looks as motionless, a station of intellect get organized by the act of historical reason. In the mentioned book, he is investigating haw a space is a social product based on which the relations between state, society and classes receive explanation.

Our aim in this essay seems now conspicuous.

What been appeared in the natural as well as social terminology and theory about the space, in natural as well as in human geography were not been able so far to represent a unique and solid theory on the nature of space.

In my view, the space, as like that contains us primarily, in which we came to this world and pass, is not to be explained through social affairs happens in space.

On the contrary, space is authentic itself can be interpreted on its own. Historical & social phenomena like as state, organization, power and etc. no matter we respect the triumph for historical revolution or not they are all have to be defined in their historically defined spaces.

Musa S. Dibadj; Sources: *Almakan*, University of Tehran Press, Tehran, 2014.

Musa S. Dibadj; *Farideh Makanieh*, The Center of Dialogue among Civilization, Tehran. 1383.

Musa S. Dibadj; *Arahieh Makanieh*, The Center of Dialogue among Civilization, Tehran. 1383.

Prof. Musa S. Dibadj is Professor at University of Tehran,

 Dept. of Philosophy

SECURITY ISSUES IN EUROPE

By Ronan Chatellier

At the light of recent events in Europe, we can perceive not only some security issues, but also a tension which could very well give birth to a wave of violence, if not a kind of civil war.

For some reasons - on which we could speculate a long time - governments in Europe are not applying all measures which could more efficiently protect their countries and citizens. They might see some financial benefits in allowing waves of illegal immigration, but the consequences in terms of safety and health are quite serious and growing.

We are not discussing here immigrants escaping war or bloody repression, but economical immigration, people looking for money and social benefits, mostly men alone, young, and often with societal and ethical values rather different from our ones. Furthermore, these persons might think, at some point, they have nothing to lose when they realize that the idealized idea of relocating is not true.

No 1/2018

The wealthiest nations would have the financial means to help the countries from which the immigration is coming, to raise their living conditions, and consequently to keep their citizens. It is not done. Far from it.

We are ending in a situation where many citizens in Europe are tired of being confronted with the raise of violence, sexual aggressions, and terrorist attacks. On top of this, the increase of violent acts is covered up in media, and some words are voluntarily skipped, in a kind of attempt to avoid pointing at certain group of people, ethnic or religious. Lately, a gendarme had his throat slit by a Moroccan terrorist.

Medias wrote he was "stabbed in the throat by a young delinquent". Because this practice is connected with a category of terrorists. But this "hide and seek" game doesn't last long, and with the power of social media, such things get known, and discontentment is raising, quite slowly but steadily.

Another security matter is the fact that Europe has obviously a problem with weapons. Whereas in the United States it is quite common to carry a gun as a defensive means, European government are holding such practice in dismay. The procedure to possess a weapon is rather complicated, and it is for sport or hunting, with heavy fine and removal of the weapon if found carried.

It has been largely proven that bloody scenes have been avoided many times by citizens carrying and trained. Not in Europe though.

This matter starts to be addressed, but very timidly. In France, a very limited category of security agents are able to be carry a weapon. Yet, within a very strictly defined framework, not outside of it on daily routine.

While we have seen again the 26thof March 2018 that a terrorist attack can take place anywhere, anytime, without warning, and concerns citizens in their daily life ie. not specifically embassies areas, industrial or sensitive sites. Before, there was the attack at the Bataclan, or in Nice.

Places where people were defenseless and very long ten to fifteen minutes passed before the police could intervene.

So one question arises: should at least close protection and security agents be armed, in the framework of their duty and outside? And could we allow citizens to be armed also?

My opinion is unambiguous: yes. But ...

The arming of close protection & safety officers must of course be framed, as the forces of the state, with well supervised courses and accreditations. Once that done, I do not see why the security guards and close protection officers would be more stupid or dangerous than a gendarme or police officer. Same applies to citizens who would undergo some training in safe handling of firearms.

The arming of security professionals and citizens is essential for better protection of our citizens, facing a constant threat situation of terrorist violence.

Our Swiss neighbors are allowed to be armed, their crime rate is lower, and we do not hear about shooting accidents. The list is long of dangerous situations that bearers of weapons could end well before the arrival of police.

This phobia of firearms is ridiculous and dangerous. We would complicate the carrying of weapons (legally) while the weapons used in the attacks have not been acquired legally. Terrorists do not care about strict legislation, while carrying a weapon would undoubtedly stop attacks much quicker.

Of course, one of the issue is also that the fact of being already "at war" within our countries is not recognized. Probably with the aim of not panicking people. Surely also for political reasons. Yet, hiding the head in the sand doesn't help to develop security strategies.

It can end up with citizens feeling abandoned by their government, and organizing themselves to protect their family.

Each terrorist attack, I wonder if this time will be "the" trigger. That event which will ignite a violent reaction following such long period of discontentedness. A violent reaction against a group of people which will be pointed out as responsible for the recent violence. What would beunfortunate would be to face an ethnic cleansing, or a reaction based solely on race or colour. Such reaction would be difficult to contain, short in time and bloody, on all sides.

Another matter is regarding the new technologies. Terrorist attacks so far have used rather conventional means, carried by a handful of men. But it doesn't take much time to understand that some new technologies, cheap yet efficient, could be used anytime by larger and better organized groups. I refer to the use of drones for example and the use of chemical or biological substances.

Some drones can be armed or carry explosive. A drone carrying explosive, flying against a nuclear power plant would have terrible effects, and could even destabilize in minutes a whole country, by chain reaction or domino effect.

A small dose of some chemicals, placed for example in water supply, would affect large amount or people. Especially biological substances which could induce contagious pathologies and affect large area over longer period of time.

European countries are reluctant to name the real enemy: the Salafi ideology, and more explicitly the Muslim Brotherhood, with a number estimated around 2.5 million. They have an understanding of religion that is contradictory with Western democratic societies, and is profoundly anti-Western. They are considered as terrorist group in some countries, like Egypt.

They are about 15 organisations which have the operational capacity to lead violent small or large scale actions, nationally or internationally. It means that, while all efforts seems to be focussed on ISIS, defeating them won't change much in term of threat. These organizations are constantly changing, thus very difficult to follow and adapt. They seems to have taken a new direction, knife attacks, small scale hostage actions or shootings. At the end, their actions are hard to predict..

Surely, many people can see the danger in these above mentioned matters, but I do not see any plans taking place on States level to prevent such attack. It would be fundamental that all European countries work together, share their intelligence information. So far, there is no clear common policy and strategy.

It could also be wise that citizens be informed and involved to a certain level, especially all those working in the field of security. Most citizens are not prepared to face the various aspects terrorism can take. They rely solely on National Forces, which themselves are not enough in number, and often under-equipped.

There are already some areas of Paris where police forces do not enter anymore in normal times due to the high risk to be aggressed and hurt. What would it be in case of 'guerilla' type of situation?

We also need to tackle the fact that, daily, radicalised men, women, and children are coming back from Syria, Iraq, etc. where they were fighting in the lines of ISIS. They are coming back brainwashed, ready to continue the fight

The "guerilla" risk is substantial with the spreading of dangerous ideology and the absence of action to point at it, and to criminalize it.

Once we would acknowledge the threat, there are three aspects to analyse: the ideological aspect, the financial aspect and the operational aspect, which can be found in every guerrilla.

Alas, it seems that when the governments will start to do something, it will be far too late.

Nowadays, the type of war we are dealing with is confronting enemies who are already inside our borders, inside our cities… even inside our police or army forces!

There are some local teams developing, handfuls of citizens, aware of the situation, aware they cannot count only on the State's effort to protect them, trying to organize themselves to face violent reactions, and sustain a decent life through and after it. But this is so far marginal, whereas I tend to believe that more citizens should be informed, trained, and kept updated on a regular bases.

Though I have of course some ideas, I have mostly questions arising regarding the security issues in Europe: How can terrorist attacks be prevented at national and international levels? How citizens could protect themselves better and participate in the security of their country?

Ronan Chatellier is a Security advisor, Self-employed,and member of IBSSA- International Bodygards and Security Services Association.Lives in France.

The development of identities among the Muslim population in the Balkans in an era of globalization and Europeanization: Cases of Torbeshi, Gorani and Pomaci

By Prof. Rubin Zemon,Ph.D

Abstract: During the Ottoman Empire as a theocratic state, ethnic identities and the ethnic belonging of people were not important vs. the religious identity and determination. The ethnic identity lost its importance in the Ottoman Empire and religious identity was given priority with the aim that all Muslim people belong to one Muslim community.   At the end of the XXVIII and beginning of the XIX centuries, the process of the development of modern nations began among the various nationalities in the Balkans. The millet system, with its classification based on religion, became increasingly less viable.

A process known as the National Revival was and is much more intensive among the Christian population than among the Muslims. The processes of development and construction of national identities in the Balkan states mainly follow the primordial way, which as a consequence has social antagonisms on a religious base among the people, presented as ethnic conflicts.

http://theWebalyst.com

The development of identities among the Muslims in the Balkan states at the end of the XX and beginning of XXI century is an issue that has very deep social, cultural, economic and political consequences and in various Balkan states we could see various context, circumstances, state strategies and polices. Ethnic and national identities among Muslims in the Balkans are very changeable.

Key words: Ethnic identity, Muslims, national revival

In fact, to identify means to recognize, to adopt or to determinate. Depending on what kind of basis for identification we take in consideration (culture, religion, region, tribe, ethnos or nation) we relate the term of identity with some adjectives (cultural identity, regional identity, ethnic identity etc.). For the first time, the term identity is formulated in psychoanalytical theory and is understood as the widest base for a certain individual feeling of belonging. (Петровић, Е. 1989:9). Eric Ericson gave the formulation of the term ethnic identity in 1968, when he tried to determinate the mechanisms of an individual to be identified with a group and he found that identity is a characteristic rooted in the fundament of a person. Indeed, the process of ethnic identification develops through the socialization. However, in social and cultural anthropology exist some attempts for an ethnos to be observed as a "spirit" or as spiritual principle or collective consciousness.

Defining an ethnic group on the basis of subjective believing in common origin, Max Weber pointed that the source of ethnicity shouldn't rely on possessing some properties as symbols of ethnicity, but should be rely on producing, keeping and deepening the differences. According to him, the ethnic identity is built on differences. (Вебер М, 1976:323). On the other hand, Frederic Barth points to

the ethnic boundaries as the main pillars of ethnic identity. Through time the cultural arsenal disappears, but ethnic boundaries exist. Ethnic boundaries implicate inter-ethnic relations and the ethnic identity is formed and exists on contacts with other ethnic groups (Barth. F: 1969).

The theory of ethnos and ethnicity had big inputs in the publishing of Benedict Anderson's "Nation-imaged community"! According to him nation, but also any group, especially ethnic group, is an imagined (but not invented) community. One single member of a group will not meet all members of a group, but they exist in her/his consciousness and she/he has a special attitude towards them, based on solidarity and fellowship. Differences between communities in the first stage are in the construction of their imagination. (Андерсон Б.: 1998).

It is important to mention the theory of Thomas Hylland Eriksen and his study on relations towards the Others, towards history and politics. The existence of Others is an inevitable element of ethnic identification: without the Others it is not possible to experience and to understand the We. History is a problem of the past, but an answer of contemporary needs.

An anthropologist is not interested in what really happens and what are real or invented traditions, but wants to discover in what way certain historical content is used in the actual process of construction of identity. (Eriksen T.H. 1993).

* * *

The long Ottoman ruling in the Balkans caused very important social, economic, political and cultural changes until the present day. One of the characteristics of the Ottoman period in the Balkans was the affirmation of the Islam religion. In the first decades of the Ottoman ruling in the Balkans whole groups of people accepted Islam almost in every region of the Peninsula.

Many scholars make conclusions that in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the XV century members of the Bogomilian movement in the Balkans, as a main religious, ethic, ideological and social power, massively accepted the Islam religion (Стојановски А. 1987, 31). Other scholars have a position that is not absolutely possible to determinate the religious origin of pre-Islamic groups (Лиманоски Н., 1993: 32).

But the Ottoman government did not force the process of "Islamisation"- term which is often used in scientific books in the Balkans, for the process of changing or shifting the religious belief of the people. They allowed Christians to respect their religion, practice their rituals and their kind of living. The most important issue for the Ottomans was that the "raya" be quite and pay taxes. Christian adult men were obliged to pay a special tax called "Dzizja", from which Muslim adult men were freed.

An act of accepting Islam religion among the people was known as "poturcuvanje"/ "becoming a Turk". For that reason one of the identity names for those people was and is "Poturi". This name sublimates all existing contradictions related with religion, identity and the "otherness". For the Christians, shifting to Islam was identification with a process of naturalization, becoming "other", becoming a Turk (Лиманоски Н. 1993:37).

On the other hand, in the Middle Ages, Turks-Ottomans experienced and felt themselves much more as Muslims than as Turks in the modern sense of the identity (Smith A: 1991). For that reason an identity of a "Turk" was identification with an identity of a "Muslim", and the conversion of people to Islam was called "Turcenje", and the new Muslims became Turks. In this way two basic categories of belonging "in" and "out" of groups were determined: "Turks" and

"Christians". This basic demarcation and distinction was made according to the religious identity, without consideration of the ethnic and linguistic characteristics and features. In this way under the category "Turks" were understood, except the "real Turks", also Muslim Albanians, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Bosnians, Montenegrins and other ethnic communities which accepted the Islam religion.

During the Ottoman Empire as a theocratic state, ethnic identities and the ethnic belonging of people were not important vs. the religious identity and determination. The ethnic identity lost its importance in the Ottoman Empire and the priority was given to the religious identity, with the aim that all Muslim people belong to one Muslim community. Even ethnic Turks did not feel as Turks, but as Muslims. The phenomenon of losing the ethnic feeling as a consequence of a universal spirit of Islam was installed in the Balkans, too.

At the end of the XXVIII and the beginning of the XIX century, the process of the development of modern nations began among the various nationalities in the Balkans. The millet system, with its classification based on religion, became increasingly less viable. A process known as the National Revival was and is much more intensive among the Christian population, than among the Muslims (Mazower M. 2000: 67).

The processes of development and construction of national identities in the Balkan states mainly follow the primordial way, which as a consequence has social antagonisms on a religious base among the people, presented as ethnic conflicts. The fight for national liberation and the creation of national states was not just a radical break with the past, but it was negation of the past, too. This caused the creation of nations to be built on the basis of two central principles- language and faith.

South East Europe at the beginning of the XIX century was not a region determined with nation-states, but with symbols of orthodoxy. In those circumstances, the Muslim millet, with no consideration for the ethnic and linguistic diversity, remained as a part of the same discourse of the Otherness. Islamic community and mosques were not national, and they fought against the national consciousness of Muslim people, advocating for the universality of the religion, as a unique leader of collective organization of the believers. Contrary, Christian churches appeared as bearers of national awaking and revival, presenting the institutional fundament of the Balkan nation-states.

The creation of nations on the basis of language among the orthodox faced Slavic people with obstacles in religious aspect, by keeping the old distinctions of "Muslims" and "Christians" from the Ottoman Empire. In that context, the self-integration of groups with the same pre-Ottoman ethnic origin and similar languages but with different religion was impossible.

Christian people in the Balkans started to understand the world with the language of nationalism, while their views toward the Muslims stayed in a domain of the same discourse among the religious communities (Todorova M. 2001: 260).

On the other hand, because the Balkan Muslim were incapable to adopt the national code and practically were excluded from the process of national consolidation and integration, they kept the fluid conciseness, which was an image of the millet mentality as Ottoman heritage (Todorova M. 2001:261).

The new state-borders from 1878 and from 1912 became the basic criteria for defining the collective identity. National belonging was promoted as a prime factor for group identification, opposite the former religious collective categorization (Стојановски С. 2010: 407).

National governments and administration, mainly implemented restrictive politics of integration of Muslim population and their participation in the public life, because of their superstition for loyalty to the new states, bearing in mind that Muslims lost the benefits which they had in the Ottoman Empire. The national ideology imposed cultural identity by taking the control over the economy and conventional collective images from families and from the local communities.

The lack of national strategy for inclusion and integration of Muslim Slavic population in the new societies and in a national "WE" or "OURS", brought confusion related with the definitions of Muslim population. The most important segments in forming the collective identity of nation-state are its institutions, especially the local administration, military service and mass education.

While in the Ottoman Empire in the settlements where Muslims speaking Slavic languages lived, or there were mixed settlements with Muslim and Christian population, the political elite and local leaders mainly were from the Muslim community, in national states there were mainly Christians. These politics of "revenge" strengthened the solidarity among the Muslims with different ethnic and linguistic belongings in the new nation-states (Стојаноски C. 2010).

However, we have to point the fact that in the collective memory of the Balkan population it was impossible to throw the "collective blame and guilt" towards the Muslims with Slavic languages, because they fell threatened and changed their religion and "became Turks". The reconstruction of the social matrix that they belong to one nation and have to be considered as "We", "Us" or "Ours" was impossible because the memories from the Ottoman state were fresh (Лиманоски Н., 1993: 310,311).

Nevertheless, public opinion for "forced Islamization" of the so-called "Bulgarian -muhamedanes", "Serbian- muhamedanes", "Muslim with our blood" and other identity terms, which were used in a time of national revival of the Christian population in the Balkan states, especially in Bulgaria and Serbia, was created in the intellectual circles, before the creation of national states. This public opinion was constructed in a way that Islamization of the Slavic people was made in a forced way by the Ottomans (Стерјовски А. 1995: 152), and because the Ottomans had to go back in Asia, Muslims with Slavic pre-Ottoman origin had to come back to their Christians roots (Ајрадиноски Ш., 2011:30). But these theses in the intellectual circles, found their places in the construction of national and nationalistic state ideology in the Balkan states, whose frustration of "the five–century long Turkish slavery" was unleashed on "our Turks".

In cultivating the myth for homogenous and pure national states, the national Balkan states at beginning of the XX century signed Agreements in 1919 and 1923 in Neuilly and Lozano (Киселиновски С. 1987: 121), between Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey for changing the population (Svetieva A. 2009).

A similar agreement was signed between the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Turkey in 1933. With these Agreements, most of the Muslim population with Slavic origin was forcibly migrated in Turkey, because they were declared as ethnic Turks. These Balkan nation-states were constructed and implemented in the "Balkan way" (Даскаловски Ж., 2010), with a strong influence of a former Millet system, where confessions, and in this case national orthodox churches, gave the final "stamp" on the national identity (Perica V. 2002).

After the Second World War , the Muslims in Tito's Yugoslavia were in much better position than before the war, as well as in comparison with the Pomaks in Bulgaria who experienced a total violation of their human rights, especially in a governmental policy of chaining their Muslim names into Christian ones (Maeva M., 2008)! The introduction of modern or relatively modern political life in socialist Yugoslavia, accompanied by the establishment of a public domain from which religion was excluded, led to a certain retreat of the ethnic.

There is no doubt that confessional identity- the form of the collective identity that had dominated for so long-did retreat when faced with the onslaught of aggressive secularization. In socialist Yugoslavia as well as in other socialist states were produced two major ethnic reconstitutions. The first resulted from the introduction of a modern political identity, the identity of the working class (Vlaisavljevic U. 2003:9).

Despite the violent repression of the religious identity, the ethnic identity continued to play a major role in Yugoslav society (even if it was secondary to the political identity). Ethno-religious identity was transformed into ethno-political identity.

Interpreted and institutionalized by modern political means, the ethnic or ethno-religious identity became the national identity. Communist ideology and its political institutions took the place of religion. Though politics became more important than religion, this did not mean that the ethnic lost its significance. On the contrary, the ethnic was sufficiently important, indeed more so than either politics or religion, therefore it may be assumed that in taking the place of religion, politics also had to take on its role: to become a political or secular religion. The ethnic emerges here in an entirely modern form: it is a name for the place or framework within which politics and religion relate to each other. (Vlaisavjevic U., 2003:9).

In these circumstances with the collective identity of the people, in Social Yugoslavia rose a question of the legal recognition of the Muslim nation. The Constitution of SFRY recognized *narodi* (nations—native peoples which were explicitly named in the Constitution, giving them special privileges) and *narodnosti* (nationalities, with status comparable to that of minorities).

The Austro-Hungarian Empire officially introduced the term *Bosniaks* for the Slavic Muslims who lived in Bosnia; prior to it, it was used to describe a resident of Bosnia regardless of his/her nationality or religion.

In a debate that went on during the 1960s, many Bosniak communist intellectuals argued that the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina are in fact native Slavic people that should be recognized as a nation (Jugoslavenski Leksikografski Zavod, 1974: 654).

But the name *Muslims* was sometimes rejected - to quote the Bosniak politician and president Hamdija Pozderac: "They do not allow Bosnianhood but they offer Muslimhood. We shall accept their offer, although the name is wrong, but with it will start the process"— In a discussion with Josip Broz Tito in 1971 regarding the constitutional changes which recognized Muslims, later Bosniaks (Wikipedia, Bosnjaci).

As a compromise, the Constitution was amended in 1968 to list the *Muslims by nationality* recognizing a nation, but not the Bosniak name. The Bosniaks considered the Yugoslav "Muslim by nationality" policy to neglect and oppose their Bosnian identity because the term tried to describe Bosniaks as a religious group not an ethnic one.

Sometimes other terms, such as *Muslim with capital M* were used (that is, "musliman" was a practicing Muslim while "Musliman" was a member of this nation; Serbo-Croatian uses capital letters for names of peoples but small for names of adherents).

After the 1990s, most of these people, around two million, mostly located in Bosnia and Herzegovinaand the region of Sandžak, were declared as ethnic Bosniaks (*Bošnjaci*, sing. *Bošnjak*) (DnevniAvaz, 27.09.2011). On the other hand, some still use the old name *Muslimani* (Muslims), especially outside Bosnia and Herzegovina (Kurpejovic A. 2008).

The recognition of the Muslim identity as a national identity in Bosnia and Hezegovina and Socialist Yugoslavia in the 1970s caused a reaction in the other Yugoslav republics of Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro. With the constitutional changes from 1974, the ethnic identification of the people in Yugoslavia was based on the free declaration of every individual according to her/his conciseness, different than previously, when the ethnic/national identification was based on the spoken language.

For that reason the republic's authorities in Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro were afraid that Muslims in their republic will declare themselves as Muslims in as a nation, and asked that such right have only the Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Because this proposal was refused, the authorities in Macedonia launched an informal campaign for encouraging the population to accept the identity of Muslim Macedonians (Makedonski Muslimani) (Ajradinoski S. 2011: 44-45). The main role in this campaign belonged to the so-called Republic Community of Cultural Manifestation of Muslim Macedonians, led by Nijazi Limanonski (Лиманоски Н. 1993: 376-379). A parallel campaign was implemented among Christian Macedonians too, with the aim to accept Muslim Macedonians as their compatriots, as members of the same nation (Дојчиновски С. 1987: 29). But such activities did not give the expected results.

