

GLOBAL PROCESSES



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EDITORIAL



Visiting Professor Zoran R.Vitorovic

Dear Readers,

In front of you is our new issue of E-Journal „Global Processes“, Vol 3.. As we said last time, just one quick glance at this issue highlights our strong 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.

To remember all Readers, *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.

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.

As we all know 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 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.

Main thema in this issue, Vol.3., of our E-Journal is “Covid 19 Virus Time “.

This should be at least our small commitment, to help all searching for responses and answers for a benefit of all. Covid 19 Virus will stay for a many years around us, and we all need to learn how to live with this Virus in “New Normal” Times. One is for sure – Life must go on !

W.A.O. - 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.gpjjournal.org.

7C's THAT SHAPED MODI MAGIC AGAIN!



By Prof. Jagdish Khatri

Abstract:

India, the biggest democracy in the world, has recently undergone through parliamentary elections that resulted into a mammoth victory of ruling coalition led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi. The article attempts to highlight seven major factors that created a favourable environment for such a result and the mistakes committed by the opposition. It also provides an insight into Indian electorate's psyche. This may be an interesting study for all democratic societies and political parties.

Key words: India, Modi, 7C's, democracy, political parties

Introductions

The invincible Narendra Modi juggernaut continues to take his Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) to new heights of political success in India. Modi led his Party and the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) to an emphatic victory in the recently held Parliamentary elections crushing the challenger Congress Party and regional opposition groups almost in all Indian States.

While the losers will continue to deliberate on the reasons for their utter failure to judge the pulse of the people, here is an attempt to highlight seven main factors that shaped the Modi Magic once again. As these all begin with the letter C, I have termed them as the 7C's:

Charisma:

There is no doubt in the fact that none of the political leaders in India possesses as charismatic personality as Mr. Narendra Modi, both within his own Party and outside. The Brand Modi has further been consolidated throughout last five years by projecting the image as a strong, decisive and action oriented leader. This helped BJP to turn this Parliamentary election campaign into a Presidential type, converting it into a direct contest between Narendra Modi against a weaker Rahul Gandhi. Modi also wisely added in his speeches that every vote given to his Party symbol 'Lotus' will reach Modi directly. Thus, the individual MP candidates became irrelevant for the electorate, and voters were choosing Modi when pressing Lotus button on the EVMs. Moreover, Modi has always been successful in building castles from the stones thrown at him. Thus, when Congress used the slogan "Chowkidar Chor Hai.." (The watchman is a thief himself) to destroy the clean image of Modi, he cleverly turned it to his advantage with a counter slogan "Main Bhi Chowkidar.." (meaning that everyone is a watchman for his country) and by adding "Chowkidar" before his name on Twitter account which was followed by his colleagues too. Too much of personal mudslinging on Modi by opposition leaders resulted into a rather sympathetic attitude of electorate towards him and further added to his charisma.

Country First:

The main theme of the BJP campaign this time revolved around Nationalism and National security. Indian Army's surgical strike during 2016 and the Balakot strikes in Pakistan post-Pulwama terror attack were projected as the symbols of muscular nationalism and a strong response by Indian Government like never before. Prime Minister's quote, "Ghar mein ghuskar maara.." (We have killed them by entering into their hideouts) was greeted with a thunderous applause by audiences. The voters were convinced that "Country comes first". This also helped in implicit projection of all rivals and secular liberals as 'anti-national'. The strategy of promoting Nationalism also helped in shifting focus away from Government's performance and issues like unemployment and farm distress.

Communal Card:

BJP was successful in combining stronger nationalistic sentiment with aggressive polarisation of majority voters against perceived threat from minorities. This was reflected openly by choice of its candidates and aggressive speeches delivered by senior BJP leaders during campaign. This strategy was especially effective in building voter base in the states of West Bengal and Hindi heartland.

Communication:

The communication skills of Prime Minister were used to the fullest through large number of rallies and through personal interviews to electronic media which played a highly supportive role. Moreover, the vast army of BJP supporters on the social media maintained a sustained indoctrination of groups in favour of Narendra Modi as the ultimate leader and in demonizing the opposition. Through the campaign #‘AayegaToModiHi’ (Whatever happens, Modi will surely return back), the electorate were made to convince the invincibility of Narendra Modi. The volunteers of RSS also played a vital role by personally contacting individual households in Hindi heartland and convincing the voters in favour of BJP.

Chemistry:

The exemplary chemistry between Prime Minister Modi and his confidante BJP President Amit Shah made an invincible combination. Amit Shah, like Mr. Modi, was an indefatigable campaigner and an astute political strategist. On the other hand, the opposition kept depending upon arithmetic of caste based votes, like in the important state of Uttar Pradesh, the ‘gathbandhan’ (coalition) of Samajwadi Party and Bahujan Samaj Party kept dreaming of wide spread winning just on the arithmetic of their traditional voters. Moreover, the chemistry displayed by the ruling NDA partners during nominations and later in campaigning was much more solid than the poor show of personal aspirations by opposition stalwarts and absence of a common leadership face.

Collaborations:

BJP, led by its relentless President Amit Shah, was able to negotiate and build productive alliances with regional outfits well in time in almost all states. The strategy of accomodating the unjustified whims of alliance partners like Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, Janata Dal (United) and Lok Janshakti Party in Bihar, and Apna Dal in UP also paid dividends. On the other hand, opposition was hardly able to build alliances even till nominations stage. Congress failed to find allies in crucial states of UP, West Bengal and Delhi; resulting into division of opposition votes. The promised 'mahagathbandhan' (grand alliance) never showed signs of becoming a reality.