With the collapse of the socialist regime, among the Slavic people with Islam religion appeared new processes which were related with respect of human rights, participation in the public life and decision-making processes

and bodies. These processes caused new development of the identity, with request for recognizing their local community as a particular national minority in the respective state.

The Kosovo crisis discovered for the public the existence of a new community in Kosovo- Gorans community. Actually it is Muslim population that speaks a Slavic language in a region of Gora, divided between three states Kosovo, Albania and Macedonia.

Even if they may be aware that they are members of the same local/regional community in present day Kosovo, we may find people from the Gorani community who declare themselves as Boshinaks, Turks, Gorans etc. Member of the Gorani community which live or have migrated to Macedonia, generally declare themselves as Macedonians with Islam religion. In fact, the president of the Union of Macedonians with Islam religion, Mr. Ismail Bojda has an origin from the village Brod in the Gora region.

The new independent state of Kosovo recognizes Gorans and Boshnjaks as particular communities, they are mentioned in the Constitution of Kosovo, they have reserved seats in the Kosovo parliament and separately they enjoy minority rights as all other non-Serbian communities in Kosovo.

The ethnic identity of Gorani community started to appear in Albania, too. The main intellectual front-man not only in Albania, but broader for the Gorani identity and in direct relation of the Gorani, Torbeshi and Pomaks communities with the Bogomils in Middle Ages is Mr. Nazif Dokle. In 2009 he published a book "Bogomilzism and ethno-genesis of Torbesh from Gora in Kukes" (Dokle N. 2009), which in October 2011 was translated in *Boshniak l*anguage.

Repeated aspirations for appropriation of the Gorani community in the frame of their nation have the Bulgarian scholars, too. Tanja Mangalakova, a famous Bulgarian journalist, who is preparing her PhD in the field of ethnography, published the book "Ours in Kosovo and Albania" in 2008 (Мангалакова Т. 2008).

This book provoked a reaction among the Macedonian scholars, especially from professor Aneta Svetiva, who responded that "Ours will never be yours" (Светиева А., 2009). Bulgarian scholars organized many events, such as expositions of photos, object, clothes etc. related with the traditional culture of the Muslim population in Albania, in the regions of Golo Brdo and Gora, like the expositions of Veselka Toncheva from the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore with the Ethnographic museum in Sofia. The regions of Golo Brdo and Gora in the expositions were presented as the "most western Bulgarian lands"! (Фокус, 27.01.2011)

On the other hand the identity of the Pomak community in Bulgaria is developing, too. In the last two decades we can find many declarations of Pomak leaders who are saying that they are a separated community from the Bulgarians and Turks, and they want to be recognized as Pomaks. On one occasion Mr. Damjan Iskrenov from the village of Kochan, region of Chech, a representative of the Association of Pomaks in Bulgaria, said that "… the goal of our organization is to make unification of Pomaks, not only in Bulgaria, but in Greece, Macedonia, and Albania, too.

We are one nationality as well as the Traco-Macedonian tribes. Truly our people the Pomaks … of Alexander the Great. He ruled then…" (EthnoAnthropoZoom, 2004: 215). Former member of Bulgarian parliament, Mr. Shikir Bujukov, has a position that although they (Bulgarian authorities) are trying to ignore them as an ethnic group, Pomaks exist with their own culture, traditions, songs, customs etc.

They want their ethnic group to be confirmed and to find its place guaranteed by the Human Rights Convections, according to which all people have equal rights. (EthnoAnthropoZoom, 2004: 213- 223)

However, the most dramatic issue is in Macedonia, with the development of the identity of the Torbeshi community. The estimated number of this community in Macedonia is around 150,000 people and the identity fluctuates among Muslim Macedonians, Albanians and Turks.

But, in the last 10 years, the identification of people with the Torbeshi identity as a separate and particular community in Macedonia causes many reactions in the political and scientific circles in Macedonia. In 2006 a leader of the Party for European Integration (PEI) Mr. Fijat Canoski, became member of the parliament of the Republic of Macedonia, and in his speeches in the parliament he declared that he will represent and protect the interest of the Muslim population in Macedonia known as Torbeshi, or as he liked to sae "people of my kind (soj)"! (Утрински весник, 30.01.2007) Later in 2010 was established the Torbeshian Cultural- Scinetific Center "Rumelija" with Sherif Ajradinoski as the chairman, which in January 2011 proclaimed the "Torbeshian Declaration", with the request that the Torbeshi community be recognized as a separate community in Macedonia and mentioned in a Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia (Ајрадиноски Ш., 2011).

Immediately came a strong response from the Union of Macedonians with Islamic religion, by organizing scientific public tribunes in cooperation with the national institutes for history, Macedonian language, folklore, the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology,the Institute of Ancient Slavic Culture and the Macedonian Ethnologists Society. As an output from the public tribune on the topic "Macedonians with Islamic faith between national belonging and religious determination", was published a booklet/collection of work (Дрвошанов В. (ed.) 2011)

The cultural- scientific center "Rumelija", responded with a scientific tribune, too, where prominent scholars from Macedonia, Albania, Kosovo and Bulgaria gave the contribution of giving a scientific base for the Torbeshi identity. But, this identity conflict in Macedonia is not only in the scientific circles! On the socials networks, especially on Facebook, there is a real cyber war between both sides (Facebook, ObedinetiTorbeshi). Some people say that even in the background of closing A1 television and arresting its owner, Velija Ramkovksi, (Time.Mk. 24.12.2010) as well as destroying the building complex "Cosmos" that is in ownership of Fijat Canoski, is a political fight against the main front-men of the Torbeshi movement. (Press 24, 04.08.2011)

Concluding remarks:

Identity and identification are processes and relations, not a position or status! First of all, identification is an intra-subjective process of identifying or distinction. That is a selective choice of particular cultural elements, with the aim for creation separate identity. The objectivity of ethnicity, together with its history, is a construction, virtual reality. Ethnos is a subjective experience, imagining of reality.

Bearing in mind that Balkan societies were and are diverse society with different ethnic, religious, cultural and other groups and communities, the development of multicultural society and interculturalism is the only way for peaceful development of society with no alternatives. As Andrea Semprini said,multiculturalism in its sense at the same time rises three issues: recognizing diversity in the society on any base, respecting minority rights and respecting the identity of any group (Semprini, A. 1999).

There is a need for further promotion of the knowledge for human rights, including (special) rights of minorities, the existing ethnic and cultural diversity, tolerance, mutual understanding, coexistence and cooperation in modern plural societies.

The myths of ethnic homogeneity contradict the existing ethnic and cultural diversity that can be also a comparative advantage and not just a problem. The existing concept of nation-states is not just an ideal goal of every distinct ethnic community, but also a possible source of ethnic and religious conflicts.

We have to find the common and universal elements of different cultures in societies, and build a consensus and compromise to prevent even the feeling and fear of inequality and domination.

The ethnic or national revival of the Muslim population in the Balkan states, especially among the Bosniaks, Torbeshi, Pomaks, Gorani and other communities, which appeared much later than among the Christians, is in its very early stages. They want to build and construct their identity houses, which are legitimate goals in general civilization sense. Identity is subjective category, and objectification of the same is a long process of intercultural dialog.

Bibliography:

Ајрадиноски Ш., 2011, Торбешка Декларација, Струга, Румелија Торбешки културно-научен центар.

Barth. F:1969 Introduction; In:Barth F. (Ed.) Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Differences, London.

Даскаловски Ж., 2010, A model for the establishment of the Balkan National states in the XIX century: The Macedonian failure, In: Чепреганов Т (ур.) Македонскиот идентите низ историјата, Скопје, Институт за национална историја.

Дојчиновски С. 1983, Преродбенската улога на културно-научните манифестации на Македонци Муслимани во будењето на националната свест кај исламизираните

Македонци, In: Тодороски Г., Лиманоски Н., Дојчиноски-Росоклија С (редакција), Историја, фолклор и етнологија на исламизираните Македонци, Републичка заедница на културно научните манифестации на Македонците Муслимани, Скопје.

Dokle N. 2009, Bogomilizmidheethnogjeneza e torbeshevete Gores se Kukesit, Tirana, Geer.

DnevniAvaz, 27.09.2011 (http://www.dnevniavaz.ba/vijesti/iz-minute-u-minutu/56392-muftija-muamer-zukorlic-objavio-odluku-bnv-a-bosnjaci-bojkotuju-popis-stanovnistva-u-srbiji.html)

Дрвошанов В. (ed.) 2011, Македонците со исламска вероисповед меѓу националната припадност и религиската определба, Скопје, Сојуз на Македонците со исламска религија.

Eriksen T.H. 1993, Ethnicity and Nationalism, London.

EthnoAnthropoZomm, 2004, Journal of the Department of Ethnology No.4, Skopje

Facebook, ObedinetiTorbeshi. http://www.facebook.com/groups/169464813135929/

Фокус, 27.01.2011, http://www.focus-news.net/?id=f16942&fb_source=message

JugoslavenskiLeksikografskiZavod, 1974, Leksikon JLZ, Zagreb

Киселиновски С. 1987, Лозанскиот мировен договор и статусот на исламизираните Македонци во Егејскиот дел на Македонија, In: Тодороски Г., Лиманоски Н., Дојчиноски-Росоклија С (редакција), Историја, фолклор и етнологија на исламизираните Македонци, Републичка заедница на културно научните манифестации на Македонците Муслимани, Скопје.Kurpejovic A., 2008, MuslimaniCrne Gore, Podgorica, MaticaMuslimanska of Montenegro

Лиманоски, Н. 1993, Исламизацијата и етничките промени во Македонија, Скопје, Македонска книга

Maeva M., 2008, The changes in the minorities identity: The case of Bulgarian Turks, In. Чепреганов Т и др. (редакција), Транзициите во историјата и културата, Скопје, Институт за национална историја.

Мангалакова Т. 2008, Нашенците в Косово и Албания, София, Ифо дизаин ООД.

Mazower M. 2000, Balkans, Weidenfeld&Nicolson,, translated in Macedonian Маркоска Милчин Е (ур.) 2003, Балканот- кратка историја, Скопје, Евро-Балкан пресс.

Perica V., 2002, Balkan Idols: Religion and Nationalism in Yugoslav states, Oxford, University Press

Петровић, Е. 1989, Теоријске претпоставке истраживања етниког идентитета, In: Дрљача Д. (ур.) Прилози проучавању етничког идентитета, САНУ Етнографски институт, Зборник радова књига 20, Београд.

Press 24, 04.08.2011, Отворено писемо од Цаноски: Ме казнија зашто отидов во опозиција. http://www.press24.mk/story/makedonija/otvoreno-pismo-od-canoski-me-kaznija-zashto-otidov-vo-opozicija

Semprini, A. 1999, Multikulturalizam, Beograd: CLIO

Smith, A. D., 1991, National identity, London, Penguin Books

Стерјовски А., 1995, Исламизацијата и потурчувањето во Битола, In: Лиманоски Н. (ур.),Одбрана и заштита на мајчиниот македонски јазик и етнос кај исламизираните Македонци; Републичка заедница на културно научните манифестации на Македонците Муслимани, Скопје.

Стојановски А., 1987, По прашањето за потеклото на името Торбеш и за неговото првично споменување во пишуваните извори, In: Тодороски Г., Лиманоски Н., Дојчиноски-Росоклија С (редакција), Историја, фолклор и етнологија на исламизираните Македонци, Републичка заедница на културно научнитеманифестации на Македонците Муслимани, Скопје.

Стојановски С., 2010, Колективниот идентитет кај Македонците Муслимани, In: Институт за национална историја, Македонскиот идентитет низ историјата, Скопје, 403-418.

Svetieva A. 2009, On the migration of the Balkan Muslims and of the "Nashinci"- the Torbesh, Pomaks and other (Turks) in Turkey, In: EthnoAnthropoZomm No. 6, Skopje, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology

Светиева А., 2009, „Нашинците" нема никогаш да бидат „Вашинци" иако имате желба, време, неври, план и пари, In:Ethnologist No.12-13, Skopje, Association of Ethnologist of Macedonia & Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, 318-320

Time.mk, 24.12.2010, Уапсен Велија Рамковски. http://www.time.mk/cluster/c00c1da62f/uapsen-velija-ramkovski.html

Todorova M. 1997. Imaging the Balkans, Oxford University Press, translated in Macedonian Аџи Митреска Лазареска П. (ур), 2001 Замислувајќи го Балканот, Скопје, Магор

Утрински весник, 30.01.2007, Фијат Цаноски им ја менува националноста на исламизираните Македонци. http://www.utrinski.com.mk/? ItemID=9DC697F1098D494991ACF607F06FB1B1

Вебер М., 1976, Привреда и друштво, Београд

Vlaisavljevic U. 2003, Yugoslav Communism and after: The Continuity of Ethnopolitics, In: Identities- Journal of Politics, Gender and Culture, Vol. II, No.2, Skopje, Euro-Balkan Institute, p.9-26

Wikipedia, Bosnjaci (http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosnjaci).

Prof. Rubin Zemon,Ph.D is Associate Professor of Socio-Cultural Anthropology at the University Euro-Balkan, Skopje, Macedonia.

Global Ecology and Sustainable Development:

A Study in Gandhian   Perspective

By Dr Manish Sharma

"Everybody talks about the weather, but nobody does anything about it." This quote from Mark Twain is very relevant today. The environmental pollution multiplies manifold, arising out of millions of smoke-emitting vehicles, running with frequent traffic jams on the matchingly inadequate roads, with struggling parking space and overcrowding of people.

This has almost reached the peak in New Delhi (INDIA), making it the one of the polluted city of the world. The situation in other metropolitan cities, namely Mumbai, Calcutta, Chennai and many other industrial cities of India has also become very grim. It has been deteriorating without manageable controls despite a lot of talks, seminars, conferences, warnings, precautions but with inadequate, ineffective results.

Due to unplanned mechanization, haphazard urbanization, uncontrolled population growth and clustered living due to poverty and unhealthy sanitations around, this has been a deteriorating curse inflicted on humankind in India and elsewhere.

Amidst universalisation of the issue of environmental degradation on global levels, its acute state in India cannot be ignored. India's environmental problems are gaining global significance because of the rapid and offensive speed of urbanization and lack of infrastructure.

Further, in a published study in the Journal Environmental Research Letters, it has been observed that the rise in CO_2 level will accelerate the jet stream – a high-altitude wind blowing from west to east across the Atlantic. It will speed up eastbound flights but slow down west-bound flights.

Therefore, transatlantic aircraft will spend an extra 2,000 hours in the air every year. Further, transatlantic flights will burn an extra $22 million worth of fuel annually, which means this will increase the fuel costs to airlines, potentially raising ticket prices, and it will worsen the environmental impacts of aviation as it will emit an extra 70 million kg of CO_2. According to the research, this might only be the tip of the iceberg.

The present paper is an attempt to analyze the impacts on environment because of misbehaving with the environment and how the same can be safeguarded from a Gandhian perspective and the new developments coming out of new researches alongwith the suggestions for a safe and Green Third Millennium.

Root and Principles of Gandhian Philosophy

The fundamentals of Gandhian philosophy are truth, nonviolence, and asceticism. His life and thinking revolved around his relentless quest for truth: that is also the literal meaning of the term Satyagraha.

Ahimsa (nonviolence) literally means non-harm, but to Gandhi nonviolence was much more than the absence of violence: it was a fully defined way of life.

According to Gandhi, ahimsa refers to nonviolence in action, speech, and thought. He believed that truth and nonviolence were intertwined, overlapping and interrelated ideas, and that truth can only be achieved nonviolently.

The concept of Satyagraha gave practical realization to the ideals of truth and nonviolence. According to Gandhi, Tapasya or ascetic self-sacrifice was necessary to achieve the highest level of truth.

Gandhi was very much influenced by Jainism and Buddhism.

Jainism looks at nature as a living entity and exhorts human beings to continually purify themselves by respecting the diverse life forms. In contemporary times, Jainism has been interpreted in such a way as to strengthen the relation between man and earth, a clear case of deployment of religion for ecology.

Hinduism also looks at nature and all life forms with equal reverence. Gandhi's voice of environmentalism was not the lone voice at the turn of the Twentieth Century. Rabindranath Tagore represented nature in his poems and works. Shantiniketan, the institution that he founded, was another example of nature-friendly study and living.

Gandhi drew on a number of Western thinkers, who, although were not against the modernist project, romantically cherished the pre-industrial order. John Ruskin, for example, was critical of industrialisation in that it had sapped human sensibility and destroyed the harmonious relationship humans had with nature.

Gandhi, it must be noted, was a critic of the contemporary industrial civilization. He was an admirer of John Ruskin's criticism of Victorian era industrialization and urbanization in Britain. It was by reading Ruskins's book, 'Unto the Last', that Gandhi first realized the importance of manual labor. He was also influenced by Leo Tolstoy's idea of agriculture as the prime occupation of man.

In his own influential volume, Hind Swaraj (Indian Self-Rule), Gandhi argues that what we perceive today as civilization is an illusion, and that a so-called civilization that is unkind to outsiders will also maltreat the insiders.

Importantly, though a critic of modernity, Gandhi was not against technology. What he opposed were the inequalities and hierarchies of power among men, and the blind subjugation of nature to man, resulting from the estrangement of technological development from morality. Modern civilization has come about by doing violence to nature, understood as man's property.

Today's generation bears witness to the adverse effects of this tussle between men, modernity and nature.

From Survival to Ecology

Gandhi did not come to develop his integrated vision from original insights into nature and its working. Instead he was exploring how social change could be brought about through least harm to other human beings as well as to nature. Gandhian environmental activists like Chandi Prasad Bhatt and Sunderlal Bahuguna of the Chipko movement or even Medha Patkar and Baba Amte of the Narmada movement began their activism over questions relating to the livelihood issues of the marginalised sections of society.

Their struggle for protecting the livelihood resources eventually led to a form of environmentalism that made it possible for them to see the interconnections

among environment, development, survival, sustainability and peace.

Gandhi was not an environmentalist who, while acknowledging the interconnection among all forms of life, was unconcerned about the survival of the human species. In fact, ecological concerns emerged from his focus on a basic needs model of social order that would not exploit nature for short-term gains, but take only from it what is absolutely necessary for human sustenance.

Gandhi had to concede that life involves a certain amount of violence to nature even if it is unintended. What we can do is to minimise it to the maximum extent. Ecological Implications of Gandhi's Critique of Modernity for Gandhi, industrialisation and profit- generation were at odds with moral progress.

He said: *"The incessant search for material comforts and their multiplication is an evil. I make bold to say that the Europeans will have to remodel their outlook, if they are not to perish under the weight of the comforts to which they are becoming slaves."* Further, with a prophetic vision, Gandhi warned: *"A time is coming when those who are in mad rush today of multiplying their wants, will retrace their steps and say; what have we done?"* (Quoted in Khoshoo and Moolakkattu 2009).

If we look at the current debate on climate change, the manner in which the West is frantically trying to persuade the emerging countries to reduce their carbon emissions and the billions of dollars being spent by developed countries to slow the pace of climate change, it seems Gandhi's prediction has come true.

Although from the early seventies we were made aware of the environmental perils through books like Small is Beautiful (Schumacher1973) and Limits to Growth (Meadows et al. 1972), it took more than two decades for the world to understand the gravity of the situation.

Meaning of Development and Sustainable Development

When we think about development we reminded by developed countries,their living standard, per-capita income and gross national income. Developed countries have good industrialization, good infrastructure and can be said that everything is well managed and very good than why are they researching for sustainable development.

Development

It is process of progress or change in current system for comfort. In literal terms, development is about improving the wellbeing of society/people.

Raising living standards and improving education, health, and equality of opportunity are all essential components of economic development. Ensuring political and civil rights is a broader development goal. Economic growth is an essential means for enabling development; If development is sufficient modern world should be satisfied with such type of development. but in itself it is highly imperfect proxy for progress.

Modern world and scientist thought that;

- The world has an unlimited supply of resources for human use
- Nature is for human being and can be used any limit and any way

Sustainable Development

Sustainable development means to *"fulfil the present needs without compromising the needs of future generation."* Mahatma Gandhi's way of living is the best example of sustainable development for world.

The theme of sustainable development has evolved with the evolution of human civilization. The very beginning of human society and its onward march

is woven critically around this concept which has assumed significance for the survival of the modern civilization and planet earth. Whenever human civilization receded from the path of sustainable development the danger to its survival was ensured. With the advent of industrial revolution in Europe began the era of unsustainable development. The unleashing of creative energies of people during that period led to the spectacular progress in the field of science and technology. The tapping of energy from coal and the application of new methods of production gave rise to unprecedented productivity.

While industrial revolution released humans from the fetters of feudalism and bigotry it put new chains around them in the form of materialism and materialistic appetite. The mind which became free from bondage of bigotry and exploitative feudal mode of production became subservient to machinery and greed. Driven by the credo of mass production the modern western civilization chose the path of violence subjugating the territories of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and appropriating their resources. Conquest and exploitation of the human and material resources beyond the boundaries of Europe became the guiding aspect of that civilization. The policies and values associated with that path led to the indiscriminate consumption of energy and resources of the planet earth and gave birth to an imperial mindset. By 1980s it was realized that such an approach would degrade the environment beyond repair and cause unimaginable consequences to the very existence of the planet.

An institutionalized approach in the form of The World Commission on Environment and Development under the Chairmanship of Harlem Brundtland was set up to find remedies to the problem. It produced a report in 1987 entitled *"Our Common Future"* which stressed on the ability of mankind to make development sustainable.

Gandhian Sustainability & Environmentalism

Mainstream Western ideas of scientific and technological development have historically been of decisive importance. So much so that from the era of the Industrial Revolution onwards, an incalculable amount of senseless harm has been inflicted upon the environment, largely in the name of progress and development.

However, the very idea of development has today become problematic. As commonly used by the mainstream media, the term "development" mainly refers to economic development, improved infrastructure, and achieving higher standards of living. This brand of development often blatantly disregards the profound humanitarian and environmental concerns about progress as historically observed, about development as we know it.

If we are to continue as a species on this planet, it stands to reason that development must not be taken to mean the irresponsible and irreversible plundering of natural resources and of the environment.It is clear that, while we must have some form of development, it had better be sustainable. This study views our treatment of the natural environment as a consequence of our worldview and of our morality, and argues that Gandhian philosophy provides a viable (and authentically Indian) conceptual foundation on which to build genuinely sustainable development.

Gandhian values need to be accepted as the guiding principles underlying all our development planning. Moreover, since Gandhian values have worldwide appeal, so should their application to important, burning issues of ecology and sustainability.

Mahatma Gandhi and Sustainable Development

Mahatma Gandhi's familiar figure has become a symbol of peace and nonviolence to the whole world. He was a leader and a social reformer of

extraordinary stature and authority. However, it is not common to think of Gandhi as an environmentalist. Although, admittedly, he wasn't an environmentalist in the modern sense (the major environmental problems of the present emerged in the post-Gandhi era), yet the Gandhian ideals – including, centrally, the idea of Swaraj or self-rule – enable a practical of sustainable development that can be implemented without compromising the quality of life. Indeed, Gandhi's oft-quoted view that *"the Earth provides enough to satisfy every man's need, but not any man's greed"* may stand as a one-line ethical summary of modern environmentalist thinking.

Gandhi was a practitioner and ardent advocate of vegetarianism. He also practiced "nature cure," a traditional Indian form of medicine that is now achieving a semblance of some acceptance in the West. He was a dedicated practitioner of frugality, of recycling and reuse, and a trenchant critic of various aspects of modernity. Most major Indian environmentalists today are influenced by the precepts of Gandhi's Satyagraha – nonviolent resistance, which in some extreme cases may even include fasting unto death – in opposing the political status quo.

In spite of his attachment to nature, Gandhi was not chiefly preoccupied with problems of nature or the environment. For example, the dangers posed by the man-eating tigers of Kumaon (made famous by the narratives of Jim Corbett, British-Indian hunter and tracker turned conservationist, author of Man-Eaters of Kumaon) would have left less of a moral impression on Gandhi than instances of political or social injustice, lawyer by training and moralist by calling that he was. Reportedly, the English historian Edward Thomson once remarked to Gandhi that wildlife was rapidly declining in India, to which Gandhi replied with sarcasm, *"Wildlife is decreasing in the jungles, but increasing in the towns."*

In the words of the environmentalist Ramachandra Guha, "the wilderness had no attraction for Gandhi." In his writings, Gandhi does not emphatically celebrate the harmony or untamed beauty of nature; his focus is the study of men, of their mores and morals, of the human condition.

So, yes, there are some obvious limits to calling Gandhi an "environmentalist" without qualification. Yet his immense influence on the life and works of many of India's best-known environmentalists must not be overlooked. It is arguably its Gandhianism that gives modern Indian environmentalism its depth, strength of character, authenticity, and global appeal.

Gandhi, who considered the earth a living organism, understood nature and existence in terms of a Cosmic Law that entails that the universe is a single self-coherent all-encompassing entity, organized and animated by a cosmic spirit wherein all life and all existence are one.   As a proponent of the monistic (non-dualist) Indian philosophical system of Advaita, he believed in the essential unity of man and nature.

He wrote, *"I believe in the advaita (non-duality); I believe in the essential unity of man, and for that matter, of all that lives. Therefore, I believe that if one-man gains spirituality, the world gains with him, and if one man fails, the whole world fails to that extent."*

He held evolution to be impossible without the cooperation and sacrifice on the part of all species, human and nonhuman alike. Gandhi synthesized his philosophical and spiritual principles out of his deep knowledge of the religious traditions of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity, and Islam. His social, economic and political ideas developed within a conceptual framework that assumed the internal interconnectedness and interdependence of the universe in its entirety. In this context, the well-known Gandhian prescription of "simple living" attempts both to curb human overreaching and greed, and to prevent the mindless exploitation of natural resources.

Gandhism and the **Gandhian vision** of sustainable development emerged as a critique of the Western-centric dominant model of development with its misplaced emphasis on the promotion of individual growth and self-advancement, the harnessing of Nature, the achievement of technological sophistication, the spurring of urbanization and the increased use of markets for the distribution of economic goods and services.

Gandhism challenges the basic assumptions that the Western model of development makes about the use of Nature and natural resources, the meaning of progress, the ways in which society is governed and also about how public policy is made and implemented.

The discussion of Mahatma Gandhi and Sustainable Development would be incomplete without referring to the burning issue of water scarcity in the world.

Twenty first century has been described as the most water stressed century in the world. Water scarcity across the world may cause conflicts among nations. If not controlled and dealt with in a fair and equitable manner the water scarcity problem may give rise to another world war reminiscent of other world wars over resources and other trading and commercial interests. It is in this context that Mahatma Gandhi's ideas need to be recollected and put into practice. During our struggle for independence he referred to the water famine occurring in the Kathiawar region of Gujarat ruled by many princes.

To address the issue of acute shortage of water he advised all the princely States to form a confederation and take long term measures for planting trees in vast tracts of land. He opined that afforestation on a large scale constituted the most effective step to face the water crisis.

The twenty-first century world need to follow his words with utmost seriousness. The British rulers who treated forests as a source of revenue hardly understood their relevance from the point of view of ecology and sustainable development. Their approach was a byproduct of the exploitation of natural resources regardless of its consequences for the common people and environment.

Tuning himself with the common people whom he called "the dumb millions" he also suggested in a prayer meeting in Delhi in 1947 for harvesting rain water and using it for irrigational purposes to avoid famines and food shortages.

The M.S. Swaminathan Commission for Farmers in its report submitted to the Prime Minister in 2006 recommended to harvest rain water for addressing the problem of irrigation affecting our farmers.

Mahatma Gandhi was far ahead of his times in grappling with challenges to planet earth arising out of a life style which multiplied wants and desires and left no stone unturned to satisfy them. At a time when mankind is facing the dangerous prospects of getting annihilated due to accelerating pace of global warming it is important to rediscover Gandhiji's ideas and put them into practice. It is heartening that in many parts of the world people are getting inspired by his ideals and taking appropriate action.

It was best reflected in the initiative taken in Germany to establish Green Party and pursue policies consistent with nature and ecology. One of the founders of Green Party Ms. Patra Kelly admirably summed up the impact of Mahatma Gandhi in forming the party when she wrote the following: In particular area of our work we have been greatly inspired by Mahatma Gandhi. That is in our belief that a life style and method of production which rely on endless supply of raw materials and which use those raw materials lavishly, also provide motive force for violent appropriation of raw materials from other countries.

In contrast, a responsible use of raw materials as part of an ecologically oriented life style and economy reduces the risk that policies of violence will pursue.

Such a vision provides the remedy to create a new civilization the foundation of which is based on discipline, restraint and morality. It is heartening to note that the recent literature being brought out in the western world is eloquently following the vision of Mahatma Gandhi.

A book "Surviving the Century: Facing Climate Chaos" edited by Professor Herbert Girardet and brought out by the World Future Council stresses on measures suggested by Mahatma Gandhi in the beginning of the twentieth century. The book argues for an approach which would speak for the earth community. It suggests that such an approach can be devised if we become nonviolent, respect nature, follow the path of sustainable development and ensure justice to the poor. All those aspects remained central to Mahatma Gandhi's life and work.

There is slow but sure realization that by following Gandhiji's ideals we can survive the century. The line of argument which attempts to speak for the earth community essentially recaptures the immortal and eloquent words of Mahatma Gandhi that earth has enough for fulfilling everybody's need but not anybody's greed.

These words constitute the sum and substance of sustainable development. There is no alternative to such a world view. The Time Magazine in its 29th April 2007 issue came out with 51 Global Warming Survival Guides. The 51st Guide earnestly suggests sharing more, consume less and simplify life. In other words, the Time Magazine, one of the mouth pieces of the western world, is turning to Mahatma Gandhi to save the world from the danger of extinction caused by global warming

The Time Magazine in its 29th April 2007 issue came out with 51 Global Warming Survival Guides. The 51st Guide earnestly suggests sharing more, consume less and simplify life. In other words, the Time Magazine, one of the mouth pieces of the western world, is turning to Mahatma Gandhi to save the world from the danger of extinction caused by global warming.

It is a measure of Mahatma Gandhi's enduring and deeper significance in the context of attempts to protect the planet earth. It is therefore indispensable to rediscover his writings and comprehend them to further the cause of sustainable development.

The Gandhian vision of Sustainable Development can be spelt out in a 'Ten-Point Charter':

Humankind would act in a manner that it is a part of Nature, rather than apart from Nature.

Materials available on the earth are not used with an element of greed.

Human beings practice non-violence not only towards fellow human beings but also towards other living organisms and inanimate materials, because overuse of such materials also amounts to violence.

Women are respected, and are made partners in, and are given their rightful place in all spheres of human endeavour.

Bottom-up shared view is preferred to the top-down authoritarian overview.

Conservationist and sustainable life-saving approach prevails over the unsustainable, consumerist, self-destructive approach.

Human beings care for and share with the poor and the destitute in society, as a moral obligation towards them.

The human race thinks about how much is enough for a simple, need-based, austere and comfortable lifestyle.

All development, as far as is possible, leads to local self-reliance, and equity
    with social justice.

Ethics and self-discipline in resource use is an overriding criterion of
    development.

   It needs to be recognized that the Gandhian vision aims at fulfilling human
material and non-material needs, advancing social equity, expanding
organizational effectiveness and building human and technical capacity towards
sustainability.

   The objectives of sustainability require the protection of the natural resource
base upon which future development depends.

  To Gandhi, valuing Nature and non-human life forms in an intrinsic way, has
also to become an integral part of development. The Gandhian model of
development is aimed not just at protecting Nature but at creating an
ecological society that lives in harmony with Nature.

   This calls for reconciling economic activity with social progress and
environmental protection.

    In the Gandhian model, the promotion of human well-being does not have
to depend upon the destruction of Nature.
   The Gandhian model represents an important example of the new
environmentalist approach. It seeks to reconcile the ecological, social and
economic dimensions of development, now and into the future, and adopts a
global perspective in this task.
   It aims at promoting a form of development that is contained within the
ecological carrying capacity of the planet, which is socially just and
economically inclusive. It focuses not upon individual advancement, but upon
protecting the common future of humankind.

Gandhi challenges industrial societies not only to reduce the resource intensity of production (sustainable production), but also to undertake new patterns of consumption that reduce the levels of consumption and change what is consumed and by whom (sustainable consumption). This would create the conditions necessary for equitable development.

Gandhian Principles and Action Plans for Sustainable Futures

The need of the hour, at the present juncture, is to acknowledge the contemporary relevance of the following six Gandhian eternal Principles and to develop suitable Action Plans to realize them, as emphasized by the Global Greens, an international network of Green parties and political movements at the Global Greens Conference in 2001:

- Ecological Wisdom
- Social Justiceom
- Participatory Democracy
- Non-Violence/ Ahimsa
- Sustainability
- Respect for Diversity

Conclusion

New Global Economic System some economist suggests that anew economic system at global level is necessary for long term survival of the human race. The present economic system is characterized by maximum flow of money, maximum profit, maximum production, maximum consumption, and maximum resources use.

This frontier economy as it is called now, should be replaced by space ship economy. A space ship economy or sustainable economy promotes Reduce, Reuse & Recycle.

Conservation, of renewable resources, product durability and a clean and healthy environment. People live within the limits imposed by earth. Future patterns of developments should be made much less material-intensive. Broken goods should be repaired, rather than replaced.

Sustainable economy can be achieved and succeed only with new policies, new political directions, education and awareness. The most fundamental changes would have to be an ethical shift promoted by parents, teachers, and government agencies.

Government can help by framing new laws that are conducive to the attainment of sustainable society with sustainable economy can come from combination of personal and governmental efforts.

• It should be inborn responsibility of every individual or institution to play a role for social work
• Mahatma Gandhi and is best example of spiritual and sustainable development.

From a Gandhian perspective, the present environmental mess, ranging from deforestation, soil and biodiversity loss, to pollution and climate change, is not a disease but only a symptom. A good doctor treats the disease and not the symptom. The disease is the very concept and patterns of growth and development that are being followed everywhere.

In conclusion, we can say that Gandhi's environmentalism fitted in with his overall vision for India and the world that sought to extract from nature what is absolutely necessary for human sustenance. His ideas on environment are intimately linked with all his ideas relating to the polity, economy, health and development.

His asceticism and simple living, a rural-centred civilisation based on village autonomy and self- reliance, handicrafts and craft-centred education, emphasis on manual labour and absence of exploitative relationships are infused with elements of an ecological vision (Jones 2000).

Even his approach to gender did not attempt to break the connection with nature, but to man- euver within it and provide some space for women to uplift themselves.

It is therefore no wonder that Gandhi is a major inspiration for many environmental movements worldwide, particularly for those who link their movement with larger concerns for human sustenance and development. He would not be an inspiration for environmental radicals whose approach to environment allow little space for human sustenance and livelihood issues.

Although he was not anthropocentric in his approach, he was not prepared to allow the question of human survival to be sidelined in discussions on environment. Instead he showed how a total sustainable way of organizing human affairs could be evolved that left a lighter human footprint on this earth, and showed how man could live in harmony with nature.

Small wonder, his famous statement "the Earth has enough for everyone's need, but not for anyone's greed," has become a slogan for contemporary environmental movements.

Bibliography:

Gupta, I. (2015). Sustainable Development: Gandhi Approach. OIDA International Journal of Sustainable Development 8(7), 27-32.

Kumar, D. J. (2011). Gandhian Economic Thought and Sustainable Development. Indic Economic Thought in Pursuit of Happiness and Sustainable Development: Its Relevance and Application Draft, Retrieved on 12.9.2016 from http://www.devf.org/Documents/Symposium/Gandhian%20Economic%20Thought%20and %20Sustainable%20Development-Jeevan%20Kumar%20D.pdf.

Kumar, j. (2011). Gandhian Values for Sustainable Futures, Retrieved on 12.9.2016 from http://www.countercurrents.org/jkumar121011.htm.

Moolakkattu, J. S. (2010). Gandhi as a human ecologist. Journal of human ecology, 29(3), 151-158.

Nishtha Sood, N. (2016). Mahatma Gandhi as Environmentalist and Sustainability Precursor, Retrieved on 12.9.2016 from http://www.ecorama.org/gandhian-philosophy-of-sustainable-development-12.

Saravanamuthu, K. (2006). Emancipatory accounting and sustainable development: a Gandhian–Vedic theorization of experimenting with truth. Sustainable Development, 14(4), 234-244

.Sasikala, A.S. (2015). Gandhi and Ecological Marxists: A Study of Silent Valley Movement, Retrieved on 12.9.2016 from http://www.gandhiashramsevagram.org/gandhi-articles/gandhi-and-ecological-marxists-a-study-of-silent-valley-movement.php.

Satya Narayana Sahu, S.N. (2016). Mahatma Gandhi and Sustainable Development, Retrieved on 12.9.2016 from http://magazines.odisha.gov.in/Orissareview/2016/August/engpdf/7-15.pdf.

Dr. Manish Sharma, is the former chairperson and on the faculty of Gandhian and Peace Studies and engaged in Post-Graduate teaching and guiding research at Panjab University, Chandigarh. He is faculty In-charge of Gandhi Bhawan Project with Getty Foundation, USA, and Chair Holder of UNESCO Network Chair on "Global Peace and Non Violence" and Co-Secretary General of Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association (APPRA), 2017-21. He is a young research at Panjab University, Chandigarh. He is faculty In-charge of Gandhi Bhawan Project with Getty Foundation, USA, and Chair Holder of UNESCO Network Chair on "Global Peace and Non Violence" and Co-Secretary General of Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association (APPRA), 2017-21. He is a young scholar having interest in Non-violence, Peace Research, Gandhian Thought, Research Methodology, Buddhist Studies, Rural Development and Panchayati Raj in India. Among his several writings, a prominent book on Non-violence in the 21st Century: Application and Efficacy, was **released and applauded by great scholar and Diplomat Late Shri. L. M. Singhvi**. He did his Post-Graduation in Gandhian and Peace Studies and Ph. D. from Panjab University, Chandigarh, standing **first class first and was awarded University Medal**. He was also **awarded J.R.F. by Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi**. So far, he has visited places like, Hawaii (USA), Australia, Japan, Thailand, Istanbul (Turkey), Salzburg (Austria), Nepal, Netherlands, Serria Leone (West Africa), Penang (Malaysia) as a scholar in different host institutions. He is also one of the leading contributors to many research journals including Gandhi Marg, Indian Journal of Gandhian Studies and various edited books by eminent editors. He has also been on the panel of reviewers of some significant Research Journals of India and abroad. He has also been Associated with National and International Academic Bodies like, International Peace Research Association (IPRA), Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association – A regional affiliate of the International Peace Research Association (APPRA).

Science Diplomacy:

what is and how it works?

By Prof. Lugi Santacroce

and Visiting Prof. Zoran R. Vitorovic

Abstract

Science and diplomacy have interacted for decades and, maybe, centuries. These two human areas may seem very distant and their reciprocal relationship very far.

But, if we consider the history of the last century, it's clear how the science has been oriented by politics. And when consider the previous century, it is undeniable the role of religious policies in determining the history and evolution of the sciences.

So, we can affirm that these two sciences are interconnected and may promote (or delay) multilateral responses to global challenges. If considered as a unique discipline, science diplomacy may promote both national and global interests, tackling several issues and challenges.

This paper is aimed to expose the cumulative point of view of a scientist and a diplomatic about this theme.

No 1/2018

http://theWebalyst.com

1. Introduction

   After the end of the second World War, the World was confronted with a new, accelerated dynamics of development with additional division on two main blocks and the Cold War. Such situation has required the development of a whole set of new approaches to solve a lot of political, social, military and scientific matters. But, in general, all ages in human history required some new approaches to solve accumulated antagonisms or asymmetric relations. It happened after the end of Second World War and, more recently, after 1989 and the fall of Berlin wall and Iron Curtain.

   But only since 1990. and after several international conferences on which was discussing how to find a solution for a post-Chernobyl nuclear accident, a consensus was reached on the necessity to develop several multidisciplinary approaches to address the current problems, not only of Chernobyl case but also of many other actual Global problems: starting from the risk of nuclear accidents to climate changes, up to economic, social, financial, military and political issues.

   The dynamics, complexity and interdependence of numerous processes have simply forced human society to try to sublimate different fields of human activity to outline the most adequate answers to the current dilemmas and problems.

   More than ever in human history, today all areas of human labour are in the process of spirited, dynamic transformation. Transformations whose speed off development does not always follow the true development of human consciousness.

2. Transformations in diplomatic theory and practice with parallel higher changes in the development of science: the dominating pressure of the globalization process

Diplomacy:

Since the end of the Second World War, along with the development of classical diplomacy, the development of the idea of the "Preventive Diplomacy" has begun, as informal or diplomatique of the "second path" (compared to the classic one).

The basic concept of "Preventive Diplomacy" was promoted by the third UN General Secretary U. Thant and developed in its details by UN General Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his UN Report, "Agenda for Peace". The general idea is to use informal relations between different individuals and groups of people (inside one society and between different nations) that should work on two main aims: conflict prevention and the development of new visions, ideas, and concepts for building bridges between "us" and "others"— where the others are intended here in the sense of national, religious, ethnic, or political affiliation.

All this activity, today well known as "informal forms of diplomacy", should at the very least recognize and pay attention to the appearance of "smoke" to be able to prevent the outbreak of the "fire" of conflict. This is especially urgent in the light of accelerating human displacement, migration, and the societal challenges that follow in their wake.

In a book titled Preventive Diplomacy (Vitorovic, 2003) the author pointed out that the mechanism on which PD functions is simple: at its core are vertical and horizontal connections between people who share the same ideas and values inside of any given society.

People sharing common ideas connect at first through informal groups. Such group-forming processes, operating inside of a single society, are eventually followed by the activity of building bridges with informal groups that share the same values in other countries or societies. This bonding takes place in various areas of sports (sports diplomacy) and in affiliations based on literature, science, culture, politics, and so forth.

After a while, when the number of informal group members increases, they may begin to apply pressure at the level of a single state administration and leadership. A central motive for participants of these informal groups are spreading the idea of communion, unity in diversity and, ultimately, the prevention of conflicts. Such groups of people within any given pair of each other conflicting societies, can arguably become the most effective basis for building peace and fostering conflict reconciliation between the two sides.

From the basic ideas of preventive diplomacy have emerged over time ideas and concepts of cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, soft diplomacy, sports diplomacy, and more. Basically, today we are talking about a complex evolution of classical diplomacy. Mrs. Condoleezza Rice, former past US Secretary of State, has called it a "*permanent transformation of classical diplomatic theory and practice".*

<u>Science:</u>

Simon Marginson and Marijk vand er Wende, in the introduction of a draft document prepared for the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) *"Globalisation and higher education",* say[1]:

> *Higher education systems, policies and institutions are being transformed by globalisation, which is 'the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness' (Held et al. 1999, p. 2).*

> *Higher education was always more internationally open than most sectors because of its immersion in knowledge, which never showed much respect for juridical boundaries. Higher education has now become central to the changes sweeping through the OECD and emerging nations, in which worldwide networking and exchange are reshaping social, economic and cultural life. In global knowledge economies, higher education institutions are more important than ever as mediums for a wide range of cross-border relationships and continuous global flows of people, information, knowledge, technologies, products and financial capital.Not all universities are (particularly) international, but all are subject to the same processes of globalisation – partly as objects, victims even, of these processes, but partly as subjects, or keyagents, of globalisation (Scott, 1998, p. x). Even as they share in the reinvention of the world around them, higher education institutions, and the policies that produce and support them, are also being reinvented.*

1

Simon Marginson and Marijk van der Wende [draft #2b, 12 September 2006, prepared for OECD], http://www.oecd.org/education/research/37552729.pdf

It is obvious that the processes of transformation of Science and Diplomacy have occurred in parallel, and at one point they have "crossed" and reciprocally merged. In fact, classical diplomacy and all derivatives of preventive diplomacy (Soft diplomacy, Sport diplomacy, Children diplomacy, Cultural Diplomacy, etc.) are defined as the field of work with the ultimate goals of Peace, Cooperation and achievement of the win-win situation, while the goals of Science are Knowledge, Methods and Thinking.

So, having in mind these definitions, it is completely clear why from 2016 onwards has been developed around the world a whole new discipline known as Science Diplomacy. The ultimate goal of Science Diplomacy should be to enable peace, progress of human society, 'building bridges' and development of a new ideas, methods and approaches to address current asymmetric and imbalanced elements of the modern Global Society.

The greatest challenges of humanity, as the Fourth Industrial Revolution and Climate, are changing as the main factors that together characterize all regional and global processes with new global realities (multipolar world, new superpowers, etc.) show that the world requires effective partnerships between scientists, policy makers and diplomats.

3. Science Diplomacy – what is it?

Prof Luk Van Langehove in his study "Tools for an EU Science Diplomacy" is writing that 'Science Diplomacy', contrary to 'Cultural Diplomacy' for instance, is a relatively new concept and thus not yet widespread in national policy-making circles.

Science Diplomacy is globally becoming a crucial issue at a time of major crises, but it is still slightly known and, perhaps, not optimally used.