Continuity:

Even if the voters were not fully satisfied by the Narendra Modi Government's performance in its first term of five years, especially with regard to economy, they were not averse to giving it a second chance to fulfil its promises. TINA (There Is No Alternative) factor was in mind of voters even if opposed to BJP brand of politics. Moreover, there was a strong mindset of keeping their choices separate for Central and State governments. Hence, while Congress was able to form its governments in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh only a few months back defeating BJP in direct contest, the result of this election was a near whitewash, as the same voters preferred a strong & stable government at Centre. In Karnataka also, even though in power with the Janata Dal (Secular), its performance was worst.

Conclusions

Thus, it is evident that the new generation of voters have rejected the earlier practices of identity based, caste based and dynastic politics. This also reflects the maturing of democracy through peaceful acceptance of the wish of general public.

About the Author :

Prof. Jagdish Khatri, India 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

EDUCATING GLOBAL CITIZENS

AN IMPERATIVE OF SCIENCE IN THE 21st CENTURY !



By Assoz. Univ.-Prof.ⁱⁿ Dr.ⁱⁿ Mag.^a Veronika Wittmann

Introductions

The issue of the journal “Foreign Affairs” (2020) from July/August 2020 entitled “The world after the pandemic” deals with the central question: Lessons learned? So, what are the lessons that humanity can learn from the current pandemic?

This present paper first answers this question by claiming the necessity of educating global citizens as an imperative of science in the 21st century.

Secondly, it argues that education is a very powerful tool to strengthen global awareness. Hereby components for educating global citizens are presented.

Thirdly, the need for a global shift in science is illustrated. Covid-19 has demonstrated to humanity the necessity for an understanding of science that establishes and enables transnational, innovative, cross-disciplinary research grounds (like Global Studies) at universities all over the world.

1. First lesson: Covid-19 is a *global human experience*: No one is not affected

First of all, the current pandemic teaches the interconnectivity and interdependence of humanity. Covid-19 is a *global human experience*: No one is not affected. The British Prime Minister was as much confronted with the disease as a slum dweller living in a disenfranchised community in the Global South.

At the same time, the pandemic has showed humanity the vulnerability of world regions and people. According to the UN world water development report 2019 (UNESCO 2020a), two billion people on the planet do not have access to clean water, and as such cannot wash their hands with soap and water in order to prevent the disease.

Covid-19 has also revealed that no individual state or world region can deal with this global threat on its own. As much as in the last decades some political scientists have declared that the political world order has to be described as “Every Nation for Itself” (Bremmer 2012), it is evident that this current pandemic cannot be solely solved by any given state. Whether some politicians might like it or not: global risks endangering humanity call for the multilateral cooperation of states and world-regions. What is needed in order to deal with universal threats in a sustainable and effective way are the joint efforts of all the states in the world.

As such, the first lesson to be learnt from Covid-19 is that humanity shares global risks which can only be dealt with by multilateral cooperation and common efforts. Although the vulnerability of people across the globe is different, the current pandemic has demonstrated at the same time clearly: it is a universal human experience.

2. Second Lesson: Global problems need global solutions

Secondly, Covid-19 made it clear once again that: *Global problems need global solutions*. The global challenges that lie ahead of humanity in this century are enormous. Climate change, the loss of biodiversity, transnational terrorism, effects of digitalization and artificial intelligence altering human life and the socio-economic status quo as well as changing world politics are all universal strains which cannot be solved by any given state alone.

In order to meet these complex challenges in a sustainable way, humanity has to develop global solutions. Albert Einstein (2020:6) pointed out this argument precisely by stating:

“Problems cannot be solved with the same way of thinking that created them!”

In an era where problems are universal and risks affect all of humanity, it is evident that new ways of solving these difficulties have to be found. This calls for science to get involved in finding innovative ways of thinking.

Science and the universal transfer of knowledge is a key to ensuring profound academic discourse in the global age and contributing to the raising of global awareness on a world-wide scale. Any thoughtful scientific training also needs education on global issues. Universities all over the globe should establish Global Studies programmes, where students can learn and discuss topics confronting all of humanity. The contribution of science to meeting global challenges is a pressing concern of time, thereby scientists are perceived as highly relevant actors in the global age who can provide profound expertise on educating global citizens.

Science must address the question of universal issues and global challenges in the 21st century with innovative ways of thinking. The problems are too complex and wide ranging for any state or academic discipline to solve alone. Therefore, raising *global awareness by educating global citizens* is an urgent matter for universities and academic institutions. *Education is a very powerful tool* in achieving the goal of finding common solutions for humanity.

Components for educating global citizens are as follows:

Societal Aspects: Education on models of society beyond the state should be provided for students. These include approaches of international society (see Buzan 2004, Buzan 2014, Bull and Watson 2017), transnational society (see Kaiser 1969), global society (see Albrow 1996) as well as world society (see Burton 1972, Luhmann 2003, Luhmann 2013, Wittmann 2014, Wittmann 2015). As much as all these above-mentioned societal models differ according to their theoretical basics and methodology, they all agree on the point that any understanding of society has to have a global frame of reference.

As such, any state-related comprehension of society that equates society solely with a state is outdated in the global age, and no longer adequate to understand social and societal structures and relations in the global age.

Political Aspects: Students should be educated on topics of global governance (see Kennedy/Messner/Nuscheler 2001) and multilateral cooperation. The role of states changes due to global processes and topics of political power will alter due to digitalization processes. One example of this is Darknet, an overlay network within the internet and part of the greater deep web, which is overthrowing conventional forms of political power. No state throughout the world is unaffected by it and it cannot be governed by any political regime.