Europe, in particular the EU, has a high level of scientific excellence and should therefore be able to mobilise its scientific potential as a main means of action within its external policies. [2]

But, if we accept an old Russian thesis that "*History is not a history of personalities, but a history of ideas*"[3] then we could understand that the "*Scientific diplomacy is a whole new field of knowledge, which has recently become the subject of university programs, articles and conferences. This is an important diplomatic tool and the role that science can play in the development of multilateral and bilateral relations between countries*".[4]

The Chief Science Advisor of the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Prof Sir Peter David Gluckman said:

> *In a formal sense Science Diplomacy is young. It really only has become a part of the common vernacular in last six years.(...) it is becoming increasingly obvious that science can be and must be an inherent part of our international strategic thinking. (…) My aim is to ensure the ministers that international science diplomacy and diplomacy for science must be more strategic integrated. My sense is that over coming years, science advisors will become common place within Ministries of Foreign Affairs. After all, we scientist do speak the one true global language -let's use it well!"* [5]

Richard P. Suttmeier, from University of Oregon, also said that:

> *Cold War concerns no longer drive the relationship, the distribution of scientific and technological capabilities around the world has changed, and science-based technologies affecting competitiveness and national security are never far from political agendas in ways that were not true 30 years ago. Science diplomacy still involves negotiation and mutual adjustment among nation states(...) But, it also involves the development of strategies for managing multiple interactions in a world of internationalized research and innovation networks.*[6]

But how is this concept of Science Diplomacy accepted in Africa, Asia, Latin America ?

Maybe the best answer is given by Romain Murenzi, Executive Director of The World Academy of Sciences (TWAS), in his article "A View from the South":

> *For developing countries in particular, science diplomacy can be a means of negotiating access to scientific resources or involvement in regional or global research initiatives. Of course, science cannot solve every problem between Nations. While in some cases scientists working together can make great progress, in many others, working with diplomats and policymakers will be essential. Still, as we address difficult global challenges, we would be wise to develop a science diplomacy orientation. The field is wide open to our creativity, exploration and innovation. How does the developing world as a whole view science diplomacy?*

Academy of Sciences (TWAS), Summer Course on Science and Diplomacy,Trieste, Italy, June 11.,2015.

6

  6 Richard P. Suttmeier, University of Oregon sepaking on a Forum on "Science and Technologyin the Making of Modren China, " Harvey Mudd College February 27-28, 2009,http://china-us.uoregon.edu/papers.php

The answer is complex. Science diplomacy can play major roles between two or more Countries and Nations. It can even play a major role between two different areas in the same Country.

They respect scientists. If a scientist came to talk with them,

they would respect and understand.[7]

4. Climate challenges as a good example of Science Diplomacy at work - Case Arctic

In last decade there were several international conferences with one main topic: climate changes and consequences for Global World.

About the Role of Science Diplomacy in the Artic, Dr Qingchao Hu, Peking University, said[8] :

Take China as an example. Science Diplomacy conducted by scientists and supported by the government is an effective way to reshape international relations, aiming to impact policymakers and the public of the targeted Nation(s) through bilateral and multilateral scientific collaborations within the Global academic networks. (...)

- China gained the observer status of the Arctic Council in 2013.

- The polar safety as an important part of national security was included in the Article 32 of the new National Security Law of China, implemented on 1st July, 2015.

7

Ramain Murenzi,Twas Executive Director,Newsletter,A publication of the World Academy of Sciences; Year 2014-Vol 26-No 3.www.twas.org

8

The Role of Science Diplomacy in the Artic-Take China as an Example, Dr Qingchao Hu, Peking University, said: Tromso, 25th January, 2017. (E-mail:_qingchaoxu@pku.edu.cn)

http://theWebalyst.com

About Fostering scientific diplomacy in the Arctic, Morgane Fert -Malka in "Russia Direct"[9] said that:

UArctic, which organized the congress in St. Petersburg in September 2016, is an international cooperative network of Universities, Colleges, Research institutions and other organizations from all Arctic Countries that are concerned with education and research in and about the North. It is supported by the UN and has an observer status at the Arctic Council, the main international governing body in the Arctic.

According to UArctic President Lars Kullerud, scientific events such as the UArctic Congress are about more than just cooperation. They are about creating a "common mental space", because most Arctic issues do not have borders and are global in nature.

There is indeed a conflict in the Arctic: a conflict of narratives. For this reason,events like the UArctic Congress are key. They constitute one form of grassroots peace politics - so-called scientific diplomacy.

Scientific diplomacy brings together scientists from countries whose political elites may be locked in conflict. It weaves ties between these Countries based on concrete projects, and it creates and maintains common interests.

It creates communities with shared goals and values, deeply committed to working together, who can then use their influence as respected experts to influence their respective political elites.

9

Sep 19, 2016 Morgane Fert-Malka,www.russia-direct.org/analysis/fostering-scientific-diplomacy-arctic

Scientific diplomacy, of course, is not immune from a trickling down of geopolitical tensions. Yet, it has a potential that must be treasured and nurtured, if international relations are to become more harmonious.

5. Conclusions

Science Diplomacy as a new field of international cooperation is from 2016. However, it represents a world 'hot spot' but still there are no clear doctrine, concepts and common frameworks as well as definitions of it, so that we can't say what exactly is (or should be) Science Diplomacy.

Pioneers in developing such a concept, as SD, were Swiss who had started from 1958 to develop Scientific &Technology cooperation worldwide. Switzerland as a country is well known as the first that developed the so called "dual education system", which is there to help economy and business with a good quality and targeted oriented educations.

At the same time Switzerland is one of a few country in the world that has oriented itself on a development of investment in research, innovation and environmental protection. Nowadays it is clear that such Swiss orientation, which has started before many years, was very wise and very effective for developing their economy and society as it is today, one of the most developed counties in the World. Nowadays many countries are using a "Swiss model" to find solutions for domestic problems.

As Prof Klaus Schwab, Founder of the World Economic Forum in Davos, said once "*4th industrial revolution is a great opportunity to give a solution for many Global challenges in a World which is interconnected and in a permanent transformation*".

No 1/2018

Geostrategic disputes of 'new' and old superpowers, economic crisis which is still running on, climate changes with all direct and indirect consequences (as climate migrations) has bring a World on a stage on which we need more cooperation between Science and Diplomacy, policy makers, politicians and business community.   One problem which many experts stressed is important to understand is why some society which is more developed than another is trying to use a SD and for what purposes.

Case of Arctic may be the best example on which all subject of international global order should cooperate because consequences for all could be catastrophic. And consider that one country could not find proper solutions for these problems, does not matter how developed and big country it is.

Modern world is deeply interconnected and what happens on one place has immediate repercussions on another part of the Globe.

In this sense, an 'honest and open' implementation of Science Diplomacy could be a possible way for finding solutions for a majority of present Global problems. As many intellectuals from Africa, Asia and Latin America use to say "language of science is one and common for all, scientist are the best Goodwill Ambassadors of societies from which they came".

Let us give a chance to Science Diplomacy.

References:

1. Simon Marginson and Marijk van der Wende[draft #2b, 12 September 2006, prepared for OECD] http://www.oecd.org/education/research/37552729.pdf

2. Tools for an EU Science Diplomacy ",Prof. Luk Van Langenhove,Institute of European Studies at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel , (IES-VUB) ,United Nations University Institute on Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS),, Published by: EU Directorate-General for Research and Innovation ISBN 978-92-79 65338-4 doi:10.2777/911223 KI-01-17-062-EN-N

3. в.и.попов „СОВРЕМЕННАЯ ДИПЛОМАТИЯ ТЕОРИЯ И ПРАКТИКА ,Дипломатическая академия МИД России,МОСКВА«МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ»2004, ISBN 5-7133-1158-9,УДК 327 (470) ,2002,20044. RUSSIA AND SCIENCE DIPLOMACY:К.А. Играфимова, МГИМО,МИД России. (DOI 10.24833/2071-8160-2017-5-56-151-168)КиберЛенинка:https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/nauchnaya-diplomatiya-i-ramochnye-programmy-es-kak-instrumenty-vzaimodeystviya-v-oblasti-ntp-i-innovatsiy

5. Sir Peter David Gluckman's address for the Paolo Budinich Lecture American Association forthe Advancement of Science (AAAS)and the World Academy of Sciences (TWAS), Summer Course on Science and Diplomacy,Trieste, Italy, June 11.,2015.

6. Richard P. Suttmeier, University of Oregon sepaking on a Forum on "Science and Technologyin the Making of Modren China, " Harvey Mudd College February 27-28, 2009,http://china-us.uoregon.edu/papers.php

7.Ramain Murenzi,Twas Executive Director, Twas,Newsletter,A publication of the World Academy of Sciences; Year 2014-Vol 26-No 3, www.twas.org

8.The Role of Science Diplomacy in the Artic-Take Cgina as an Example Dr Qingchao Hu, Peking University, said: Tromso, 25.Januar 2017.(E-mail: qingchaoxu@pku.edu.cn)

9. Sep 19, 2016Morgane Fert-Malka http://www.russia-direct.org/analysis/fostering-scientific-diplomacy-arctic

The Authors

Luigi Santacroce is Assistant Professor of Microbiology and Clinical Microbiology at the University of Bari, Italy, Director of the Nursing degree course of the same University, and Dr h.c. in International Relations at Logos University International, Miami, FL – USA. He is active in international research projects and in promoting the knowledge about biomedical issues related to human migrations.

Zoran Vitorovic is Visiting Professor at the Euro Balkan University, FYR Macedonia. He is also President of the Association Swiss Morning Star, a NGO active in promotion of culture and knowledge, and Dr h.c. multiplex.

http://theWebalyst.com

HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND

SECURITY THREATS

By Mitja Znidaric

Introduction

Human trafficking is recognized internationally as a crime. This subject is more and more recognized as serious international concern. Small growing group of security specialists joined in fight against this problem under the International Bodyguard and Security Services Association to teach others how to deal with this kind of crime.

Human trafficking is security threat and it is connected to the most dangerous criminals. It is connected to drug producers, gun black market, murderers and much more. Human trafficking is also not direct security threat. It is global humanitarian concern. As it was issued on 15th of November 2000 in the United Nations the human trafficking is: "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons,

by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion… for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. Work will summarize threats and guidelines how to see it.

Definition of human trafficking

Trafficking in human beings is a global social problem, the magnitude of which exceeds national and regional placement. This is a serious crime, often committed by organized criminal organizations, and trafficking in human beings is increasingly being dealt with in terms of the denial of fundamental human rights and dignity to victims of trafficking.

In the European space, the problem is mainly linked to economic and political changes, as well as the lack of perspective of economies in the developing countries, as well as the emerging crisis spots in different parts of the world. The resulting social, social and cultural differences contribute to the diversity of views and approaches to addressing this issue.

International community has identified several forms of exploitation of trafficking in persons that are changing and complementing according to the specific environment and conditions in which it is taking place.

The awareness of the dangers that this phenomenon brings to modern society is also being strengthened, and in some cases it becomes a structural component of certain industries, and above all it encroaches on the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual who becomes the victim of trafficking.

This is not a new phenomenon. It is evident from the history of international documents that define this issue. The efforts of most international anti-trafficking organizations aim at unifying national laws on the prevention, suppression and punishment of trafficking in human beings and helping victims of this phenomenon.

The concept of trafficking in human beings is linked to various definitions defined in professional literature as well as in international documents. The most common and generally recognized concept of trafficking in human beings is trafficking in women and children as particularly vulnerable categories of persons for the purpose of sexual abuse and exploitation. However, trafficking in human beings is also aimed at the needs of modern slavery, the exploitation of labor, begging, organ trafficking and the like.

Forms of trafficking in human beings

Trafficking in human beings is a slavery of modern times, as fundamental human rights have been violated by victims. It constitutes a serious violation of the individual's freedom and dignity and a serious form of crime.

Trafficking in human beings is any form of recruitment, sale or transfer of vulnerable individuals or groups (inside or outside the country) for the purpose of exploitation (exploitation in the form of prostitution or other forms of sexual abuse, forced labor, slavery, servitude and forced execution of criminal offenses). It is based on payment or other compensation, and the use of physical or other violence, fraud, fraud, emotional abuse, abuse of social vulnerability, in order to achieve consensus or control over the victim.

List of forms:

Forced prostitution and other forms of sexual abuse

Forced labor and labor exploitation

Forcible execution of criminal offenses

Forced begging

Servitude

Trafficking in human organs, tissues and blood

Trafficking with children:

Sexual exploitation of children (exploitation of children for the purpose of prostitution, photographs and footage of sexual abuse of children, travel for the purpose of sexual exploitation of children)

Forced labor and exploitation of children

Exploiting children for minor offenses

Forced begging

Forced weddings of children

Trafficking with organ, tissue and blood of children

Illegal adoption, which may also be related to kidnapping children

The exploitation of children for service in the army or armed groups

Forced prostitution and other forms of sexual abuse

Forced prostitution is still the most recognized type of trafficking in human beings Worldwide. It runs in all countries of the world, which are either source,transit or destination countries.

Victims of trafficking in human beings for the purpose of prostitution (mostly women and children from developing countries or from vulnerable sections of society in developed countries) are misled in various ways, among which the most common are job offers. The victims are put into debt and forced to provide sexual services that take place in a nonhuman situation and a constant fear. The way of compulsion changes over time. From the prevailing physical violence in the past, which is still present, soft forms of coercion, psychological pressures, and so on occur. An important factor in trading for sexual exploitation is the demand for such services.

Forced labor and labor exploitation

According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), forced labor is the most common purpose for human trafficking.

The forced labor is carried out involuntarily, under the threat of punishment, while the freedom and dignity of the victims are at stake. Forcing does not just mean physical violence and threats; exploiters also exploit the economic and social vulnerability of workers.

In the case of labor exploitation, the fundamental rights of workers are endangered: exploiters do not pay part or all of their salaries for several months, they exclude workers from insurance, do not pay contributions for health and pension insurance, do not pay sick leave, do not pay their pensions, etc.

In many (even European) countries, in some industries, minimal international labor standards are not guaranteed. That it is reflected in the unequal position of protection of workers in the form of minimum wages, length of work, corresponding rest, leave, overtime in social security. The more disabled a worker's position, the greater his dependence on the worker and hence the vulnerability to exploitation.

Forced labor and labor exploitation are particularly exposed to migrant workers. They are more vulnerable due to social and economic weakness, dependence on existence, lack of legal knowledge in the poor social networks of migrant workers.

The most common violations are in labor-intensive industries: construction, catering, transport, trade, forestry, agriculture, textile industry, food industry, logistics...

Forcible execution of criminal offenses

Victims of this type of trafficking in human beings are forced to distribute drugs, pocketing, petty thefts, etc. This is a relatively new phenomenon of the intentions of trafficking in human beings, the victims of which are predominantly children. Too often these victims are treated as perpetrators of these so-called minor offenses and not as victims of trafficking.

Forced begging

Especially children are forced into begging. Adults, especially those with disabilities, are forced into this form of exploitation too. All the "earnings" are collected by the supervisor and not by the beggar. In Europe, victims of forced begging are mainly Roma children under the supervision of parents, relatives or guardians. There are also cases of kidnapping and more organized forms of trafficking in children for this purpose.

Servitude

One of the forms of exploitation of the forced labor is domestic servitude. Victims are forced to work in a private household trapped in a loop of exploitative situation, usually working for little or no pay. Exploitation takes place in an informal working environment, where there is no control, so exploitation is even easier.

Above all, migrants and people from less developed environments or countries are at risk, with the vast majority being women. Unlike workers working in other industries, victims are completely unprotected.

Trafficking in human organs, tissues and blood

Trade for the purpose of illegal transplantation of human organs is included in the definition of trafficking in human beings in international documents, just like any other form or purpose of exploitation. Due to the high demand for organs, this form of trade is on the rise, as in many countries there are long queues for transplantation and traders abuse the distress of donors. The organs are often removed even with deceit and without the consent of the victim. All organs that are suitable for transplantation are sold. Organs travel from the poor to the rich, from the south to the north.

As a rule, trade in organs, tissues and cells does not generally involve all three elemental characteristics of trafficking in human beings (recruitment, transportation, exploitation). The international professional public has not yet unified itself on the definition and interplay of both phenomena, trafficking in human beings for the purpose of organ transplantation and illegal trafficking in human organs, tissues and cells.

In the case of illicit trafficking in human organs, tissues and cells, organs, tissues and cells are the subjects of a criminal offense, while human trafficking is for the purpose of organ transplantation. Trade of organs, tissues and cells does not involve exploitation itself, but it takes place on the black market. It is not subject of standardized medical checks and threatens public health.

Both phenomena are in the domain of well-organized criminal networks, involving persons who are recruiting victims, travel agencies, private clinics, health professionals, and others.

Trafficking with children

Child trafficking includes recruitment, transportation, relocation, giving home or taking children for exploitation. Children who are victims of trafficking in human beings, even if they are not directed threats, are used force or other forms of coercion, fraud, abuse, abuse, and even if children were not abducted.

Victims can become mainly numerous vulnerable groups of children, such as migrant children, unaccompanied children, asylum seekers, refugee children, orphans, abandoned children, street children, addicts, children living in poverty and deprivation, children of parents who are victims trading. All of these children's groups are quite simple targets of ruthless traders and exploiters.

Children are victims of all forms of exploitation in trafficking in human beings. Because of their vulnerability in immaturity they are victims of manipulation, intimidation and emotional, psychological and physical violence.

Sexual abuse of a child is a violence in which an adult uses his power and influence over the child to induce or descend to the sexual activity, using his trust and respect. Because of their own development of immaturity, the child is no longer free to dispose of his sexual integrity. He is not prepared for sexual activity and cannot give his consent. Sexual acts with children are prohibited by themselves, regardless of whether the act involves coercion, force, threat, or abuse of a confidential relationship, authority or influence over the child.

Sexual abuse also includes the sexual exploitation of a child for the purpose of prostitution. According to the Council of Europe Convention on the Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Exploitation, sexual exploitation is "the use of a child for the purpose of sexual acts against the offer of money or other form of remuneration, remuneration or advantage, regardless of whether it is a reward, a payment, a promise or an advantage to

the child or to a third party." Among the offenses of sexual exploitation of children for the purpose of prostitution include the recruitment of a child for prostitution or for the involvement of a child in prostitution, forcing a child to prostitution, exploiting or otherwise exploiting the child for such purposes and resorting to child prostitution. The responsibility for the sexual exploitation of a child is always on the side of the perpetrator.

Photographs in sexual abuse images of children depict the sexual activities of minors or intimate children. On sexual abuse images, children are often victims of trafficking in children.

Traveling for the sexual exploitation of children also includes forms of sexual exploitation of children. Offenders traveling for the purpose of sexual exploitation in violent child abuse can travel inside the country or in the international arena. The biggest destinations are countries where sexual exploitation of children is not punishable or such crimes are not strictly prosecuted or it is not defined as crime.

Forced labor and exploitation of children - children are forced to work in unacceptable and dangerous working environments and under socially unacceptable and mostly illegal working conditions. Most children need to work for their own survival and survival of their families. They are involved in the most difficult forms of forced labor.

They are exposed to extremely dangerous work, such as work in hazardous mines and in harmful workplaces. Most forced labor between children is in poorer countries.

Exploitation of children for minor offenses - children are forced into begging, pocketing or performing minor thefts, distributing drugs, etc.

Forced weddings of children

Compulsory weddings are spoken when premature girls are forced into marriage and do not have the choice of partner. Marriage does not necessarily mean officially signed and registered marriages. It may be unregistered as an arrangement between families. Forced marriage involves varying degrees of coercion or deception, from emotional pressure from the family (if they are resisting families, risking their expulsion from the community) to physical, economic and sexual violence. Forcible weddings are mostly occurring in rural settings that are vulnerable to poverty. Girls get married very young, they

usually quit schooling. So they have very little opportunity to progress and live independently. The victims of forced marriage are also boys, but less than girls.

Illegal adoption, which may also be related to kidnapping children

Adoptions that are carried out contrary to the statutory provisions are illegal. In cases of illegal adoption, trafficking in children, kidnapping of children, sale of children and other illegal activities against children may occur. Adoption in the black market and adoption adopted by illegitimate adoptive agencies include illegal adoption.

Illegal adoptions may also be the result of poor security and control mechanisms, mistakes in adoption agencies, courts or poorly informed futureparents. In cases where the prospective parents have to pay high sums of money to a child's biological mother or an intermediary for adopting a child, there is a big suspicion of fraud or illegal adoption. In legal adoption, parents are obliged to pay only the costs of documentation and transportation.

The number of illegal international adoptions is increasing. Particular attention should be paid to adoptions from countries where substitute maternity is permitted.

The exploitation of children for service in the army or armed groups

Children are thus illegally deceived or forcefully recruited into the army or armed groups of conflict areas. Many recruited children are abducted, in the conflict area, therefore they are forced to wage war, perform forced labor, and often are also victims of sexual abuse and exploitation. Children are using as soldiers in all parts of the world in almost all countries where war is. Children are recruited by government forces as well as paramilitary organizations or rebel groups. According to UNICEF's estimates, children represent almost 10% of all soldiers who are involved into wars.

Causes of trafficking in human beings

The underlying causes of trafficking in human beings are poverty, social exclusion, poor economic conditions in countries from which trafficking victims come, global inequality, migration. The causes of trafficking in human beings are raising unemployment, the collapse of social and health care systems, lack of access to education, various forms of discrimination and marginalization, gender differences and violence against women, lack of social inclusion, conflicts and the situation thereafter, the rise of crime, corruption ... and the increasing demand for services for victims of trafficking.

Globalization has facilitated the movement of people, capital and operations across national borders, which is also reflected in increased migration and the rise in cross-border crime

- Due to economic and political changes within individual countries and at the international level, the differences between rich and poor

- Global feminization of poverty affects the feminization of migration

- The expansion of the sex industry and the activities related to it (tourism, gambling)

- Globalization has facilitated the movement of people, capital and operations across national borders, which is also reflected in increased migration and the rise in cross-border crime

- Due to economic and political changes within individual countries and at the international level, the differences between rich and poor

- Global feminization of poverty affects the feminization of migration

- The expansion of the sex industry and the activities related to it (tourism, gambling)

- Trafficking in human beings is becoming a structural component of some industries (construction, agriculture, textile and food industries, etc.)

The difference between smuggling and trafficking in human beings

In the case of smuggling, the smuggler and migrant conclude an agreement for certain types of contractual relationship. As a rule, the migrant seeks a smuggler and consciously agrees to get it from one country to another for a specific payment. After fulfilling the agreed obligations, the relationship between the smuggler and migrant is terminated.

Trafficking in human beings is carried out in three phases: the acquisition of victims (often with deceit, abuse and coercion), transportation and exploitation of the victim. The dependence of the victim against the perpetrators is not interrupted by victim's arrival in a promised or agreed place, since the exploitation is only now started.