Covid-19 has brought the state back on the stage of the political world order, at the same time it is evident that states have to cooperate to find an effective and sustainable way of dealing with the pandemic. It is a fact that nowadays philanthropic organizations like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation take on the responsibility of raising global issues about Covid-19 and donating money to the international community, whereas the USA have opted out of the WHO and by doing so did not demonstrate a commitment to global responsibility. The ongoing rise of civil society organizations, which can be observed since the 1990s, remains a trend in world politics. As much as global civil society organizations have become active agents in the raising of universal issues, they have also become relevant actors in world politics.

Economical Aspects: Education on inclusive economic growth and sustainable economic development should be provided for students. Sustainability has become an agenda for the economy and has turned into quite a prominent label for entrepreneurship across the globe. The former General Secretary of the UN Kofi Annan established the UN Global Compact (2000) due to an awareness that global problems are too big to be solved solely by states and civil society organizations. As such, businesses and companies have to be involved in finding solutions for humanity. By bringing business and the United Nations together, the UN Global Compact is taking corporate sustainability from the fringes to the mainstream.

Cultural Aspects: Students should be educated on the beauty of diversity in terms of cultural topics. One of the most important key words in education on cultural issues is respect. Respect for the diversity of cultural traditions on a global scale is a key to understanding humanity. Knowledge about cultural sites from the world's heritage list as illustrated by UNESCO (2020b) is as much of an essential for students as education on new forms of cultural expression.

As a result of globalization processes, topics on global culture (see Featherstone 1992) have developed. Furthermore, cross-cultural spaces have been created all over the globe, which are hybrid and dynamic; and as such a global *mélange* (see Pieterse 2019) of cultures is recognizable.

Aspects of digitalization and artificial intelligence: Education has to include technical aspects as well. Digital information and communication technologies and artificial intelligence can be seen as a cross-cutting topic influencing all the aspects mentioned above. Even before Covid-19 new technologies were changing social and societal life, politics, economy and culture.

This trend has been fostered by the current pandemic. Many people around the globe have been hurled into the digital age due to Covid-19 and the lockdown in numerous states of the world. Physical distancing was a key measure of many governments all over the world to reduce the spread of the SARS-CoV-2 Virus.

The universal pandemic has sharpened the focus on new technologies' unresolved challenges, including impacts on online teaching tools, cross-continental conferences by digital conferences etc. Students have to be educated on how to use the benefits of the digital age in a professional way; as such education on aspects of digital information and communication technologies and artificial intelligence are an essential of this era.

Science can make a constructive contribution to the current and future global challenges confronting humanity by educating global citizens. In that respect, the common discourse of scientists regarding technological innovations and the question of surveillance versus the empowerment of people, the access and use of digital information and communication technologies on a worldwide scale – global digital divide versus global digital inclusion, the influence of

artificial intelligence on human life, the shift in world politics, global governance, global risks as universal human experiences and world society and other global social models, is essential for this century. Scientists can, due to their experience as global actors and in compliance with the international community, contribute vast expertise in that universal undertaking.

3. Third Lesson: Establishing a new understanding of science

Thirdly, Covid-19 has shown humanity the urgency of science and the necessity for cross-disciplinary research. There needs to be an understanding of science that establishes and enables transnational, innovative, cross-disciplinary research grounds (like Global Studies) at universities all over the world. Thereby science must address the question of educating global citizens in the 21st century. Scientists as global actors and as an epistemic community can then share expertise on how humanity can tackle the challenges ahead of us.

Global Citizenship Education as proclaimed by UNESCO (2020c) is a highly relevant undertaking in a world becoming increasingly interconnected and facing global risks together. Science has to contribute its expertise to global challenges ahead of humanity by sharing and disseminating knowledge on a worldwide scale. Scientists as global actors can be highly relevant promoters of global awareness in world society.

The contribution of science and universities to educating global citizens is a broad one. However, for this educational undertaking to be profoundly successful on a global scale, universities need to become advocates for global issues in the Global North as well as in the Global South through the exchange of scientific knowledge. Furthermore, scientists play a highly relevant role as global actors in world society in the implementation and dissemination of global topics. For this, cross-university collaboration and cross-disciplinary research and teaching, as the present article illustrates, are essential for deepening the engagement of science and scientists with global developments and universal concerns.

Universities and scientists occupy a unique position in world society and scientists play a highly relevant role as global actors by sharing knowledge universally. Universities are increasingly rethinking their role in the 21st century and scientists are becoming relevant actors of change in solving global challenges.

4. Conclusion

In academic discourse scientists need concepts in order to structure and categorize reality. This is essential for comprehending the world. Henceforth, in contemporary times scientists need to discuss what are adequate terms in research and teaching for the categorizing and understanding of the world in the 21st century. A world which is coined by global and digital dynamics requires scientific concepts that encompass the globe as a frame of reference. And that includes educational training on global awareness and the interconnectivity of humanity.

Science has transformed and influenced the lives of millions of people during the current pandemic. But today, its task to explain and understand the world is more difficult and complex than ever.

Humanity faces unprecedented global challenges, from Covid-19 to risks and benefits of digitalization up to climate change. Scientists need to work together – across disciplines and across world regions – to assist humanity with their expertise in overcoming these global threats. This is why educating global citizens and cross-disciplinary research and teaching as a joint effort of scientists across the globe must be seen as a pressing concern in this era.

As a central lesson to be learnt from the current pandemic and as a conclusion, it can be stated that it is high time to overcome small state or world-regional related container thinking in science, and to embrace the world as global citizens.

It was the European philosopher Erasmus of Rotterdam (2020), who was offered citizenship of Zurich – something quite prestigious at his time – and who refused this proposal by responding:

“My wish is to be a citizen of the world”.

If scientists do their research and educate students to think in the same way as Erasmus of Rotterdam did during the Renaissance, then they would be doing their job of educating global citizens well as professors.

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A PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES DO NOT MATTER



By Maxim Lamash, USA

Abstract:

This article will look at whether the president's personal attributes play a role on how he/she will perform during the time in office. This assessment will be based on the writing of two famous Political Scientists: Fred Greenstein and Stephen Skowronek. After careful evaluation of their arguments, I have concluded that indeed a president's performance will be influenced primarily by political climate and his/her affiliation to it.

Key words: United States, Fred Greenstein¹, Stephen Skowronek², political systems.

In the debate between two political scientists Fred Greenstein and Stephen Skowronek, both identify different ways to predict how a president will perform during their term in office. Greenstein argues that the best way to predict the presidential performance is to look at the "president's personal attributes: political and communication skill, organizational capacity, cognitive style, as well as emotional intelligence." (189). Skowronek on the other hand argues that the best way to predict presidential performance is to look at the political conditions that surround the president.

¹Fred Irwin Greenstein, American political scientist, known for his work on political leadership and the US Presidency

²Stephen Skowronek, Professor of Political and Social Science at Yale University

Both of the political scientists bring up valid arguments, but Skowronek's argument is more convincing, because it considers the overall political atmosphere, gives insight into why some presidents were destined to fail, and his theory is overall more inclusive.

Greenstein argues that because “the personal qualities on presidential job performance is a variable, not a constant” (190), they are a better indicator to use than Skowronek’s “simplified typology”(189). Greenstein describes different personal qualities that have made George Washington, Jefferson, and Andrew Jackson succeed and which qualities made John Adams and John Quincy Adams fail. George Washington faced a tough political situation and yet without his personal qualities there “might not be a United States of America today”(192). Greenstein compares “Washington's radiating authority”(192) to Adam’s “short, pudgy, and unimposing”(192) persona. He argues that John Adams and John Quincy Adams were both extremely unsuccessful because their “cognitive strength was undermined by emotional weakness”(193).

On the other hand, Greenstein believes that Jefferson did a tremendous job during his first term due to the political skills he possessed but ultimately failed in his second term because of his “ideological blinders”(194). Greenstein also admired that despite being a “barely educated frontier general”(196), Andrew Jackson managed to “shape the executive branch by using veto powers as means of influencing the public policy.”(196) Greenstein attributed the success of Andrew Jackson presidential term to the similar force of character that George Washington has possessed. Greenstein concludes that “the American presidency is a chameleon that takes its color from the personality of the president”(197).

On the other side of the debate, Skowronek argues that we should “pay closer attention to the particular relationship established between the presidency and the political system by each incumbent in turn”(198). He describes a political system as being controlled by a current regime. The regime can be either vulnerable or resilient. If it is vulnerable then a president has an opportunity to change it. If a regime is resilient, then there is not much room for a change.

Skowronek goes on to describe that a president can either be opposed to a ruling regime or be affiliated with it. These variables create a two-by-two box with four different predictions of how a president is likely to govern based on party status and affiliation to it. Politics of reconstruction, politics of disjunction, the politics of preemption, and the politics of articulation are the possible ways an incumbent will govern.

If the regime is vulnerable and the incumbent is opposed to it, then he will use the politics of reconstruction. The plan of the president during politics of reconstruction will be “to dislodge a long established majority party from its dominant position in Congress as well as the presidency.” (201) When the President is unaffiliated with the vulnerable regime, he will have a greater chance of becoming renowned for correcting or removing the failures of the current regime.

If the president is affiliated with a vulnerable regime, he will follow the politics of disjunction. Usually, these presidents are facing what is called “an impossible leadership situation”(203). Those presidents are unable to “orchestrate a political breakthrough in state-society relation”(203) and instead are “compelled to cope with the breakdown of those relations”(203). Due to their affiliation, they are “severely limited in their ability to control the meaning of their actions”(203), which leads to them ultimately being regarded as failures.

When presidential political identity is opposed to a resilient regime, then the politics of preemption take place. The president would be considered as a “leader of the opposition to a regime that still claims formidable political, ideological, and institutional support.”(204). He would be seen as an “alien power that interrupts the working agenda of national politics”(204). The president is stuck in the politics of preemption exercise more “success in establishing political independence”(205) while still being “limited in its reconstructive power”(204).

If the president is affiliated with a resilient regime, then the politics of articulation will take place. Skowronek believes that “most contemporary presidents are engaged in politics of articulation”(205). Presidents that are exercising politics of articulation are supposed to uphold the norms established by the regime.

They are also supposed to mitigate disputes and maintain a “sense of regime coherence.”(206) Skowronek warns the readers about believing too much in the importance of the president’s personal attributes because all presidents possess some sort of political competence, but the political conditions vary significantly between the presidencies.

Skowronek’s argument is more convincing because it takes into account the overall political atmosphere that is in play during the incumbent's term. Greenstein is not as convincing because he only focuses in on a president and not the conditions surrounding him. The president is only one part of the entire political body. He cannot bring about change if the change is not needed, no matter how “politically competent”(207) he might be. Skowronek justifies his argument by providing an example of how Woodrow Wilson, Richard Nixon, and Bill Clinton got offensive labels such as “Shifty Tom, Tricky Dick, and Slick Willy”(207). Those nicknames had less to do with their personal character than to the political atmosphere that was surrounding presidents. Moreover, Skowronek's argument elaborates on Greenstein's while also adding more explanations to how the entire political body, not just the president’s personal character, allowed the presidents that Greenstein praised to become great.