Victims

Victims of trafficking in human beings are violated fundamental human rights such as the protection of human personality and dignity, freedom of movement, adequate remuneration, the right to private property, the right to security, the right to sexual integrity and privacy...

Most of the victims of trafficking come from the poorest parts of the world, regions in the poorest layers of the population. The most vulnerable are children, adolescents, women, the unemployed, migrant workers, refugees... In fact, the victim can become anyone who at a certain moment or in lifetime event is in a risky situation that makes him vulnerable. Many victims of trafficking in human beings are legally resident in the country for such legitimate employees.

Victims are often caught up in debt dependency - they must repay their allegedly "debt" with their work and earnings, which dealers (often with the help of employer's agency / agencies) "charge" repayment of excessively high costs of employment and / or transport. The debtors are artificially inflated and additionally increased by forced renting of often completely unsuitable apartments in high rentals. "Debt" is an effective tool of subjugation, since victims can practically not pay off within a reasonable time and get rid of it.

Victims of trafficking in human beings are often also sold repeatedly. They suffer the worst forms of physical and psychological abuse, so horrifying, often not recognized as victims in the opinion that they are guilty of what is happening to them. In a difficult situation, they are forced to insist on serious economic and social damage.

Victims who have been torn down by traders must be protected and provided with reintegration. Otherwise they are in great danger of re-emerging in an exploitative relationship.

Traffickers

Some traffickers operate independently. Most of them are part of international organized crime, which monitors all phases of recruitment through transportation and exploitation. Individual stages of trader's criminal networks are implemented through networks at the local level. The association is usually composed of local traders who acquire victims from traffickers abroad who are then exploited by the smugglers. Traders on both sides are usually citizens of the countries in which they operate.

Traders find new ways to exploit people again and again. In the past, human traffickers were mostly men, and now women are increasingly involved in activities in criminal organizations. The perpetrators may also be members of the family, friends or acquaintances of the victim.

Trafficking as threat

It is estimated that the whole World has about 27 million people under some kind of form of human trafficking.

International security agencies claim that revenue in trafficking in humans is approximately $150 billion and it is rising.

"Transnational organized crime, including   human trafficking, weapons and drug trade, continues to pose a great threat to the territories and population of many countries, and   has   been   described   as   the   dark   side   of globalization."Trafficking in humans is one of the most serious security problems. As it is described before, it contains drugs, weapons, dangerous and well organized international crime organizations. It is poison for the whole human society at its core.

No 1/2018

From this point of view, it is so dangerous, because people involved in trafficking in humans are connected and has resources, like money, political connections, police support, support from other entities, they have weapons, also hired murderers, etc.

How to recognize human trafficking?

Recognizing potential red flags and knowing the indicators of human trafficking is a key step in identifying more victims and helping them find the assistance they need.

Common Work and Living Conditions: The individual(s) in question

- Is not free to leave or come and go as he/she wishes

- Is under 18 and is providing commercial sex acts

- Is in the commercial sex industry and has a pimp / manager

- Is unpaid, paid very little, or paid only through tips

- Works excessively long and/or unusual hours

- Is not allowed breaks or suffers under unusual restrictions at work

- Owes a large debt and is unable to pay it off

- Was recruited through false promises concerning the nature and conditions of his/her work

- High security measures exist in the work and/or living locations (e.g. opaque windows, boarded up windows, bars on windows, barbed wire, security cameras, etc.)

Poor Mental Health or Abnormal Behavior

1. Is fearful, anxious, depressed, submissive, tense, or nervous/paranoid

2. Exhibits unusually fearful or anxious behavior after bringing up law enforcement

3. Avoids eye contact

Poor Physical Health

- Lacks health care

- Appears malnourished

- Shows signs of physical and/or sexual abuse, physical restraint, confinement, or torture

Lack of Control

- Has few or no personal possessions

- Is not in control of his/her own money, no financial records, or bank account

- Is not in control of his/her own identification documents (ID or passport)

- Is not allowed or able to speak for themselves (a third party may insist on being present and/or translating)

Other

- Claims of just visiting and inability to clarify where he/she is staying/address;Lack of knowledge of whereabouts and/or do not know what city he/she is in

- Loss of sense of time

- Has numerous inconsistencies in his/her story

This list is not exhaustive and represents only a selection of possible indicators. Also, the red flags in this list may not be present in all trafficking cases and are not cumulative. Learn more at www.humantraffickinghotline.org.

What to do?

To get into direct impact with this group of people is not smart. But as civilians, we can do a lot to prevent this kind of crime. First stop using services and products which are involved into this illegal industry.

Very important step is to announce any kind of activity which may be a trafficking. Here we crossed issue who is worth of our trust. Many police officers, detectives, medical personnel are involved. If you cannot trust anyone, use public computer and find one of internet services to make announcement anonymously. The worst thing is to be quiet.

Anyone can join in the fight against human trafficking. Here are just a few ideas to consider.

III.   Learn the indicators of human trafficking so you can help identify a potential trafficking victim. Human trafficking awareness training is available for individuals, businesses, first responders, law enforcement, educators, and federal employees, among others. Search for the nearest education center at www.athp.org or send e-mail to: info@ahtp.org.

IV.   Trafficking victims, including undocumented individuals, are eligible for services and immigration assistance almost all over the World.

No 1/2018

V.   Be a conscientious and informed consumer. Discover your slavery footprint, ask who picked your tomatoes or made your clothes, or check out the Department of Labor's List of Goods Produced by Child Labor or Forced Labor (http://www.dol.gov/ilab/reports/child-labor/list-of-goods/). Encourage companies to take steps to investigate and prevent human trafficking in their supply chains and publish the information, including supplier or factory lists, for consumer awareness.

VI.   Volunteer and support anti-trafficking efforts in your community. Check for the nearest or ask for help to establish new community by you at www.ahtp.org.

VII.   Meet with and/or write to your local, state, and federal government representatives to let them know you care about combating human trafficking, and ask what they are doing to address it.

VIII.   Host an awareness-raising event to watch and discuss films about human trafficking. For example, learn how modern slavery exists today; watch an investigative documentary about sex trafficking; or discover how human trafficking can affect global food supply chains. Also, check out CNN's Freedom Project for more stories on the different forms of human trafficking around the world.

IX.   Organize a fundraiser and donate the proceeds to an anti-trafficking organization like www.ahtp.org.

X.   Encourage your local schools to partner with students and include modern slavery in their curricula. As a parent, educator, or school administrator, be aware of how traffickers target school-aged children.

available from the Department of Health and Human Services or the Department of Homeland Security in your country or area.

XI.   Work with a local religious community or congregation to help stop trafficking by supporting a victim service provider or spreading awareness of human trafficking.

XII.   Businesses: Provide jobs, internships, skills training, and other opportunities to trafficking survivors.

XIII.   Students: Take action on your campus. Join or establish a university club to raise awareness about human trafficking and initiate action throughout your local community. Consider doing one of your research papers on a topic concerning human trafficking. Request that human trafficking be included in university curricula.

XIV.   Health Care Providers: Learn how to identify the indicators of human trafficking and assist victims. With assistance from anti-trafficking organizations, extend low-cost or free services to human trafficking victims.

XV.   Journalists: The media plays an enormous role in shaping perceptions and guiding the public conversation about human trafficking. Here are some media best practices on how to effectively and responsibly report stories on human trafficking.

XVI.   Attorneys: Offer human trafficking victims legal services, including support for those seeking benefits or special immigration status. Resources are available for attorneys representing victims of human trafficking.

Conclusions

During some short research we can realize that human trafficking or trafficking in humans is a big and serious problem for the whole society. It is global crime problem, not just local trouble. In this field we can find all kind of people, races, statuses, religions, professions, etc.

To fight against such big and multidimensional crime organization, we need to get involved somehow.

Being here is easy. Step out of the crowd is courage. Do it and make the right decision – be human.

Mitja Znidaric is security ing. and IBSSA Representative for Republic of Slovenia.

The challenge of Education of refugee children to avoid creating tomorrow's extremists

By Prof. Stephan U.Breu,DBA

Abstract:

An estimated 65 million people have been forced to flee their homelands in the last few years. Average length of displacement for a refugee is now estimated at 17 years. A whole generation of young people is forced to spend their whole youth in refugee camps and can only be educated there. On the other side the international community is strongly underfinancing any education efforts by aid agencies and international organizations. So, it is common that classes have as many as 100 children and teachers have to deal with inevitable language barriers. We also have to remember that most children are traumatized by their experiences of fleeing their homes. Whereas the focus of most efforts is aimed at primary education it should not be forgotten that it is also necessary to support older children even up to higher education. A lot of the refugee adolescents have to support their families through activities that make education impossible.

According to the UNHCR, more than 3.5 million refugee children do not have the chance to attend an appropriate school education. The inclusion of refugees in the national education systems of their host countries is a promising way of softening the challenges but the financial burden is too heavy to be carried without substantial support from the international community. Unfortunately, this is still dramatically lacking. Seeing these challenges in the world's toughest classrooms we have to be aware that missing this opportunity to help and educate these traumatized children will fuel the feelings of being disadvantaged and forgotten by the rest of the world. Such feelings are smoothening the way for disaffection and they may become lured to be part of religious extremist organizations if not sufficiently addressed by providing sufficient infrastructure and finances for proper primary and secondary education.

Key Words:

education, refugee children, refugee camps, religious extremists,

Introduction

According to the UNHCR, The UN Refugee Agency, by the end of 2016 a total of 65.6 million individuals were forcibly displaced worldwide as a result of persecution, conflict, violence or human rights violations. Out of this number approximately 22.5 million individuals are registered as refugees. About half of these individuals are below 18 years of age and are in a strong need for primary and secondary education. These numbers do not include displaced individuals who are leaving their homes due to severe situations such as lack of food, water, education or health care.

From the school-aged children under the mandate of UNHCR about 50 % do not have a school to go to. Some 1.75 million refugee children are not in primary school and another 1.95 million refugee adolescents are not in secondary school. As far as these young refugees are five times more likely not to be in school than the global average. One has to understand that we do not just neglect the education of these children but we also loose the opportunity to transform and build a new generation of adults that can take responsibilities for their lives and families. It will be this generation that gives their experience of having to leave their homes and how they have been treated by the societies hosting them to their children.

The way these young individuals are treated and what opportunities they will find to improve their lives will have a sustainable impact on social and political shifts in the coming years. Feeling a positive support of the international community and having opportunities to learn and being educated will minimize tendencies to extremism strongly. Missing this opportunity to address this generation of refugees will lead to feelings of being forgotten and discriminated and open doors for religious and fundamental extremists to recruit new extremists for their organizations. Under this aspect it is difficult to understand that the UNHCR refugee camps are constantly underfinanced by the international community and that there is no more earnest approach to address the education needs of these individuals.

Especially taking in account that the traumas, size of classes and various languages are asking for highly skilled and flexible education staff and teachers and a lot of the young adolescent refugees are forced to contribute to the survival of their families what gives them a lot of pressure not to attend secondary school but to find ways to generate money through any possible means. Giving this situation we have to fear that we will generate a lost generation of displaced young people that are suffering minimal education and

are not capable to integrate in the society and business life of their host countries and have no other option that rely on social support or any illegal means to finance their lives and families.

The Refugee Crisis

The world remains on a record height of a population of approximately 65.6 million forcibly displaced people. Out of this number a total of approximately 22.5 million individuals are registered as refugees. More than half of all refugees worldwide are coming form just three countries – Syria, Afghanistan and South Sudan. Especially the group from South Sudan is fast-growing and the majority of new refugees are children.

The host countries for the refugees are mainly Turkey (up to 3 Mio. individuals), Pakistan (approx. 1,4 Mio. individuals) and Lebanon (approx. 1 Mio. Individuals). The next host countries with a large number of refugees are Islamic Republic of Iran, Uganda and Ethiopia which are not famous for having a strong economical growth rate and strong economy internally. One can easily understand that these countries will not be in a position to solve the inherent problems of hosting such large number of refugees and meet their special needs. For years we hear the warnings of the UNHCR that the nutrition and medical situation is dramatically limited in the refugee camps but the international community and the political responsible leaders are not willing to sustainably invest into the well-being and future of these displaced individuals. Today's geopolitical situation does not give a lot of hope that the interests of the leading world powers are allowing the original countries of most refugees to find peace and stability. On the contrary one has to fear more displaced individuals from Yemen, South-Sudan, Democratic Republic of Kongo and possibly Zimbabwe in the future. The idea of "regime change" by supporting political opposition in unstable countries in

Africa and the Near East has not proven to be effective but is still applied today by the leading world powers forgetting that ethical and democratic values are not only empty phrases but are also asking for respectful acting of the elite emphasizing such.

Situation in Refugee Camps

As we have learnt the big refugee camps are located in countries that do not have a largely developed economy. The only exception might be Turkey. Pakistan and Lebanon can be considered middle-income countries at best and Iran, Uganda and Ethiopia have a lot of own problems to solve either from former sanctions or from a generally struggling economy. It is obvious that the international community has to bear a sustainable share of the burdens coming from hosting such large numbers of refugees as otherwise the social stability of the hosting countries is in danger.

Before we start speaking about the educational situation we have to remind us that it is a nearly impossible task for the UNHCR to finance nutrition of the refugees under their mandate and the necessary funds are provided slowly and unreliably by the donor countries. Insufficient nutrition is one of the major reasons that made refugees leaving the camps in 2016 going on their way to Europe but still politicians in Europe are discussing about fighting against causes of migration and flight but are not keeping their basic promises regarding finances. But even with this problem solved we have the situation that schools open for refugee children are most often at their organizational limits. It is common to have classes with over 100 students with various mother tongues. Such situation asks for more teaching staff which should be trained on a high standard to address the inevitable language barriers and the traumas of the children.

Approximately 79 % of the refugee children have experienced death in their families and a lot of them show symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder. These children need psychological and emotional support before they can go back to learn mathematics and writing. Today most focus lies on primary education in refugee camps. But as the average length of displacement for a refugee adds up to 17 years now we have the situation that most refugee children are spending their whole school careers in camps. If we shift our attention to the secondary and tertiary education we have another obstacle there.

Most families are forced to organize additional funds as it is nearly not possible to survive with the minimum support by the international community. So adolescent refugees are pushed to help organizing money for the survival of their families and so do miss opportunities to attend secondary or even tertiary education. They abandon their studies to provide for their families. One has also to take into consideration that a heavy burden is placed on the education system of the hosting countries and the new problems are also jeopardizing the quality of education for existing students. The educational budgets of these countries are already stretched beyond capacities.

Education as a Fundamental Human Right

The right to education has been recognized as a Human Right by Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 13 and 14 of the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Article 26 states, "Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory." Included is also an obligation to develop secondary education accessible to all without discrimination. If our developed regions of the world

are not taking care of the needs of the refugee children and adolescents to be able to access appropriate education we are neglecting their claims according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As our economical system is - nicely said - not helping their home countries to develop a sustainable economy for themselves and our political leaders deem it appropriate to get involved in the internal political affairs even using them for global strategic goals by arguing with our high ethical standards reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights such behavior seems not very honest. We have a duty to care at least for the education of these displaced and traumatized refugee children. As mentioned the educational system of the host countries of most refugees is already stretched to the limits and only sustainable and reliable international support can help to provide necessary resources. It would be easy to grant this fundamental human right to refugee children if the international community would cooperate and take its responsibility serious. A pro-active approach by allocating a small percentage of the military budget to education of refugee children and adolescent would possibly generate a much more successful option for several crisis regions in the world to stabilize in the future and become pacificated. As it is agreed on international level education is the key for a successful and peaceful future of mankind so we should not only talk but accept our responsibilities today in this refugee crisis.

A lost Generation?

We have to be aware that we should educate the generation that hopefully will return one day to their home country and rebuild and re-shape the future of these countries. It is a unique opportunity to interact with the future generation of these unstable countries and to get appreciation for our values and ethics. Missing this opportunity will make us pay a high price in the future. We should not deny a whole generation their right to education and leave them

to religious extremists group that offer them basic education at the cost of religious indoctrination. It is human nature that most children are eager to learn and make experiences. By providing secular education we have an unseen opportunity to explain some of our core values and ethical standards to milieus we could never reach before. Being careful not to harm the social and religious manners of their origin we could build new bridges between the cultures to exchange views and idea. We could educate a new generation of leaders for these countries that will remember our support and understanding for their situation and hopefully will be more tolerant and open minded for the benefit of all mankind. The best thing you can offer a child or even an adolescent is empathy and understanding so to help him learn and develop. On the other side the worst thing that can happen to a child or adolescent is, that he has to leave his home forcibly and the society offering him shelter is making him feel unwelcome, let him starve, deny him education and does not give him any positive perspective for his future. Every young individual will one day start thinking why he and his family had been forced to leave their home. It is understandable that in most cases there will be a feeling that the leading powers of the world did not play a neutral or innocent role in the events leading to the displacement.

Having complete uncertainty about the future and lack of education will make it easy for religious and other extremists to interact with these young individuals and give them an easy explanation about what is good and bad. Supporting the feeling of being unworthy and forgotten the role model as a victim of international conspiracy against its own culture and society will be emphasized quickly. If such feelings are mixed with religious fundamentalism we are urging these young people directly to organizations that will use them against us. The generation of refugee children growing up in camps would become a great pond for the extremist groups to fish for new victims they can indoctrinate easily with their completely mad concept of an extremist society.

(Re-)Integration into Society

Of course the forcibly displaced individuals put a heavy burden on their host countries. Mostly they are not really welcomed by the societies that should take responsibilities for them. This is understandable and it should be the first aim to prepare conditions that these individuals can return to their home countries as soon as possible. It is the general expectation that forcibly displaced individuals will move back to their home country if it is possible to do so without high risk. Based on this assumption are the regulations in international law defining the rights of a refugee. As far as it concerns the generation of refugee children growing up in refugee camps there are two options how they will have to integrate into an existing society. After spending the whole youth in a refugee camp this generation of young people would have to bring an enormous effort to integrate into the society at home - if they hopefully return one day. The society they will find will be unstable and people will be traumatized and without clear perspectives. They have to get accustomed to the manners and behavior of the people that stayed home during these hard times. This is the moment where we could benefit most from this generation that could return educated and open-minded with a perspective in their lives to accept responsibilities for their home countries. In the past more often than not it was never possible for refugees to return to their home countries. In this second scenario all these young people will have to integrate into foreign cultures and societies. It is without saying that education and an open mind are the most crucial precondition for a successful integration. Being able to become a part of the local work force and take responsibility for its own life makes a big difference than to depending on social security and support of the host country. Also the social tension in the host countries will be less intensive if this generation of young refugees are in the position to show a contribution to the society they are asked to become part of. If we are not

successful with granting these children their right to education we will generate a minefield of problems to manifest in the already stretched societies that are offering a more or less safe place to survive for this forcibly displaced individuals. In both scenarios mankind would benefit largely if these young children would get an appropriate secular education. It is the decision of the developed world how we are going to handle the situation.

Climate Refugees

Today most registered refugees by the UNHCR are fleeing their country because of wars and terrorist activities. Looking some years into the future we have to expect a completely new form of refugees. According to new studies published in November 2017 tens of millions of people will be forced from their homes by climate change in the next decade. For all these climate refugees it will most probably never be possible to return to their homes. We have to anticipate that the host societies that have to take responsibilities for these refugees will not be easily ready to take such. We will encounter social and political tension and maybe even violence against refugees. This development could easily become an existential threat to our civilization in the longer term. As the developed countries will have no other option as to integrate these refugees as returning home will be no option education for these expected group of refugee children and adolescent will become most crucial. As I explained before a successful integration is asking for a positive contribution of the new member to the society to reduce tension and open perspectives. So today's crisis in education of refugee children can be seen as a test for the coming challenges for our civilization to survive the coming tensions by mass migration caused by climate change and economical disaster.

Conclusion

The international community has a strong obligation to grant refugee children and adolescent their right to education as declared in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We have to offer appropriate education that supports the development of the individuals to build bridges between cultures and find solutions with economical impact to help this generation to re-build and re-shape their home countries if they can return one day. If we miss this opportunity to accept part of the burden of the refugee crisis we will see social problems evolving in the host countries that are not capable to carry their part without help of the international community. And we are offering a whole generation to the religious extremists that can use the uncertainty of the future and feeling of inferiority of these young people as a promising source for recruiting extremist fighters successfully. It is an unseen opportunity to successfully master this challenge if the international community puts aside political and geo-strategic short-term thinking and bundles resources to establish a new understanding between cultures and societies and grant these refugee children and adolescent their right to education.

References:

- Al Hroub H. (2016). By failing to educate child refugees, we are creating the extremists of the future – *Independent.co.uk*, [online] Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/child-refugees-syria-lebanon-terrorism-education-creating-the-extremists-of-the-future-a7148901.html [Accessed 08. Dec. 2017].

- Fallon K. (2017). How our refugee school in Greece is preparing children for a life in Europe – *The Telegraph*, [online] Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/2017/01/09/refugee-school-greece-preparing-children-life-europe/ [Accessed 08. Dec. 2017].

- Gordts E. and Alfred C. (2016). 10 Experts to Watch on Refugee Education – *newsdeeply.com*, [online] Available at: https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/articles/2016/11/22/10-experts-to-watch-on-refugee-education [Accessed 08. Dec. 2017].

- hrw.org, (2016). Growing Up Without an Education [online] Available at: https://www.hrw.org/ report/2016/07/19/growing-without-education/barriers-education-syrian-refugee-children-lebanon [Accessed 09. Dec. 2017].

- Kubwalo K. (2015). In a refugee camp, education is the only hope – *UNICEF.org*, [online] Available at: https://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/jordan_82551.html [Accessed 08. Dec. 2017].

- Larpent F. (2017). Education is a way out: teacher training in refugee camps – *International Baccalaureate*, [online] Available at: http://blogs.ibo.org/blog/2017/11/04/education-is-a-way-out/ [Accessed 10. Dec. 2017].

- Pinna M. (2017). Targeting education for refugee children in Kenya – *euronews.com*, [online] Available at: http://www.euronews.com/2017/01/19/targeting-education-for-refugee-children-in-the-kakuma-refugee-camp-in-kenya [Accessed 08. Dec. 2017].

- Ridge H. (2016). How Are Refugee Children Being Educated In Camps? – *Education week*, [online] Available at: http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/global_learning/2016/06/how_are_refugee_children_being_educated_in_camps.html [Accessed 08. Dec. 2017].

- savethechildren.net, (2017). Refugee Education Crisis Looming In Uganda [online] Available at: https://www.savethechildren.net/article/refugee-education-crisis-looming-uganda [Accessed 09. Dec. 2017].