Jefferson and Andrew Jackson are “widely regarded as the most effective of all political leaders in presidential history”(202) in Greenstein opinion, yet they also fall into what Skowronek describes as the politics of reconstruction. Unlike Greenstein, Skowronek recognizes that even though they all had great personal character, their success is actually attributed to the “same basic message they communicated”(202). The presidents in the reconstruction politics period have a chance to shatter the old, failing traditions which indirectly causes them to leave a mark in history. Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, and Ronald Reagan all had the same underlying message to communicate that the change in the current failing regime was needed. It was not so much of their personal character that helped them propel the message. It was the malfunctioning regime that was opposing them.

Greenstein strongly criticized John Adams and John Quincy Adams and regarded to them as being weak and ineffective. However, he just concluded that they were weak and ineffective due to the absence of strong personal character. On the other hand, Skowronek agrees with Greenstein that they were, in fact, ineffective but also gives an insight into why John Adams and his son were ineffective beyond the simple assumption that they lacked the personal character.

The reason that Skowronek attributes to their “political incompetence”(203) was the fact that they were affiliated with a vulnerable regime which made them follow the politics of disjunction. Even if John Adams and John Quincy Adams wanted to “orchestrate a political breakthrough”(203), they would not be able to do it due to the “limited ability to control their own actions”(203). Greenstein's argument is less persuasive because he blames failures on a naturally weak character. Skowronek, unlike his opposition, recognizes that even if John Adams and John Quincy Adams had strong character, they would still fail due to inability to act against the regime that propelled them towards obtaining the presidency in the first place.

Greenstein separates the presidents into being effective or ineffective based on their qualities. However, he does not take into account incumbents that did not have many excellent personal qualities but were re-elected for the second term regardless. This makes Greenstein's argument less persuasive than Skowronek since his theory wasn't as inclusive. Woodrow Wilson, Bill Clinton, and Richard Nixon are all considered to fall into a category using politics of preemption. Even though they do have some great personal characteristics, they are not considered great overall, like George Washington or Andrew Jackson, by Greenstein standards. Nonetheless, they still managed to get re-elected for the second term, which means that it was the political conditions and not personal attributes that helped them get re-elected.

Conclusion:

At the end of his debate, Greenstein concludes that chameleon takes its color from a president's personal qualities. However, Skowronek made it clear that the chameleon actually takes its color from the surrounding political atmosphere. Possessing personal qualities is just a piece of the entire puzzle. The best way to determine the presidential success is to look at the conditions of the ruling regime and the incumbent's affiliation. Being opposed to a vulnerable regime gives the president the greatest opportunity to become great by removing faulty norms.

On the other hand, being affiliated with a vulnerable regime forces presidents to mend an unfixable problem. No matter how great an incumbent's personal qualities are, they will be constrained by the limitations imposed on them by the failing regime.

Being opposed to a resilient regime only gives a slight advantage in that “limited reconstructive powers”(204) can be exercised. Regardless of personal characteristics, the incumbent will always be considered an “alien power that intrudes into the establishment”(204). Being affiliated with a resilient regime allows presidents to uphold the already established and working norms. It is of no importance how great their personal qualities are since if something is not broken, then nobody can fix it and leave their mark.

After reading Skowronek's debate, a reasonable conclusion can be drawn that personal qualities fade in importance when predicting presidential success compared to the state of the regime and incumbent's affiliation to it.

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MODERN TERRORISM - A NEW APPROACH



Prof. Hatidza Berisha ,Ph.D.

Abstract:

The statement that there is no single definition for such a monster, called terrorism sounds not only as a cliché, but also as an alibi for not engaging in certain spheres of exploration and penetration into the essence of this phenomenon. Staying on the surface, do not bother and do not try to delve into the depths of terrorism, means not knowing the complexity of matter, and therefore making the wrong conclusions at the root of a particular phenomenon.

Despite fact that surprise is being a major factor in terrorism, nowadays terrorism is no longer surprising. The fear of terrorism has crept into the pores of every society, it exists, lives with it, it is constantly threatened by the innocent, it has also mutated to the level of contemporary reality, which is why the danger of its activity is growing, like a bottle spirit and becoming far greater than its actual physical scale, and there seems to be no adequate response to such war, element, storm, or rather the force of terror.

Key words: surprise, terrorism, consequences, terror, media, social networks, danger

Introduction

Looking back at the acts we should leave to future generations, we simply realize that the progress and development of humanity has had, and has, a high cost. Disrespecting nature and its laws, man endangered his survival on the planet, or more precisely, endangered the planet itself. Sometimes, nature remind us of the power it possesses and strikes hard enough to be able to take on the scale of a catastrophe, but apart from such a force, it is no less important than the artificially evoked one that descends from that same man who seeks more, further, and who does not look before him and what he treads on. The price for the latter is the suffocation in greed, which puts those same people on the opposite side to be feared.

Namely, without the influence of nature, man has created many conditions for the emergence of artificial, caused disasters, among which is one such as terrorism. The development of technology, which is not always or has not always been so safe and secure, has a continuing negative impact on people, even if the technological processes take place in the intended course. By deliberate human action occurs the event of unexpected or unpredictable consequences in these processes where the end result can be a different one or more human victim. What we are talking about here is the victim of terrorism, caused in a crazy way without any meaning, viewed from a peaceful human side and without any need.

For this reason, the statement that there is no single definition for such a monster called terrorism sounds not only cliché, but also perhaps an alibi for not engaging in certain spheres of exploration and penetration at the core of this phenomenon. Staying on the surface, not trying and trying to delve into the depths of terrorism, means not knowing the complexity of matter, and therefore making the wrong conclusions at the root of a particular phenomenon.

Despite fact that surprise is being a major factor in terrorism, nowadays terrorism is no longer surprising. The fear of terrorism has crept into the pores of every society, it exists, lives with it, it is constantly threatened by the innocent, it has also mutated to the level of contemporary reality, which is why the danger of its activity is growing, like a bottle spirit and becoming far greater than its actual physical scale, and there seems to be no adequate response to such war, element, storm, or rather the force of terror.

Images of terrorism, in newspaper caricatures or on front pages, floods of books on the certain subject, that have been published during our lifetime, usually depict giant weapons versus crumpled targets. With the fact that terrorism has adequate success only when the public, through the public media, confirms and informs the wider masses of events, the role of the media, as instrument of reporting, then becomes very important. So, terrorism is as modern as it is stimulated, and the ways of "stimulation" are its destruction, which occur through some kind of crisis of the system, society, way of life and reaching the climax reflected in modern society, which should represents a leisurely and carefree life, full of prosperity.

Specifically, the development of technology itself has heralded a new era of terrorism, which is therefore contemporary, taking into account its development and system of operation.

Therefore, communication is facilitated by the development of media, so it is more difficult for security services to track terrorists, since their coordination is usually done through publiclyavailable means or through the narrow focus of social networks and through media messages. Media messages are very important, which can be a signal or rather a command trigger for the perpetrator of an event.

Media companies are usually wealthy scrubs or magnates who have complete control and tend to transfer information quickly. If they are presented in this way, can cause more damage and popularize this phenomenon some modern operation which has been recognized in terrorism, or among people who are trying to get revenge in this way for various types of grievances that are affected by or exposed.

1.1. The concept of terrorism

Although terrorism, as an act of action, has been mentioned since the French Revolution¹, its unique definition does not exist. Due to the inability to pinpoint this phenomenon as a major problem in the modern world, many of the countries facing it have created their own definitions, so that terrorism describes the actions of individuals who are almost never accepted by any individual or group. This name is attributed to them by others, especially the governments of those states that are aggressors or attack others, implying that they have some kind of superiority.

While some recognized intellectuals, through the impact of terrorism on the role and operation of the media, terrorism is considered a means to achieve certain goals by violence for the final outcome or profit rather, because of that, the main aim of terrorism becomes a victim for the sake of instilling fear, which of course, to greater success, and should be presented to the media. "In fact, sacrifice may be absolutely irrelevant, irrelevant, but fear is deliberate and very important.

¹ Undoubtedly, even before the French Revolution, there was an example of the use of terror, which we can characterize and call terrorism. Zealots, Assassins, and Thugs are so often referred to in the literature as examples of terrorist groups, that is "terror from below." The Zelotsians are one of the oldest groups to emerge in the period around 66 AD and the Roman occupation of the Jews, and have been active for about 25 years. Although some view this group as two different ones, zealots one and sichari the other, in this discussion the difference between them is not crucial, so we can view it as one group that included extremely oriented Jews named after the dagger (sica) they killed their opponents by lurking and taking out the daggers hidden beneath the coats they thrust into them. Their struggle was directed against the Greeks who lived in the Palestinian territory, as well as against the Romans, who then had power over Palestine. On religious principles (extreme Jewry) they fought for political ends. The second group is the Assassins, who operated from the 11th to the 13th centuries (period from 1090 to 1275), whose integrative ideology is also of religious character, radical Shiite. The name comes from the Arabic word hashishin meaning "surrendered hashish / hashishers" since they have consumed hashish. They fought against Arab rulers from whom they were oppressed. For them, the basic weapon was the dagger used to kill opponents, but in their case, suffering in a terrorist attack was considered honorable, which is analogous to today's suicide terrorism. The third most frequently mentioned group in the literature are thugs, also members of an Indian religious organization. They have been operating since the 7th century and have been active for almost 600 years. The true motives of their actions are unknown, nor is the ideology behind their actions, but they are known to have attacked passengers. Cf. Rapoport (1984): 658-675 and Laqueur (1999): 10-12; 127 pages.

Therefore, terrorism² can be interpreted or viewed as a method by which a particular organized group or individual attempts to achieve their goals through the systematic application of violence. In this way, terrorism is not only different from the terror of the state, but also of the violence of the masses or mass rebellion."³

The organizations made up of the first revolutionary terrorists sought to resist former regimes in which individuals could not express themselves politically or act. "For example, many foreign critics of former imperial Russia - including governments - have agreed with them. This is still the case, as when Syria publicly and utterly embarrassedly refused to agree to British and American insistence that Arab military action against Israel is part of a single global phenomenon of terrorism, or more recently, that it allegedly used excessive force over a part of a disbeliever and thus created terrorists.

The outcome is known, that is, culminated in a general civil war and chaos in the country, with a direct interference of the international factor. Lessons learned about the resulting conflicts are almost non-existent, except that to this day we cannot be sure who actually caused terrorism and which party is illegitimate, to what extent certain international forces were a peacemaker or instigator of terrorism, for example, overthrowing power, possessing oil reserves or because of some third party interests. Thus a very clear saying was created: "what for one terrorist, for another it is a freedom fighter". This relativism is a key reason why it is impossible to find a precise definition of terrorism that is not in dispute, and therefore should not be sought."⁴

² Rapin (2009: 165) argues that with the term "terrorism", in September 1794, the term "terrorist" appeared at the same time.