- Schmidt C. (2013). Education in the Second Largest Refugee Camp in the World. *Wise*

– *Global Partnership for Education*, [online] Available at:
https://www.globalpartnership.org/blog/education-second-largest-refugee-camp-world
[Accessed 08. Dec. 2017].

- Taylor M. (2017). Climate change "will create world's biggest refugee crisis". – *The Guardian*, [online] Available at:
https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/nov/02/climate-change-will-create-worlds-biggest-refugee-crisishttp://www.wise-qatar.org/best-practices-running-schools-refugee-camps [Accessed 10. Dec. 2017].

- Tookey M. (2015). Inside a Syrian refugee camp: "Education is the only hope for children" – *theguardian.com*, [online] Available at:
https://www.theguardian.com/teacher-network/2015/apr/14/inside-a-syrian-refugee-camp-education-is-the-only-hope-for-children [Accessed 09. Dec. 2017].

 - Tutunji S. (2016). Best Pracitices for Running Schools in Refugee Camps. *Wise – Quatar Foundation*, [online] Available at: http://www.wise-qatar.org/best-practices-running-schools-refugee-camps [Accessed 08. Dec. 2017].

- unesdoc.unesco.org, (2017). Protecting the rights to education for refugees [online] Available at: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0025/002510/251076E.pdf [Accessed 09. Dec. 2017].

- unhcr.org, (2017). Missing Out: Refugee education in crisis [online] Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/57beb5144 [Accessed 12. Dec. 2017].

- unhcr.org, (2017). Global Trends – Forced Displacement in 2016 [online] Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/statistics/unhcrstats/5943e8a34/global-trends-forced-displacement-2016.html [Accessed 09. Dec. 2017].

- unhcr.org, (2017). UNHCR report highlights education crisis for refugee children [online] Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/news/press/2017/9/59b6a3ec4/unhcr-report-highlights-education-crisis-refugee-children.html [Accessed 09. Dec. 2017].

- unhcr.org, (2017). UNHCR What We Do - Education [online] Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/education.html [Accessed 09. Dec. 2017].

- weforum.org, (2017). Why refugee education is a problem – and six solutions [online] Available at: https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/05/why-refugee-education-is-a-problem-and-six-solutions/ [Accessed 08. Dec. 2017].

Prof. h.c. Dr. Stephan U. Breu,

Secretary General of International Pestalozzi Society and

Chairman of the Advisory Board, East West Bridge, Switzerland

http://theWebalyst.com

Public Reason, the Common Good and Slippery Slopes

By Prof. Dr. Craig Paterson

Introduction

Respect for the dignity of human life is foundational to the idea of the political common good. It must also be central to the goals of promoting responsible diplomatic dialogue worthy of being considered genuinely humanitarian. To the extent that respect for life is undermined by the state sanctioned policies of euthanasia, or state sanctioned involuntary killing, the common good of political society is weakened. Diplomatic efforts that side-line or circumvent the centrality of promoting respect for human life, are not, despite appearances, authentically *pro bono*.

In order to further assess what negative impact state sanctioned policies of assisted suicide or voluntary euthanasia might have on the common good, it is necessary to prudentially consider *slippery slope questions*.

No 1/2018

Further considerations of this kind need to be addressed because it is still possible, I think, to appeal to prudential dialectic in order to persuade those who might find forms of euthanasia morally acceptable in principle to nevertheless oppose their domestic and international sanctioning in practice.

Policy makers in both the UK and the US, in the past, have found slippery slope concerns to be sufficiently compelling to uphold existing laws that prohibit the practices of assisted suicide or voluntary active euthanasia.[25] Such reasoning cannot simply set aside as the last ill-conceived attempt of a 'sanctity-of-life' ethic to impose its moral imperatives on the free deliberations of contemporary pluralistic society.

Any adequate consideration of the common good of society requires that slippery slope considerations be seriously addressed. As Philip Devine points out, no prudential agent, despite protestations, can ignore slippery slope concerns, for they are not mere 'obscurantist flim-flam'.[26]

---

[25]Although Margaret Otlowski (1997) does not accept the prudential force of slippery slope arguments, she recognises their considerable influence in public debate and on the minds of legislators in the UK and US. See chs 1-2.

[26]   Philip Devine (1978), p. 185, quoting Anthony Flew.

Forms of Slippery Slopes

There are two basic forms of slippery slope reasoning. One is logical and the other is empirical.[27] The first logical form states that if no significant conceptual difference between X and Y can be identified, the justification used to support X will also support justification for Y. If Y is unacceptable, X should also be unacceptable due to its lack of conceptual distinction from Y. The second empirical slippery slope takes the form of the likelihood of X sliding towards Y due to the operation of psychological, cultural and social factors that will erode away boundaries between X and Y.

Whilst, again, I would readily concede that slippery slope arguments are based on prudential considerations—of trying to anticipate what might happen if a given policy is adopted—we cannot avoid reckoning with them. There are, of course, occasions when slippery slope arguments have been abused, amounting to little other than reactionary scare tactics in order to entrench an existing status quo position—for example gun lobbyists who argue that any significant restrictions placed on the ownership of firearms by citizens will eventually lead to the banning of all citizen owned firearms.

---

[27]On the different forms of slippery slope and how they function in discourse David Lamb (1988), pp. 1-19; John Woods (2000), pp. 107-34.

As Sissela Bok rightly points out, however, abuse in some settings does not justify a blanket rejection of slippery slope reasoning in other more appropriate settings. She concludes that the assisted suicide/euthanasia debate is an appropriate setting. For Bok, any attempt to revise existing assisted suicide/euthanasia policy will need to fairly scrutinise the potential for change to bring about unacceptable negative effects.[28]

Weak Conceptual Boundaries

Central to the case of those who support only the legalisation of assisted suicide but not active voluntary euthanasia is an attempt to point to a clear conceptual difference between the two. There will be no 'slippage' from X to Y because of the conceptual distance that separates X from Y. In physician assisted suicide, the last fatal act is said to be performed by the patient, not the physician. It is argued, therefore, assistance by a physician in suicide does not entail the active killing of the patient by the physician. The two are quite distinct. A key question of real concern, however, is whether such a distinction is conceptually strong enough to hold the legal line that would be drawn between a policy of assisted suicide and a policy of voluntary active euthanasia. *The Philosophers' Brief*, composed by some leading liberal

---

[28]Sissela Bok (1998), pp. 112-18.

philosophers, made such an assurance central to their case for legalising assisted suicide in the US.[29] R. G. Frey also states that such a conceptual differentiation plus appropriate safeguards can allay fears that a policy of assisted suicide would result in slippage from X to Y.[30] Yet, many supporters of physician assisted suicide view the enactment of assisted suicide legislation as being but one logical stepping stone on the progressive path to embracing voluntary active euthanasia.

What crucial distinction, they argue, really separates an act of intimate assistance from the direct administration of lethal means? It cannot be a question of intent, for morality and the law have historically considered such intimate complicity a sharing of common purpose. Due to the sharing of intent and the adoption of a common plan, an appeal to who performs 'the last act' in a 'shared chain' is really a weak distinction not a strong one. Acceptance of X, due to reliance on a distinction lacking any significant moral or legal import, advances also the logical case for acceptance of Y.

The position that a significant distinction of real import between assisted suicide and voluntary active euthanasia cannot be credibly maintained, can be

---

[29]Dworkin, *et al*. (1997).

[30] R. G. Frey (1998), pp. 43-63.

further strengthened by examining the reach of the values that inform appeals to assisted suicide—relief of pain and suffering and respect for personal autonomy. Once X is viewed within the logic of the values that are driving the advocacy of the X, those very values also underwrite the acceptability of Y. Within such a value framework it seems decidedly contrived and artificial to say that patient B can be the beneficiary of suicide because he or she is able to execute the final act for herself, but patient C, who may be physically incapable of doing so, cannot be a beneficiary and only has the option of passive euthanasia. When viewed against the backdrop of the wider principles informing the assisted suicide debate, there is little by way of convincing conceptual difference to justify support for a policy of assisted suicide but not voluntary active euthanasia.[31] Acceptance of X, due to the logic of the values informing both X and Y, leads to acceptance of Y.

Let us assume now that a policy of voluntary active euthanasia is also supported. The consensual element is stressed. Both sets of policy will nevertheless face conceptual challenges over limitations placed on who can benefit from either policy.[32] Consider a policy stating that a patient, in order to

---

[31]John Keown (2002), pp. 76-80

[32] See Yale Kamisar (1997), pp. 225-60.

benefit, should have six months or less to live and that her or she should be afflicted with severe pain. Why only six months or less to live? Why only cases of severe pain? What of the chronically ill who have severe pain but who may live for many months or years? Why should they be denied merciful release from a life they judge not worth living? What of those who are said to be terminally ill but experience little pain? Should they not be able simply to point to other factors—suffering, indignity, economic considerations, burdens on others—to justify their intention to end their lives? What of those who persistently suffer but who are neither terminally ill or in severe pain? Why should they be denied the option of merciful release? Arbitrary boundary stipulations are unobjectionable when determining a policy, say, of whether the speed limit is 70 mph or 65 mph; of whether to drive on the left or the right hand side of a road, and so on. They are dynamically unstable in this area, however, when we are determining whether B but not C can avail himself or herself of a fundamental equal right to end his or her own life. The logic driving mercy killing does not end with the relief of those who have six months or less to live and who endure considerable pain in that time frame.

Critics of a policy banning the legalisation of assisted suicide or voluntary active euthanasia point to the 'state licensing of passive killing' in many hospital wards as a key reason to reject 'fraught arguments' over conceptualboundaries.[33]

---

[33] Helga Kuhse (1998), pp. 371-4.

Here, however, I would argue that people widely and with good reason accept the validity of a distinction between 'letting die' and 'killing' that has conceptual strength, so many decisions to withhold or withdraw treatments are not cases of voluntary passive euthanasia at all.

Secondly, people also recognise that only so much, other than by persuasion, can be done to keep patients alive against their will. They recognise that a policy of toleration is one that should not be equated with the 'back door' encouragement or endorsement of voluntary euthanasia by passive means. They realise that the reach of the law can only do so much in the health care context to protect innocent life from decisions to intentionally procure death by passive means.

Person/non-person is another distinction used in the discussion of non-voluntary euthanasia that is conceptually weak. The criteria typically established for determining personhood are arbitrary and vague (see *sect*.6.3). Given the vague and arbitrary criteria used to establish a distinction between persons and non-persons, I can see little hope of conceptually limiting the reach of the non-person class only to those who are deemed 'permanently and irreversibly unconscious'. Patients with advanced dementia, for example, due

to weak conceptual boundaries, may well start to slip from the class of persons into the class of non-persons and thereby become 'ripe' candidates for non-voluntary euthanasia of both the passive and the active sort.

Sadly, the non-voluntary passive euthanasia of anencephalic infants and PVS patients is already being practised in both the UK and US.[34] If they are non-persons, however, why should they not simply be actively killed in a controlled manner in order to harvest their organs for the benefit of others? Since the lives of non-persons are not really worth living why should this be a problem? When persons are deprived of their status as persons, the conceptual case for resisting the adoption of non-voluntary active euthanasia becomes threadbare.

Empirical Erosion of Boundaries

In addition to the logical form of the slippery slope that points towards acceptance of a widespread right to voluntary active euthanasia as well as assisted suicide, empirical evidence from both the US and the Netherlands supports the contention that regulations used to draw various boundary lines in the formulation of assisted suicide/euthanasia policy suffer from vagueness or arbitrariness. Vagueness or arbitrariness in the framing of boundaries, when

---

[34]D. Wilkinson (2006).

pressed by the cumulative weight of physiological, sociological and cultural pressures that challenge them, facilitates slippage towards assisted suicide or euthanasia practices deemed unacceptable.

Consider Oregon's *Death with Dignity Act*. Over the last few years, Oregon has permitted physician assisted suicide for competent terminally ill patients over 18 who are faced with burdens of severe pain and suffering. As many of the essays in Kathleen Foley's and Herbert Hendin's collection point out, however, whether or not patients have six months or less to live, because they suffer from incurable conditions, is a vague and arbitrary stipulation.[35] Empirical evidence shows that estimating life expectancy is fraught with uncertainty. Life expectancy is not reducible to ready calculation.

Many incurable conditions defy accurate estimates in terms of months. Moreover, the question arises, is the six month period to be assessed with or without treatment or partial treatment that may delay the course of the irreversible condition?[36]

Given Oregon's tight control of information concerning patients and conditions, we do not really know how the time frame is being used and whether or not it will in fact be treated as a floating threshold that sympatheticphysicians can use to squeeze in cases under its auspices.

---

[35] Kathleen Foley and Herbert Hendin (2002). See especially the essay by Felicia Cohn & Joanne Lynn, pp. 238-60.

[36] Neil M. Gorsuch (2006), pp. 115-24.

It is difficult to see why physicians disposed towards mercy killing would not be tempted to do given that the stipulated time fame is so malleable and arbitrary in the first place. Why not four months? Why not eight months? Why exclude those who are chronically ill and who suffer considerably but who will likely live well beyond the threshold of six months?

Consider further the question of motive informing assisted suicide. As Neil Gorsuch points out, the Oregon legislation, despite the popular rhetoric of patients facing uncontrollable pain, places no such restriction, and patients often justify their suicide by appealing to dignity concerns.

Reviewing the evidence, he concludes it is reasonable to infer that patients who will (a) live beyond six months are (b) who are not in severe pain are being assisted in suicide.

The class of potential candidates, Gorsuch contends, actually turns out to be very malleable.[37] Reports do not yet indicate that physicians in Oregon have been involved in active voluntary euthanasia.[38] However, this may simply indicate that the relative newness of the practice, compared to the Dutch experience, has not permitted the 'voluntarist ethos' enough time to gather momentum in the minds of physicians, patients and the general public.

---

[37]Gorsuch (2006), pp. 116-8.

[38] Susan Okie (2005), 1627-30.

Given inevitable rounds of state and federal court challenges from patients who do not perceive these present Oregonian stipulations to be anything other than arbitrary—especially (i) those patients who cannot be smuggled in under the six months or less to live clause and yet have chronic illnesses that generate severe pain and suffering; and (ii) those patients who are not able to administer the final lethal dose of pills for themselves and who cannot therefore benefit from assisted suicide—it is surely only matter of time before the boundaries of those who can benefit from intentionally procured death will be further widened.[39]

Turning now to the Netherlands, they have had a policy of not prosecuting physicians who actively or passively kill patients with their consent since 1984.[40] 'Due care' regulations were adopted by the Royal Dutch Medical Association and these regulations applied until 2001, when euthanasia was formally legalised.[41] The distinction between assisted suicide and voluntary euthanasia, from the outset, was held to be of relevance only for statistical eporting purposes (although, as a matter of fact, the Dutch strongly favour euthanasia over assisted suicide).

---

[39]John D. Arras (1997), pp. 361-89.

[40]The Alkmaar case. A doctor euthanised a 95-year-old woman whose health was deteriorating. See Mason L. Allen (2006), p. 549-50.

[41]Allen (2006), p. 551; Keown (2002), p. 83-8.

The Dutch experience strongly presses the question why should patients not have the option or either practice given the lack of any clear moral or legal distinction between the two? Why should individual preferences not be accommodated?

Prior to 1993, it was held to be a breach of the Dutch regulations to kill a patient who was not terminally ill and who was not experiencing intolerable pain. By 1994, however, those regulations had become so watered down by a series of court challenges as to scope, that neither terminal illness not severe pain were deemed grounds upon which to restrict the availability of euthanasia.[42] So much for the attempt of the earlier Dutch regulations to restrict the class of beneficiary in the face of court challenges over boundaries for inclusion and exclusion.

If B can benefit from euthanasia because he is terminally ill and in severe pain then why not C who is terminally ill but is faced with severe suffering? If D is not terminally ill but faces chronic pain why should D be excluded? If E is not terminally ill but suffers greatly why should E be excluded?

---

[42]The Chabot case. Dr Chabot killed his patient because she was suffering from inconsolable psychological distress without prospect for improvement. See Keown (2002), p. 87.

Even more disturbing is evidence from official reports over the incidence of non-voluntary and involuntary killing where the express consent of competent patients has not been granted. Non-voluntary or involuntary euthanasia has occurred in approximately 900 cases per annum from 1995 though to 2001—between 0.7% and 0.6% of all deaths. Roughly half of these cases involved patients who made no mention of any prior wish to be euthanised.[43]

The only reason that can account for the presence of such a significant statistic, despite prior regulation to the contrary, it the independent dynamic that is generated when physicians themselves, acting on their own judgment, start to decide whether or not patients in their care should live or die, either because (i) they would be 'better off dead' having such low 'quality-of-life' or (ii) because their deaths would relieve burdens/procure benefits for third parties or some combination of the two.

Once it becomes state sanctioned to actively intend the death of a patient, it is not a mere 'scare tactic' to observe a creeping 'overall worth of life' dynamic at work that tacitly encourages physicians, despite regulation to the contrary, to kill patients without their express consent. It is not necessary to appeal to any fanciful Orwellian nightmare in order to illustrate the reality ofclear empirical slippage in the Netherlands from the voluntary to non-voluntary and beyond.

---

[43] See Keown (2002), pp. 91-5 for discussion of the Remmelink Report and the Van der Maas Survey. Also Gorsuch (2006), pp. 109-12, discussing official statistics reported by the Dutch government. For the third survey covering 2001 see R. Fenigsen (2004), 73-9.

Concluding Remarks

Space, alas, will not permit a further assessment of empirical slippery slopes. I would recommend that the reader further consult Neil Gorsuch's sound analysis of empirical slippage in both the US and the Netherlands.[44]

I believe, however, I have said enough on this topic to demonstrate to the reader that—far from being 'obscurantist flim-flam'—both the logical and empirical forms of slippery slope reasoning have to be taken very seriously by those who assert on moral grounds (a) the acceptability of assisted suicide X but not voluntary active euthanasia Y; or (b) by those who except the full import of the appeal to autonomy and defend voluntary active euthanasia X but who seek to avoid further descend down the slippery slope towards the unacceptable practices of non-voluntary and involuntary euthanasia sanctioned by the state.

---

[44]Gorsuch (2006).

Bibliography

Allen, Mason L. (2006), Crossing the Rubicon: The Netherlands Steady March towards Involuntary Euthanasia, *Brooklyn Journal of International Law*, **31**, 535-75.

Arras, John D. (1997), 'Physician-Assisted Suicide: A Tragic View', *Journal of Contemporary Health Law and Policy*, **13**, 361-89.

Bok, Sissela (1998), 'Euthanasia', in *Euthanasia and Physician-Assisted-Suicide*, Gerald Dworkin, R. G. Frey and Sissela Bok, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 107-27.

Dworkin, Ronald, *et al*. (1997), 'Assisted Suicide: The Philosophers' Brief', *New York Review of Books* (27 March), 41-7.

Devine, Philip (1978), *The Ethics of Homicide,* Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press.

Fenigsen, R. (2004), 'Dutch Euthanasia: The New Government Ordered Study', *Issues in Law and Medicine*, **20**(1), 73-9.

Foley, Kathleen M., and Herbert Hendin, eds (2002), *The Case against Assisted Suicide: For the Right to End-of-Life Care*, Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Frey, R.G. (1998), 'The Fear of a Slippery Slope', in *Euthanasia and Physician-Assisted-Suicide*, Gerald Dworkin, R. G. Frey and Sissela Bok, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 43-63.

Gorsuch, Neil M. (2006), *The Future of Assisted Suicide and Euthanasia*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Kamisar, Yale (1997), 'Physician-Assisted Suicide: The Last Bridge to Active Voluntary Euthanasia' in *Euthanasia Examined: Ethical, Clinical and Legal Perspectives*, John Keown (ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 225-60.

Keown, John, (2002), *Euthanasia, Ethics, and Public Policy: An Argument against Legalisation,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kuhse, Helga (1998), 'Why Killing Is Not Always Worse—and is Sometimes Better—Than Letting Die', *Cambridge Quarterly of Healthcare Ethics*, **7**, 371-74.

Lamb, David (1988), *Down the Slippery Slope: Arguing in Applied Ethics*, London: Croom

Okie, Susan (2005), 'Physician-Assisted Suicide--Oregon and Beyond', *New England Journal of Medicine*, **352**, 1627-30.

Otlowski, Margaret (1997), *Voluntary Euthanasia and the Common Law*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Wilkinson, D. (2006), 'Is it in the Best Interests of an Intellectually Disabled Infant to Die?', *Journal of Medical Ethics*, **32**, 454-9.

Woods, John (20), 'Slippery Slopes and Collapsing Taboos', Argumentation, 14(2), 107-34.

Prof. Dr. Craig Paterson was educated at universities in Scotland, England and the United States of America. He holds an LLB law degree with distinction from the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, an MA degree in philosophy for the University of York, England and a PhD degree in Ethics from Saint Louis University, Missouri, USA. He is currently an independent consultant as Paterson Consulting and Honorary Research Professor with the Concilium Research Group, Complutense University of Madrid, Spain. He has previously held university teaching appointments at Saint Louis University, Missouri, USA and Providence College, Rhode Island, USA.

Albania generates Peace and Stability

in the Balkans

By Prof.Astrit Memia

ABSTRACT

At the beginning of the 20th Century, President Wilson was the first world leader who proclaimed his solidarity with the small nations, did not embrace social-Darwinism as a doctrine, and vowed to defend Albania at the Peace Conference that was held at Paris in 1919. Since then, the U.S.A. expanded its support to Albania in the field education and culture, starting with the women institute "Qiriazi" and continuing until nowadays. The ties between the two countries continued to strengthen even after WWI, when Ahmet Zog managed to sign the agreement of "Most Favorite Nation" with the U.S.A. During WWII and in the end, U.S. and U.K. gave their humanitarian and military aid. But communist leader Enver Hoxha and his dictatorship reversed the policies of Ahmet Zog and after that, Albania followed a self-isolation and self-destructive policy. Only after the fall of the communist regime, the compass of the Albanians was turned again towards the American democratic values.

During the time of the newly born fragile democracy in Albania, the Bush and Clinton Administrations put the first bricks for a healthy and consolidated

http://theWebalyst.com

pluralist system and open-market. The economic and diplomatic ties between Albania and U.S.A. were consolidated through the ratification of several agreements which paved the way towards various investments. The support of U.S., can be categorized in three baskets: support towards critical reforms that will ease the process of integration towards the EU; support to make Albania a strong NATO ally and regional partner; and to promote democracy and free-market reforms. It's in this context, in this wonderful friendship of Albania with the USA that Albania can become a diamond of peace and stability in the Balkans and even a model for the other countries to follow.