³ Goodwin (2006: 2027) is an advocate of the idea that prior to September 11, 2001, terrorism research was the subject of interest of only a few exceptions, namely small networks of political scientists and non-academic "security experts", of whom relatively few were interested in social science theories, so descriptive case studies dominated with ad hoc specific cases and terrorism explanations based on such cases.

⁴ In 1994, Jaser Arafat, along with Israeli Prime Minister Jichak Rabin and Shimon Peres, then Israeli Foreign Minister, received the Nobel Peace Prize and in 1996 was elected President of the Palestinian Authority. Controversy over his role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and, in general, his role in the struggle for Palestinian Authority existed at the time and remains to this day. Although many praise him as their hero and fighter for peace and justice, there are those who call him the "father of terrorism", and from there he can take that interpretation. See at: <http://www.defenddemocracy.org/media-hit/the-father-of-modern-terrorism-the-true-legacy-of-yasser-arafat/> (10/07/2018)

According to some authors who have dealt with this issue⁵, it is practically concluded that the synonym is always a political method, even when it shows other motives (religious, economic or social). Namely, fanatical small groups, state agents and wider insurgent movements, which seek to achieve political and military goals that, in their estimation, cannot be achieved in regular political forums or on the battlefield against the entire military, use terrorism, which has become a prominent feature today, that is, the way of world politics and conflict.

Compared to previous interpretations, other groups of authors are of the opinion that contemporary terrorists, convinced of the correctness of their views, find it justified to attack representatives of an order that is unjust to them.

More deeply, this attitude also has its support somewhere, because why would anyone attack someone if they were not challenged in some way. Therefore, for these reasons, the advocates of such views also argued for the division of terrorism into: Cold War terrorism and world chaos terrorism.⁶

In order to compare the above explanation of the division, but also with the contemporary types of different actions, it is important to emphasize that "during the 1990s, the most effective participants in world terrorism ceased to exist and the charismatic figures disappeared from the political scene: Hafez al-Assad, Abu Nidal, Or Fallahian, Ahmed Jibril, etc. So, it can be concluded that Cold War terrorism was a very deadly and striking phenomenon, but already a bit marginalized, almost with "musical or rather folk" features, such as a playful combination of games. According to many authors, he was homeopathic, ideological and pyramidal, but that, from many angles, has changed. "Specifically, the instigator of Cold War terror was politics, and he killed terrorists for his political ideas and views.⁷

Considering the importance of understanding terrorism as the ultimate criminal act, it is very important to emphasize the academic consensus reached on its understanding.

⁵ Harmon, C. C. Terrorism Yesterday Today, Golden Marketing, Switzerland, 2009, p. 19.

⁶François Jean Gayraud, Commissioner of National Police and Essayist, PhD in Criminal Law at Assas-La Sorbonne University in Paris, Gayraud, J. F. and Senate, D. Terrorism, 2008, p. 21.

⁷François Jean Gayraud and the Senate, D. Terrorism, 2008, p. 22.

Namely, if we take into account the opinion and the well-known idea of the world-renowned expert on terrorism, Alex Peter Schmid⁸, there are ten elements that represent the explanatory theory of terrorism:

- The term terrorism has a dual character, it is a doctrine of a particular form of political violence, but also a method of (de) personalized killing with specific goals.

- Terrorism occurs in a threefold context: in the rule of fear, in the form of continuous protests and propaganda and in the context of asymmetric warfare.

- Perpetrators can be sources or agents of violence, so there is no terror without terrorists who are non-state and state actors.

- Terrorism has a political character, it is political, not criminal violence.

- Terrorism involves the realization of a demonstrative, deliberate, unilateral, illegal or illegitimate and non-discriminatory violent act aimed at intimidating or coercing a third party (not directly related to the victims and aiming at the ultimate comparison of the perpetrators themselves.

- Communication is based on threats of subsequent strikes anytime, anywhere and anyone, if the demands of terrorists are not met.

- It is necessary to distinguish direct civilian casualties that are impersonal targeting, that is, serve as a passive means of achieving the terrorists' goals, or rather, the final target audience.

- Terror / fear / horror is an integral part of terrorism as a product of an intended act of violence. A terrorist act is essentially intended to terrorize targeted targets, while announcing a future act has the function of subordinating the terrorists' goals or deterring another party from taking any action contrary to the interests of the terrorists.

- Terrorism does not constitute an individual act of terror, but is a campaign that takes place in a series of acts of media support.

⁸Schmidt Alex Peter, born November 3, 1943 in Chur, a Dutch scholarship holder for terrorism studies, born in Switzerland.

Comparing the broader thinking of well-known authors, and considering that the new world is explosive and turbulent, one can undoubtedly conclude that the terror of world chaos is a reflection of today's society, pace and lifestyle, which is transmitted to the media with acceleration and significance. Terrorism thus became massive, without territory, irrational, changeable, elusive, criminalized and without a home state.

If at the same time we are reminded of new faces significantly different from those of the earlier period to the present: Ramzi, Yusuf, Pablo Escobar, Commander Robot, Osama bin Laden, Abu Bakar Al Baghdadi, etc., this "high intensity" terrorism is different from the old two-way development: from "political" to "widespread" and from "controlled" to "irrational", in a way that the process of urbanization is also extremely favorable to terrorist attacks."

Such, different interpretations, in the very appearance, interpretation and understanding of terrorism, do not take the component of fear, panic, uncertainty, misunderstanding, unworthiness, indecency and much more, but among other things, the modern danger of causing innocent and innocent victims, as well as the destruction of the infrastructure in which it lives or is used by the modern world of living and innocent people.