KEY Words: Social Darwinism, preventive diplomacy, political shrewdness, sustainable peace and stability, religious and ethnic coexistence

The Balkans used to be known as the "Powder keg of Europe", sometimes alternately known as the "Balkan Powder Keg", in the early part of the 20th century preceding World War I. The Balkan countries were attacking each other viciously as social Darwinism seemed to gain support. Greece and Serbia won their independence from the Ottoman Empire before Albania. Four Albanian vilayets were still under the Ottomans when they became the prey of Serbian (and other Slavic peoples) and Greek ambitions. And under the pretext of fighting against the Ottomans, even though the Serbs and Greeks already had their designed territory, both tried to expand their territories at the expense of Albanian territories. Often this was also disguised as a fight against Albanians as Muslims, or spreading false theories that Albanians came from Turkey or some other Muslim country. History has shown clearly that Albanians are autochthonous. Many renowned scholars had already since that time raised the

theory that Albanians are descendants of Illyrians, and in all likelihood, of Pelasgians as well. In modern times, genetic studies have proven completely that Albanians have been living in their territory since the ancient times. Greece that everybody knows has ancient roots in the Balkans has more common descendants with Albanians than any other population, including the Italians. Italians also have more common descendants with Albanians than with any other peoples, including Greeks. This can be best explained by the fact that Albanians have been here since ancient times, maybe even before the Greeks and Italians.

It's widely accepted today that Albanians are the only direct descendants of Illyrians, and Illyria was a big territory in the Balkans in the Roman Empire. The Slavs arrived in the Balkan peninsula in the 6th and 7th century, as proven by documents. Illyrians were among the first to embrace Christianity. Constantine the Great, a great Illyrian was responsible for legalizing Christianity for the first time in the Roman Empire at the beginning of the 4th century and even favouring Christians afterwards. The canonization of the books of the Bible is believed to have happened during Constantine's rule. Christmas was also started by Constantine. If we add here the great wars of George Castriot Scanderbeg to defend Europe and Christianity from the Ottomans, one can surely say that the predecessors of Albanians have played a key role in Christianity and Europe. It's also true that many Albanians became Muslim during the Ottoman occupation for various reasons but Albania was never a totally Muslim country even during the peak of the Ottoman rule, or afterwards.

So only social Darwinism can explain well the attacks of Greece and Serbia to get Albanian territories. They were successful to do so and in 1913, many Albanian lands, part of the four Albanian vilayets were grabbed by Greece and

Slavs. Greece and Slavs had strong support from Russia because they considered themselves as Orthodox countries, and they did not hesitate to use religion for political profits. Greece and Serbia also had the support of most European countries. It seems that Austria was the only country to give strong support to Albania at that time because it was afraid of Serbian ambitions, and Britain and the USA gave their support based mainly on justice views and fairness, and that's how Albanian territories were decided in 1913. Greeks and Serbs were unhappy and wanted even more territories and they were going to get them at the end of WWI if it had not been for the strong defense of US President Wilson who saved Albania. Their expansionist views continued even though the integrity of their territory was never in question after they gained their independence. Their territories only grew at the expense of Albanian territories.

Greece and Serbia continue to invent their own history of the Balkans and they continue to have ambitions to get more Albanian territories if they could even nowadays. This distorted reality they have created based on false history and historical facts keeps fuelling their ambitions, and if it weren't for the USA, the only country who has sought to solve problems with justice and fairness, things would only get worse in the Balkans, and war always seems highly likely at any moment because of unchecked sick ambitions. The communist regime of Enver Hoxha also caused much damage for Albania because it created a distance with the USA during an important time. But fortunately, the fall of the communist regime was also the restart of excellent relations with the USA who have strongly supported Albania and it's great that the ordinary Albanians kept their positive view of the USA even during the regime.

The friendship of Albania with the USA played a big role in the support that the USA and European countries gave to Kosovo during the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the Kosovo War. NATO troops attacked Serbia to defend Kosovo because of the massacres that the Serbs were committing in Kosovo, after they had done the same in Bosnia and other Yugoslavian republics. This led to the independence of Kosovo in 2008, after the war had been won in 1999.

Now there are two Albanian states in the Balkans and Albanians are a key factor of peace and stability in the region.

The Albanian nation is the only nation divided up among five countries.

The Republic of Albania has been an official candidate for accession to the European Union (EU) since June 2014 and is on the current agenda for future enlargement of the EU.

Officially recognised by the EU as a "potential candidate country" in 2000, Albania started negotiations on a Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) in 2003. This was successfully agreed and signed on 12 June 2006, thus completing the first major step toward Albania's full membership in the EU. Albania applied for European Union membership on 28 April 2009.

Following the steps of countries joining the EU in 2004, Albania has been extensively engaged with EU institutions, and joined NATO as a full member in 2009.

Albania is now hoping to start EU negotiations in June of 2018.

All Balkan countries are hoping to become EU members in the future and this is a basis for peace in the region. However, problems will be complicated until that time and there is no guarantee that they will stop even after that time.

The biggest problem between Serbia and Albania has to do with Kosovo. Since Kosovo is a country on its own, it can be said that the main problems will be between Serbia and Kosovo themselves, and Albania will not play a role. The EU and the USA are likely to play a more important role in resolving some issues, especially the fact that Serbia does not recognize the independence of Kosovo.

The Albanian factor in the Balkans is in a state of growing stronger and consolidation of the Albanians in Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and in the Diaspora which is spread in the EU countries and the USA will continue.

There are problems in Macedonia where Albanians have always been denied many basic rights, even though the Ohrid Agreement was supposed to solve them fast. Only recently, the Macedonian Parliament agreed to recognize the Albanian language as official in Macedonia. The Ohrid Agreement meets the international standards and has been shaped into legislation by the Macedonian Parliament only after strong pressure from the Albanian factor and the EU countries that use their influence since Macedonia wants to join the EU as soon as possible. It seems that Macedonia has realized that its future remains dependent on recognizing and respecting the Albanian factor as equal and that should be reflected in the constitution and the entire legislation of the country. The Albanians in Macedonia can never accept to be treated as second-hand citizens and they will always fight for the democratization of Macedonian society.

The Albanian factor in Montenegro is increasingly becoming an integrated political factor. It actively takes part in the life of this small country to stabilize and orient it toward Euro-Atlantic integration and its democratization.

It is also positive that the Albanian nationals of Presheva, Metvegja and Bujanovci, regardless of the difficult process of the domestic democratization of

Serbia, have already become a factor that is being listened to and respected when it comes to the issue of basic human rights and liberties.

In Albania's relations with Greece, the Cham question is still being kept open by Albania, despite the fact that the Greeks try to disregard it. Chams want their rights over properties that were taken from them from the Greek government at the end of WWII.

As for the role of the Albanian factor in the Balkans, the Albanian government must always play the most important role and carry the heaviest burden. Unfortunately, the socialists have focused a lot of energy on attacking the democrats and destroying the right-wing parties in Albania, and the international factor has been blindly supporting the left-wing parties to a large degree. Albania needs strong right-wing parties because they provide more guarantees that Albania will continue in its path towards the Western values. Only the right-wing parties will be natural allies of the West. The left-wing parties have the tendency to flirt strongly with the East and this will continue to be so even in the future. The right-wing parties need more support now than ever, because the socialists have made a come-back because of their fake propaganda and methods that even the communists used to employ when Albania was a communist regime.

Albanians are the strongest supporters of Western values regardless of who is in power. Albania's friendship with the USA will remain strong in the future and this is the basis for hope that things will improve in all regards, including justice, economy, and other sectors. A strong Albania is also good for the EU, and again, the support of right-wing parties is likely to provide better results than support for left-wing parties in the country. Otherwise, problems may spring up and if Albania gets destabilized, problems can just spire out of control. The international factor plays the main role in the domestic affairs of

Albania and whoever they support is seen by the people as the best way to go, and not vice-versa. Albanians do not like Westerners because of the party in power.

The stabilization of Albania politically will only have positive effects in the Balkans. This comes also from the Albanians' characteristics. They love and respect other nations, and this has often caused problems to Albanians themselves, because foreigners have taken advantage of them because of this sometimes. They like tradition and they are willing to coexist with other peoples. There is overall no racial, religious or ethnic hatred in the country. So they accept others much more easily than other nationalities. This has also helped Albanians adjust in the countries where they have migrated. This also has become a problem, because this easy adjustment has caused many Albanians to leave Albania, since the economy has never really become as good as that of many other European countries. The socialist governments have also been encouraging this trend knowing that democrats prefer to leave the country more than the socialists. Even the current government keeps excusing its failures and blaming the migration on the fact that other countries are better, despite the fact that sometimes they are not necessarily better, because Albanians have migrated even in Asia or Africa sometimes, in countries that are not doing better than Albania.

However, overall, Albania has the potential for great economic development because of its natural resources and problems with migration can be resolved, especially by a change of the current culture of presenting life in foreign countries as much better, when in fact it is often awful compared to life in Albania in many respects. Also, the governments of Albania have been making terrible deals with foreign companies that are interested in the great amounts of oil, chromium, and other natural resources that Albania possesses in

abundance, thinking of only to profit for themselves or their families, not about the general good of the people.

Cooperation with other countries will always depend on how much foreigners will encourage these good relations between the countries of the Balkans. These countries face many similar problems that are elsewhere in the world too, like organized crime, terrorism, drug-trafficking, etcetera. In many cases the police departments of these countries are cooperating, but the relations need to grow more in economic and social relations.

It's a given that Russia will continue to give strong support to all the Slavic peoples of the region because of their common descent and historical and often political reasons. Even the Orthodox religion will continue to be used for political reasons when necessary. This means that even the relations of Greece with Russia will continue to be strong in the future because of the same Orthodox religion. It's also a given that the Albanians will be more Western-oriented than the other peoples of the Balkans, because they have to rely on the USA and the EU for their survival and development. Again, support for right-wing parties should be stronger by the West because this will play a positive role in the future of Albania, and also in the future of the region, because the left-wing parties in Albania will always feel a temptation to flirt with the East, with Russia, China, and other powers that are not very democratic, such as Turkey. It seems that the West does not consider this point as important and it has often continued to give too much support to left-wing parties in Albania, destroying thus even the healthy competition and affecting the views and opinions of even right-wing voters with their open support for the left-wing parties. As a result, Albanian left-wing parties received about 75 percent of the vote in the last general elections and the right-wing parties only 25 percent. It's easy to blame the right-wing parties themselves for the

situation but it's often the support of foreigners that makes Albanians decide who to vote for, not their own leaders.

The political system also must be changed not to give so much power to party leaders because they decide who will be in the list of lawmakers and thus they can control corruption to a large degree, and foreigners cannot control parties to a large degree, if they cannot control a certain leader. So a better electoral system needs to be found to solve the problem of leaders getting out of control, and this is likely to happen when people have so much power, because absolute power as the saying goes corrupts absolutely.

It's also very likely that Albania will continue to be a great example of religious and ethnic coexistence in the future and its example can have a good effect on other countries as well.

So all these factors will make Albania increasingly a great factor for great relations between the countries of the region, assuming that great things will continue to come from its friendship with the USA, which will remain for Albanians the cornerstone of their future existence, and the likely EU membership will also help Albania's economy, justice, and its contribution to peace and stability in the region and beyond.

CONCLUSIONS AND PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

Today in this globalization era, the excellent relations the US-Albania are the column of peace in the Balkans and globally and to be a model in the future, these suggestions should be taken into consideration:

The capacity of regional crisis response: Several years ago, Albania made efforts to build the capacity of crisis response between the Adriatic places. This initiative should be revived in partnership with the US, European Union, NATO or the three together.

Adriatic would be safer if you would benefit from the combined capabilities of multinational for research and rescue, for response to environmental risks and law enforcement.

The security energy must meet the protection and democracy, as a main bilateral key relations the US-Albanian. These key objectives should include the promotion of investments in Albania and ensure that Albania's security interests to justify the development of energy infrastructure in the Balkans.

Completed Europe, a priority key of the US-Albanian relations is a Europe that is truly integrated and where there are no dividing lines because thus has to be more stable Europe, safer and more patroness to work with the United States to respond to the global challenges of the XXI century.

Today, the time has come for as long ANLW, to establish a Strategic Services Office, an intelligence network in Albania as the center for the Balkans.

In the modern world of today's diplomacy Serbian nation should take the emergency grounding and optimal position in the international environment, to change constantly in the line of European integration and globalization and to help decision-making inside and outside our country. New strategic meaning of the country, geopolitics, traditional geo-economy should vary according to the new degree of thinking by respecting the better part of its properties.

Local media should create a new image for Albania and our nation, to the neighbors attention of Europe and world globalizing. These suitable images invent scenarios, implementing a new technique articulated to link the country regionally and globally. In the world map of memories our nation must take place in an emotional identities influential global audience, unique for coexistence and religious and ethnic harmony.

After the establishment of independence of Kosovo, media need to clarify public opinion that cross-border natural relations with Albania are a source of stability, freedom, peace and integration. Pan-regional integration should be followed to guarantee stability and development and not as a potential danger to others.

Position and attitude towards political undecided status in the Balkans remains one of the obligations and media priorities, Albanian diplomacy and international diplomacy.

Multi-ethnical and democratic Macedonia maintaining the territorial integrity and rejecting any idea of changing borders by internal or external force, artificial ethnic division and serves as an option for the future outlook of the Albanian media. The international community is united and committed to a policy of durable active, hopeful, without tricks propaganda or rhetoric, the gate is a real interest for peace. Dialogue must intensify political engaging media.

We have to fight against prejudices about which Larry Wolf speaks in his excellent book "Inventing Eastern Europe" – the prejudice attributable to Voltero and Diderot, who were held still by a large part of the majority of silent Western-European as we are backward people who live in misery and poverty, troubled by old hatreds and unable to run a prosperous democracy, a market economy, regular and a vibrant culture.

The US has the concept that the Balkans is "unfinished Europe". Let us make every effort to build full Europe, together with Albania, together with the Balkans as an integral part of the EU.

Literature

-Haris Silaixhiç, Shqiperia dhe SHBA ne arkivat e Washingtonit
-Kristo Dako, Korrespondenca me Charles Crane.

http://theWebalyst.com

-Kristo Dako, Kush jane Shqiptarët.

-Sevasti Dako, Ditar.

-Charles Crane, Korrespondenca me Kristo Dako-n.

-Understanding International Politics.

-Shpetim Lezi, Why President Wilson Saved Albania: USA-Albania Friendship

-Bashkepunimi Nderkombetar per Paqe, Siguri dhe Perparim ne Europen Juglindore

-Nato perballe Sfidave te Reja ndaj Paqes dhe Sigurimit Nderkombetar

-Sfidat e Reja te Sigurise te Bashkesise Euro-Atlantike nga Kendveshtrimi i Ballkanit Perendimor

- Hamdi Thaçi, Kosova "Demokraci Morale" apo Kosova "Serbi e Madhe"

-Astrit Memia, Njeriu dhe Natyra ne Globalizem

-Abdullah Kardjagdiu, Pese Vjet ne Shqiperi

-George W. Bush, Ne Emer te Lirise

-Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, 1857: Das albanesische Element in Griechenland. Abt. 1: Über Ursprung und Altertum der Albanesen (The Albanian element in Greece. Pt. 1: On the origin and antiquity of the Albanians.) (Abhandlungen der Historischen Klasse der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Bd. 8, Abt. 2, pp. 417–87).

-1860-61: Das albanesische Element in Griechenland. Abt. 2 und 3: Was man über die Taten und Schicksale des albanesischen Volkes von seinem ersten Auftreten in der Geschichte bis zu seiner Unterjochung durch die Türken nach dem Tode Skander-Bergs mit Sicherheit wissen kann. (Pts. 2 and 3: What can be known with certainty about the deeds and fate of the Albanian people from their first appearance in history until their subjugation by the Turks after the death of Skanderberg.) (Abhandlungen der Historischen Klasse der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Bd. 8, Abt. 3, pp. 657–736 and Bd. 9, Abt. 1, pp. 3–110).

-Konferenca kombëtare "E DREJTA E INFORMIMIT E DREJTE THEMELORE E NJERIUT. Avokati i Popullit Ermir Dobiani

-E drejta e informimit (Mars 2007)Ilda Londo, Instituti Shqiptar i Medias

-"Transparenca e pronësisë së medias" Dr. Zef Preci, (Instituti Shqiptar I Medies Tiranë, 10 dhjetor 2004)

-"Të Drejtat e Njeriut", reviste periodike, 2003, nr4-5,

-"Perla" 2001-2003,

-*Media Shqiptare "99-2003 "Zhvillimet politike në Shqipëri", 1920-1939.*

-*"Krizat Ndërkombëtare" J. Stevens,*

-*"Negociatat", "Diplomacia shqiptare", vëllimi I, II, III, Prof. Dr.L.Bashkurti,*

-*"E Drejta Europiane", Dr. Iva Zajmi,*

-*Penale Ndrëkombëtare" , J.Xhafa,*

-*Gazeta , Nr. 1,2, Hamit Boriçi,*

-*Manual për Gazetarët e Europës Qëndrore Lindore,*

-*"Komunizmi, kapitalizmi dhe Mass-Media", Colin Sparks,*

-*NATO,-manual,*

-*Council of Europe, Strasbourg 12 december 2003*

Mr. Astrit Memia obtain the title Ph.D. in Political Science and Diplomacy at the University of Leipnitzc, USA. Mr. Memia has participate in many National and International training courses in the field of Political Science.

Doc. Dr. Astrit Memia is currently Program Coordinator at Albanian Diplomatic Academy. Doc. Dr. Astrit Memia has a rich career in the field of teaching as a lecturer at the Albanian Diplomatic Academy Regional Office, Kosovo, Lecturer at the Regional Office of the Albanian Diplomatic Academy, Macedonia, Professor at the International University of Struga, Macedonia etc.. Also Doc. Dr. Astrit Memia is the author of several books, scientific papers and he has participated in many seminars and conferences. Mr. Memia is a lecturer in many universities of the region, as well as an honorary member of a number of prestigious national and international institutions.

The future of Globalization

Help or Hurt the World's Poor?

By Parvis Hanson

Globalization pro and cons have been focusing over the past years on the concerns about poverty and inequality of discussion in a way that few other topics, except for international terrorism or global warming, have. Most people have a strong opinion on globalization, and most of them express an interest in the well-being of the world's poor. The financial press and influential international officials confidently assert that global free markets expand the horizons for the poor, whereas activist-protesters hold the opposite belief with equal intensity. Yet the strength of people's conviction is often in inverse proportion to the amount of robust factual evidence they have.

As is common in contentious public debates, different people mean different things by the same word. Some interpret globalization to mean the global reach of communications technology and capital movements, some think of the outsourcing by domestic companies in rich countries, and others see globalization as a byword for corporate capitalism or American cultural and

economic hegemony. So it is best to be clear at the outset of this article that I shall primarily refer to economic globalization--the expansion of foreign trade and investment. How does this process affect the wages, incomes and access to resources for the poorest people in the world? This question is one of the most important in social science today.

For a quarter century after World War II, most developing countries in Africa,Asia and Latin America insulated their economies from the rest of the world.Since then, though, most have opened their markets. For instance, between1980 and 2017, trade in goods and services expanded from 23 to 72 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) in China and from 19 to 59 percent in India.

Such changes have caused many hardships for the poor in developing countries but have also created opportunities that some nations utilize and others do not, largely depending on their domestic political and economic institutions. (The same is true for low-wage workers in the U.S., although the effects of globalization on rich countries are beyond the scope of this article.)

The net outcome is often quite complex and almost always context-dependent,belying the glib pronouncements for or against globalization made in the opposing camps. Understanding the complexities is essential to taking effective action.

Neither

Plagu

e

n

THE CASE FOR FREE TRADE rests on the age-old principle of comparative

advantage, the idea that countries are better off when they export the things

they are best at producing, and import the rest. Most mainstream economists

accept the principle, but even they have serious differences of opinion on the

balance of potential benefits and actual costs from trade and on the

importance of social protection for the poor. Free traders believe that the

rising tide of international specialization and investment lifts all boats. Others

point out that many poor people lack the capacity to adjust, retool and relocate

with changing market conditions. These scholars argue that the benefits of

specialization materialize in the long run, over which people and resources are

assumed to be fully mobile, whereas the adjustments can cause pain in the

short run.

The debate among economists is a paragon of civility compared with the
one taking place in the streets. Antiglobalizers' central claim is that
globalization is making the rich richer and the poor poorer; proglobalizers
assert that it actually helps the poor. But if one looks at the factual evidence,
the matter is rather more complicated. On the basis of household survey data
collected by different agencies, the World Bank estimates the fraction of the
population in developing countries that falls below the 1-a-day poverty line (at
1993 prices)-- an admittedly crude but internationally comparable level. By
this measure, extreme poverty is declining.

The trend is particularly pronounced in East, South and Southeast Asia.

Poverty has declined sharply in China, India and Indonesia--countries that

have long been characterized by massive rural poverty and that together

account for about half the total population of developing countries. Between

1981 and 2016 the percentage of rural people living on less than 1 a day decreased from 79 to 15 percent in China, 63 to 34 percent in India, and 55 to 6 percent in Indonesia.

But although the poorest are not, on the whole, getting poorer, no one has yet convincingly demonstrated that improvements in their condition are mainly the result of globalization. In China the poverty trend could instead be attributed to internal factors such as the expansion of infrastructure, the massive 1978 land reforms (in which the Mao-era communes were disbanded), changes in grain procurement prices, and the relaxation of restrictions on rural-to-urban migration. In fact, a substantial part of the decline in poverty had already happened by the mid-1980s, before the big strides in foreign trade or investment. Of the more than 600 million Chinese lifted above the international poverty line between 1981 and 2015, three fourths got there by 1987.

Similarly, rural poverty reduction in India may be attributable to the spread of the Green Revolution in agriculture, government antipoverty programs and social movements--not the trade liberalization of the 1990s.

In Indonesia the Green Revolution, macroeconomic policies, stabilization of rice prices and massive investment in rural infrastructure played a substantial role in the large reduction of rural poverty. Of course, globalization, by expanding employment in labor-intensive manufacturing, has helped to pull many Chinese and Indonesians out of poverty since the mid-1980s (though not yet as much in India, for various domestic institutional and policy reasons). But it is only one factor among many accounting for the economic advances of the

past 25 years.

Those who are dubious of the benefits of globalization point out that poverty have remained stubbornly high in sub-Saharan Africa. Between 1981 and 2016 the fraction of Africans living below the international poverty line increased from 42 to 52 percent. But this deterioration appears to have less to do with globalization than with unstable or failed political regimes. If anything, such instability reduced their extent of globalization, as it scared off many foreign investors and traders. Volatile politics amplifies longer-term factors such as geographic isolation, disease, overdependence on a small number of export products, and the slow spread of the Green Revolution.

Swe
a
tshops

GLOBAL MARKET competition in general rewards people with initiative, skills, information and entrepreneurship in all countries. Poor people everywhere are handicapped by their lack of access to capital and opportunities to learn new skills. Workers in some developing countries--say, Mexico--are losing their jobs in labor-intensive manufacturing to their counterparts in Asia. At the same time, foreign investment has also brought

No 1/2018

new jobs. Overall, the effect appears to be a net improvement. In Mexico, low-wage poverty is declining in the regions that are more involved in the international economy than others--even controlling for the fact that skilled and enterprising people migrate to those regions, improving incomes there independently of what globalization accomplishes. A recent study by the

University of California, San Diego, which took into account only people born in a particular region (thus leaving out migrants), found that during the 1990s average incomes in the Mexican states most affected by globalization increased 10 percent more than those least affected.

In poor Asian economies, such as Bangladesh, Vietnam and Cambodia, large numbers of women now have work in garment export factories. Their wages are low by world standards but much higher than they would earn in alternative occupations. Advocates who worry about exploitative sweatshops have to appreciate the relative improvement in these women's conditions and status. An Oxfam report quoted Rahana Chaudhuri, a 23-year-old mother working in the garment industry in Bangladesh:

This job is hard--and we are not treated fairly. The managers do not respect us women. But life is much harder for those working outside. Back in my village, I would have less money. Outside of the factories, people selling things in the street or carrying bricks on building sites earn less than we do. There are few other options. Of course, I want better conditions. But for me this job means that my children will have enough to eat and that their lives can improve.

In 2015 Naila Kabeer of the University of Sussex in England and Simeen Mahmud of the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies did a survey of 2,380 women workers in Dhaka. They discovered that the average monthly income of workers in garment-export factories was 92 percent above that of other wage workers living in the same slum neighborhoods.

Another indication of this relative improvement can be gauged by what happens when such opportunities disappear. In 2014, anticipating a more restrictive U.S. ban on imports of products made using child labor, the garment industry in Bangladesh dismissed an estimated 30,000 children. UNICEF and local aid groups investigated what happened to them. About 10,000 children went back to school, but the rest ended up in much inferior occupations, including stone breaking and child prostitution. That does not excuse the appalling working conditions in the sweatshops, let alone the cases of forced or unsafe labor, but advocates must recognize the severely limited existing opportunities for the poor and the possible unintended consequences of fair trade policies.

T
h
e
                                                                                                Lo
c
al Roots of Poverty

INTEGRATION INTO the international economy brings not only

opportunities but also problems. Even when new jobs are better than the old

ones, the transition can be wrenching. Most poor countries provide very little

effective social protection to help people who have lost their jobs and not yet

found new ones. Moreover, vast numbers of the poor work on their own small

farms or for household enterprises. The major constraints they usually face

are domestic, such as lack of access to credit, poor infrastructure, venal

government officials and insecure land rights. Weak states, unaccountable

regimes, lopsided wealth distribution, and inept or corrupt politicians and

bureaucrats often combine to block out the opportunities for the poor.

Opening markets without relieving these domestic constraints forces people to

compete with one hand tied behind their back. The result can be deepened

poverty.

Conversely, opening the economy to trade and long-term capital flows need

not make the poor worse off if appropriate domestic policies and institutions

are in place--particularly to help shift production to more marketable goods

and help workers enter new jobs.

Contrasting case studies of countries make this quite apparent. Although the

island economies of Mauritius and Jamaica had similar per capita incomes in

the early 1980s, their economic performance since then has diverged

dramatically, with the former having better participatory institutions and rule

of law and the latter mired in crime and violence.

South Korea and the Philippines had similar per capita incomes in the early 1960s, but the Philippines languished in terms of political and economic institutions (especially because power and wealth were concentrated in a few hands), so it remains a developing country, while South Korea has joined the ranks of the developed. Botswana and Angola are two diamond-exporting countries in southern Africa, the former democratic and fast-growing, the latter ravaged by civil war and plunder.

The experiences of these and other countries demonstrate that antipoverty programs need not be blocked by the forces of globalization. There is no race to the bottom in which countries must abandon social programs to keep up

economically; in fact, social and economic goals can be mutually supportive. Land reform, expansion of credit and services for small producers, retraining and income support for displaced workers, public-works programs for the unemployed, and provision of basic education and health can enhance the productivity of workers and farmers and thereby contribute to a country's global competitiveness. Such programs may require a rethinking of budget priorities in those nations and a more accountable political and administrative framework, but the obstacles are largely domestic. Conversely, closing the economy to international trade does not reduce the power of the relevant vested interests: landlords, politicians and bureaucrats, and the rich who enjoy government subsidies. Thus, globalization is not the main cause of developing countries' problems, contrary to the claim of critics of globalization--just as globalization is often not the main solution to these

problems, contrary to the claim of overenthusiastic free traders.

What about the environment? Many conservationists argue that international integration encourages the overexploitation of fragile natural resources, such as forests and fisheries, damaging the livelihoods of the poor. A common charge against transnational companies is that they flock to poor countries with lax environmental standards. Anecdotes abound, but researchers have done very few statistical studies. One of the few, published in 2003 by World Bank and University of California, Berkeley, considered Mexico, Morocco, Venezuela and Ivory Coast. It found very little evidence that

companies chose to invest in these countries to shirk pollution-abatement costs in rich countries; the single most important factor in determining the amount of investment was the size of the local market. Within a given industry, foreign plants tended to pollute less than their local peers.

Like persistent poverty, lax environmental standards are ultimately a domestic policy or institutional failure. A lack of well-defined or well-enforced property rights or regulation of common property resources often leads to their overuse.

Responding to pressure from powerful political lobbies, governments have deliberately kept down the prices of precious environmental resources: irrigation water in India, energy in Russia, timber concessions in Indonesia and the Philippines. The result, unsurprisingly, is resource depletion. To be sure, if a country opens its markets without dealing with these distortions, it can worsen the environmental problems.

http://theWebalyst.com

Whe
n

            Talk   ***Gives***   ***Way***

to

Acti

o

n

FORTUNATELY, the two sides of the globalization debate are--slowly--developing some measure of agreement. In many areas, advocates in both camps see the potential for coordination among transnational companies, multilateral organizations, developing country governments and local aid groups on programs to help the poor. Going beyond the contentious debates and building on the areas of emerging consensus and cooperation, international partnerships may be able to make a dent in the poverty that

Parvis Hanson_"The Future of Globalization" GlobaProcesses_____No 1/2018_page 323

continues to oppress the lives of billions of people in the world. Here are some measures under discussion.

Capital controls. The flow of international investment consists both of long-term capital (such as equipment) and of speculative short-term capital (such as shares, bonds and currency). The latter, shifted at the click of a mouse, can stampede around the globe in herd like movements, causing massive damage to fragile economies. The Asian financial crisis of 1997 was an example. Following speculators' run on the Thai currency, the baht, the poverty rate in

rural Thailand jumped 50 percent in just one year. In Indonesia, a mass withdrawal of short-term capital caused real wages in manufacturing to drop 44 percent. Many economists (including those who otherwise support free trade) now see a need for some form of control over short-term capital flows, particularly if domestic financial institutions and banking standards are weak. It is widely believed that China, India and Malaysia escaped the brunt of the Asian financial crisis because of their stringent controls on capital flight. Economists still disagree, though, on what form such control should take and what effect it has on the cost of capital.

Reduced protectionism. The major hurdle many poor countries face is not too much globalization but too little. It is hard for the poor of the world to climb out of poverty when rich countries (as well as the poor ones themselves) restrict imports and subsidize their own farmers and manufacturers. The annual loss to developing countries as a group from agricultural tariffs and

subsidies in rich countries is estimated to be 45 billion; their annual loss from trade barriers on textile and clothing is estimated to be 24 billion. The toll exceeds rich countries' foreign aid to poor countries. Of course, the loss is not equally distributed among poor countries. Some would benefit more than others if these import restrictions and subsidies were lifted.

Trust-busting. Small exporters in poor nations often lack the marketing networks and brand names to make inroads into rich-country markets. Although transnational retail companies can help them, the margins and fees

they charge are often very high. Restrictive business practices by these international middlemen are difficult to prove, but a great deal of circumstantial evidence exists. The international coffee market, for example, is dominated by four companies. In the early 1990s the coffee earnings of exporting countries were about 12 billion, and retail sales were 30 billion. By 2015 retail sales had more than tripled, yet coffee-producing countries received about half their earnings of a decade earlier. The problem is not global markets but impeded access to those markets or depressed prices received by producers, as a result of the near-monopoly power enjoyed by a few retail firms. In certain industries, companies may actively collude to fix prices. Some economists have proposed an international antitrust investigation agency. Even if such an agency did not have much enforcement power, it could mobilize public opinion and strengthen the hands of antitrust agencies in developing countries.

In addition, internationally approved quality-certification programs can help poor-country products gain acceptance in global markets.

Social programs. Many economists argue that for trade to make a country better off, the government of that country may have to redistribute wealth and income to some extent, so that the winners from the policy of opening the economy share their gains with the losers. Of course, the phrase to some extent still leaves room for plenty of disagreement.

Nevertheless, certain programs stir fairly little controversy, such as

assistance programs to help workers cope with job losses and get retrained and redeployed. Scholarships allowing poor parents to send their children to school have proved to be more effective at reducing child labor than banning imports of products.

Research. The Green Revolution played a major role in reducing poverty in Asia. New international private-public partnerships could help develop other products suitable for the poor (such as medicines, vaccines and crops). Under the current international patent regime, global pharmaceutical companies do not have much incentive to do costly research on diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis that kill millions of people in poor countries every year. But research collaborations are emerging among donor agencies, the World Health Organization, groups such as Doctors Without Borders and private foundations such as the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

Immigration reform in rich countries. A program to permit larger numbers of unskilled workers into rich countries as guest workers would do more to reduce world poverty than other forms of international integration, such as trade liberalization, can. The current climate, however, is not very hospitable to this idea.

Simplistic antiglobalization slogans or sermons on the unqualified benefits of free trade do not serve the cause of alleviating world poverty. An appreciation of the complexity of the issues and an active interweaving of domestic and

international policies would be decidedly more fruitful.

PARVIS HANSON, President of Manor Group, Switzerland Manor Group advises leading corporations and governments from Asia, Europe and North America.

Growing more than 10 companies from 10 million to 100 million USD turnover. Implemented innovative new technologies to drive economic competiveness for Singapore, Switzerland and Philippine Governments.

Prior to founding Manor Group, Parvis Hanson was Senior Manager of the World Economic Forum, Asia; ICT corporations and New Asian Leaders.

Mr Hanson is also Board Member: Air-ION, Switzerland; TraDove, USA; Managing Director, Book Hill Partners, USA; President, East West Bridge Switzerland; President, Swiss China Partnership, Switzerland; Founder, Princess Carina Organization, Switzerland and senior advisor to United Nations, INTERPOL, Brookings Institute, WIPO, WCO, ICC and Horasis.

Moving images

as a way of global communication,

No 1/2018

By Suki Medencevic,ASC

Hi
s
t
o
r
y

It's been said that the numbers and images are the most universal languages. Since the earliest days of civilization a story telling was an integral part of our existence. The cave men used the drawing on the cave walls to tell the stories about the hunt and the animals they encountered. It could be easily, according to some anthropologists, that these drawing were the backdrop for somebody telling the story to the captivating audience around the fire, making it a first audio visual act of storytelling.

Nobody knows the language the ancient Egyptians spoke, but it was very clear that using images in communication was a very important part of their culture. Centuries later with the rise of the other ancient cultures leading to the renaissance and many scientific discoveries, such as the pinhole camera ("the camera obscura") and the "magic lantern" the new means of storytelling were created. Almost exclusively used as a part of the magic shows

"phantasmagorias", by projecting painted glass slides on the screens and the walls the magic lantern was truly the science in the service of magic. But deep down, everybody knew that this is just an illusion.

The industrial revolution and advancements in technology in the 19th century enabled the very important turning point in visual communication. Discovering photography, a process that can capture the image of the real places or people, opened a whole new world of visuals. First black and white

grainy image were still strong enough to immerse the viewer in believing that it is as close to realty as we can be. But, a static image couldn't fully transformed us to the places or create the illusion of reality as it will be with the discovery of Lumiere Brother's 'cinematograph".

No invention preceding the September 28 1895 first ever public presentation could have such an impact as it did the screening of "Workers Leaving the Lumiere Factory". People watching the train entering the station were running out of the theater in a total fear that they will be killed by the approaching train. This was the begging of the whole new era in the visual storytelling.

After the first pioneering attempts, it was clear that cinema has a magic power and storytelling through the moving images became a new way of entertainment but cinema also slowly started to become a new art form. As the first film studios started to emerge in Hollywood at the begging of the 20th century the whole new industry was created and a clear differentiation of the professionals in the process was becoming more obvious. The movie star, director, producer, screenwriter early on established themselves as "above the line" talent.

But, there was somebody who was responsible to create the mood, the intricate play of light and shadows, somebody who needed to make sure that director's vision and the scene description is interpreted at the screen in the

most impactful way. And, yes, the movie star had to look always stunning. That was job of a cinematographer.

American Society of Cinematographers, ASC

Almost 100 years ago in 1919 a group of "cameramen" working in

Hollywood recognized importance of protecting the integrity of this new profession under the "Loyalty, Progress, Artistry" banner and the mission statement. The main purpose of the organizations was advancing the art and science of cinematography and bringing the cinematographers together to exchange ideas, discuss techniques and promote the motion pictures as an art form. As a professional, cultural and educational organization ASC is the oldest continuously operating motion picture society in the world.

Today, at least 30% of the 373 active ASC members are cinematographers that came from different countries than USA but their artistry and the skill was very well implemented in the current Hollywood productions. The influx and inclusion of new international talents is something that is a secret for the Hollywood film industry's vitality. That applies to cinematography but also to many other branches.

From the very early days of Hollywood, many studios understood the importance of having open door policy towards the talent from different countries. The Hollywood legends, such as Greta Garbo, Marlene Dietrich, Erich von Stroheim, Friedrich Murnau… just to name a few, left a very strong mark on the cinema from the early days and having the films made in Hollywood much bigger global appeal.

The images in the function of ideology

Universal language of the images and the ability to communicate very powerful messages was very early recognized by the leading ideologues. Shortly after the October Revolution under direct order of Lenin, the film was

declared "The most important art".

New Soviet leadership knew very well that in order to inform, educate and indoctrinate largely illiterate population film and images will be the most effective tool. Eisenstein, Pudovkin, Vertov, Dovzenko are among the first Soviet film authors that early on embraced the Marxist ideology and the advancement of the new technological innovations and managed to create some of the most powerful visual propaganda. On another hand, many even today recognize that the powerful images they created surpassed the pure propaganda and have a very strong artistic identity that influenced many generations of film makers all over the world.

At the same time in the different part of Europe one of the most effective propaganda machine was created. Rise of fascism in Germany was parallel with the rise of the very strong film industry with one goal in mind, to communicate the idea of the Aryan superiority and enable the ruling powers to mobilize the entire nation for the war. "Triumph of the Will" a documentary film made in 1934 by German actress/director Leni Riefenstahl commissioned by Hitler and Goebbels personally, is still considered one of the most powerful propaganda films ever made.

Its images have been a textbook for many other totalitarian governments and propaganda institutions, but they never surpassed power of the message that this film had.

The following film "Olympia" made during the Olympic Games in Berlin 1936 and released in 1938, just before the WW2 on a surface was a ground breaking documentary about the games, but on another level, clearly communicated the same ideology of Aryan superiority. Regardless of the ideology, the visual

language of this film was so strong that for many film critics it is still considered one of the top 100 films of all time.

The visual vocabulary of this film has influenced many film makers even today and many ways the sports events are captured with the camera nowadays are directly or indirectly influenced by 'Olympia". Entering the war, German propaganda meticulously documented every move of the troops, every battle and every destruction, feeding it to the public and using the visuals of the newsreels as another means of fighting the war.

As USA entered the WW2 very quickly the US Army Air Force realized how important is the message that public, as well the troops are receiving. A special film unit "First Motion Picture Unit" was formed by the leading Hollywood professionals, John Huston, Clack Gable, William Holden, John Ford, Franck Capra and many others.

Making over 400 propaganda and training films during the WW2 they understood that the battle can be won by images equally as with the guns. Their motto "We kill'em with film" sums it up the best.

Many the wars and armed conflicts after the WW2 have been well documented and many memorable images from Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, Balkans, Afghanistan, Syria have been used as a powerful propaganda tools on all sides. Very often the same images are manipulated and used to send the opposite message.

Images of starvation, death and destruction hve power to motivate millions to help the ones in need and make difference. These images don't translation and they carry very powerful messages.

Bigger and better

Watching the train coming to the station was enough to create a pandemonium in the theater in the early days of cinema, but one thing became very apparent from the begging: the audiences very quickly adopt a new medium and a need for a new way of visual stimulation would naturally follow. Some of the most stunning visual story telling was created during the era of silent black and white film. Telling the story only visually without any other additional tools forced the authors to perfect the language of cinema making it really the universal tool in communication.

It was almost irrelevant at what country the film was presented in. Films like Ruttmann's "Berlin, a Symphony of a Metropolis", Vertov's "Man with a Movie Camera", Murnau's "Nosferatu" or "Sunrise", D.W Griffith's "Birth of the Nation" are just a few masterpieces that defined that era. Ironically, introduction of the sound in the cinema in the late 20's created a setback in the visual language. The dialog became the main way of communicating the story and, like with anything else before, the audience needed something more stimulating.

Black and white images of characters delivering a dialog at the screen needed the "upgrade" and the glorious Technicolor process was introduced. In the era when the nation was recovering from the economic depression, dazzling colors and fairytales at the silver screen followed by the grand music scores, dance numbers and movie stars bigger than life gave the perfect world to escape to from every day's hardship.

"Gone with the Wind" and "Wizard of Oz" after almost eight decades are still considered true masterpieces of cinema.

This concept of cinema as a hideaway from realty has been an inherent quality from the very begging till the present day. Some film theoreticians even go as far as claiming that the cinema is just a logical continuation of human's need for the magic and fantasy. Experiencing "collective unconscious" and immersing yourself in the story on the big screen required a trip to the cinema, buying the ticket and sharing the experience with the audience at pre-determined time.

Arrival of the television was truly the first tool of global visual communication. Being able to experience live images at the small screen at our homes and being transformed to distant places anywhere at the planet was a first step toward the instant communication through images.

The fight for the audience between television and cinema was just at the beginning. To be totally immersed in the image there is a need to go beyond the edges of the cinema screen. That led to invention of large and wide cinema screens, creating film stories of epic proportions.

Television responded by introducing color. Cinema responded by introducing 3D to create even greater sense of illusion. Television responded by introduction a large number of channels, giving the audience a choice what to watch and when. A need for the total immersion in the images let to creation of the largest cinema screen, IMAX which when viewed in 3D is the closest experience that one can get to the total immersion.

Technology advancements of last decade made it possible that many can have a move theater in the comfort of the home.

The ultimate experience that can give us a sensation of total immersion seem to be already here. Virtual reality, VR, is a new medium with almost endless possibilities in creating computer generated or captured real life

images. But, how is this new concept fitting in the idea of traditional cinema where the author is communicating the story and creating emotions using the language of cinema developed over more than a century? Like in any other turning point before, the evolution of the cinema is inevitable. It is up to us to be able to adopt and embrace the changes.

Images as a tools of communication

With the arrival of the Internet, the communication and global connectivity is bigger than ever. Another phenomenon that came with the great advancements in the telecommunication technology is the ability to have instant access to virtually limitless visual content. Creating still images or moving ones has become a part of our everyday routine. Smart phones equipped with the high quality cameras are giving the opportunity to millions to become visual story tellers.

The question is if such democratization of the media will necessarily lead to the growth of its quality? Probably in a very small percentage. Another even more interesting phenomenon is the fact that images are becoming a new way of communicating, especially among the younger generations. Written word or phrase expressing some emotion or a meaning, in the era of the very short attention span of general population, is being shortened in acronyms.

The limitations of acronyms are still in the root of the particular language and the only universal language that transcends the geographic borders is the language of images. Emoji, as a simple symbol is becoming a new tool in communication that has the same meaning in any place on the planet. Thousands years of civilization developing written language and all forms of

alphabets are now closing the circle of communicating with images, as the ancient Egyptians did.

T

Where is the cinema and the cinematography today and in the future? It is a very complex question that it is hard to predict with a certainty. If we accept the idea that the cinema fulfills the need for magic than, we have hope that it will be here in a foreseeable future. Democratization of film making and cinematography on one level is creating a huge amount of visual content of very poor or mediocre quality. As a result, criteria for what has some aesthetic value and what not are definitely shifting towards the lower end of the scale.

On another level, lowering the criteria of visual quality is putting cinematographers under even greater pressure to elevate the artistry of visual storytelling to the next level.

The audience on a global level needs to be reminded that experiencing a movie in the cinema in its highest technical and artistic level is something that can't be compared to anything else. More than ever before cinematographers all over the world are connecting and exchanging ideas. The preservation and advancement of the artistry and role of cinematographer is a common goal that is also a very strong unifying factor.

That is why many countries all over the world established their cinematographers associations with that goal in mind.

American Society of Cinematographers, (ASC) in the USA and IMAGO are world's most recognized organizations with the goal of preserving the artistry of cinematography. IMAGO was established initially as an umbrella of European cinematographers associations but in the last few years it has grown to be a

more global organization.

   The goals of ASC and IMAGO are to communicate and find solutions to challenges of common interest, to promote the art of Cinematography at an international level, and to share and exchange the experience and knowledge. The biannual International Cinematography Summit, (ISC) hosted by the ASC is the world's biggest event that promotes the global culture of cinematography and cultivates the spirit of collaboration and unity. We are all well aware that the key for the growth of our artistry is in open exchange of ideas on a global level.

Suki Medencevic studied at the renowned National Film School (FAMU) in Prague, where he earned his Masters Degree with Honors in cinematography. Since shooting his first feature film in the US in 1994, Suki has become a household name on feature length films, television projects and numerous commercials and documentaries. He keeps lecturing as an important part of his professional life and is currently teaching the art of cinematography at USC - School of Cinematic Arts, New York Film Academy in Los Angeles, and at the Global Cinematography Institute, a newly formed school founded by Vilmos Zsigmond, ASC and Yuri Neyman, ASC.

As a cinematographer, he has earned many international awards including a nomination for The Golden Frog at Camerimage 2004, International Film Festival of The Art Of Cinematography, and "The Best Photography Award" at Mostra di Valencia International Film Festival in Spain. Suki continues to explore cutting edge technology on a large

variety of locations all over the world. In 2010, Suki became a member of the American Cinematographers Society, and is currently living and working in Los Angeles.For Suki Steven Douglas Smith, Director of Photography and Cinematographer from L.A. says „ Experienced and very talented Director of Photography.One of the Best in the World".