1.2. The difference between war and terrorism with new phenomena

In the very concept of "terrorism", we are public witnesses to the fact that many political leaders, analysts, experts and other well-known and recognized authors of this phenomenon, emphasize or contrast the elements that compare this phenomenon with war events and fears, while some on the contrary primarily trying to determine a clear boundary between war and terrorism.

Referring to the opinions and views of famous authors⁹, it is emphasized that war determines the process of combat, while terrorism itself denies combat. Here, terrorism is understood as the use of violence by the armed against the unarmed, currently powerful against the extremely powerless, secretive against the public, hidden towards the free.

⁹Townshend Charles, born August 27, 1725 - died September 4, 1767 in London, England, British Chancellor of Finance, whose measures to tax the British American colonies heightened the hostilities that eventually led to the American Revolution.

Specifically, there is a thinking that leads to the conclusion that the essential difference between war and terror lies in their operational logic: "war" is ultimately coercive, and "terrorism" seems impressive. War, therefore, can be physically and politically created, depending on internal spheres, and terrorism mental, with targeted victims recognized among the innocent.¹⁰

Explaining these differences, if we penetrate into the essence of thinking and many of the world's experts, we will see that they are mostly looking for or constantly looking for new methods. As the world has been modernizing, so has the great involvement of other contemporary phenomena, extreme extremes, in terrorist acts, which in fact emphasized the differences or similarities between terrorism and war.

In order to explain these phenomena, I will also refer to the period from their inception to the present. Namely, the Kamikaze Japanese in World War II, followed by the 1972 armed attack, together with the "People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine" in Israel, which resulted in the assassination of Governor Waffae al-Edress, as the first act of an Arab suicide bomber, from the recent Al Qaeda era and 9/11, when the buildings of the "world trade center" were demolished and later, a few years or months ago, Islamic suicide terrorists led by the "ideology" of the Islamic State. By comparing the above cases, we conclude that the extremes were in the first battle lines before, and therefore, also changing the course and conditions of the fight, then acting in isolation, to now, in modern times, change the way and become even more unpredictable, individually or collectively with the mass and then publicly corroborated action.

For the most part, however different they may have been, from the first example a few decades back to now, almost nothing has changed, except that all present and available methods are used, which are in fact a mixture of war and terrorist events, and that all of them require good psychological preparation. As a "icing on the cake", all events and activities are recorded and supported by the media. The difference from the previous period is that the preparation of activities is recorded, shows the weapons that terrorists have at their disposal and often shoots the guilty parties in front of terrorists' machines. What characterizes this type of terrorism phenomenon is that its culprits are "dying to kill", and in the category of new phenomena they are in fact the most radical form of terrorism.

¹⁰ Townshend, Charles, Terrorism, 2003, p. 16.

Seeing terrorism among such radical extremes as something sublime, prestigious, many international experts have raced to explain what it really is and what drives these people to do so. Faced with this problem, the security services also had the difficult task of getting to the heart of the problem.

Preparations for infiltration of persons, without which it was impossible to know what they were talking about, lasted for many years, the danger to the lives of these persons was too great, and the crucial problem was to find a person of the "same blood group" who would be loyal to the end. Success figures are devastating, not to mention that even if certain findings were made, as soon as they were exchanged with other services, the sources were unearthed or lost track.

In the example of French sociologist Farad Kosrokavar¹¹, we can also conclude that it is "a circle of friends who are inspired by the feats of an organization like Al Qaeda or the Islamic State, who want to rebuild a failed caliphate." Also of interest is the thinking of French anthropologists, among whom, no doubt, was Dunia Buzar¹², who argued that it was a "conscious act of young people acting to disrupt the moral equilibrium and imbalance the wicked world".

In order to explain the essence of the problem as much as possible, I would like to point out a few more opinions from renowned terrorist experts. Specifically, the German theorist and expert on terrorism, Kersten Knip, who is an investigator of Israeli-Palestinian relations, argues that as a new phenomenon, religious suicides, whether from within Palestinian-Sunni Hamas or Libyan-Shiite Hezbollah, rely on appropriate shura (third) from the Koran, which read: "He does not think that those who have been killed in God's way are dead. They are with God, alive and well taken care of. " These and other quotations fill the heads of future suicide bombers in kindergarten and school, which has been seen as a new emerging phenomenon in recent times. The secular Fatah, on the other hand, played on the map of the self-sacrifice and ideals of the martyrs. Both organizations propagated the suicide bombing through books, sporting events, various ceremonies, and the cult they built around suicide deaths.

¹¹ Kosrokavar Farad, analyst, author of a book on the radicalization of young jihadists, author of articles in the French newspaper Mond.

¹² Buzar Duniya, analyst, anthropologist, author of "In the Banalization of Crime and Torture" in the French newspaper Mond.

Today, the media, starting with television, the internet, social networks, is one of the most important "guiding stars" of suicidal ideology, which is well known and used by radical Islamic extremes. Thus, during the conflict in Syria, in the period from 2012 (when the events culminated), there were many concerns and many difficulties to uncover the culprits among the terrorists, as well as among their "management". The phenomenon was their way of communication used by ISIL "fighters", so there was no knowledge among the services whether terrorists acted on their own initiative or had any staffs. It was only after two European services had succeeded in infiltrating the ISIL fighters, one of which was ours, that the "club" began to unwind. Specifically, top IT professionals have been hired to develop their own programs.

Following these programs, Samsung was later among the first to perfect certain applications on commercial devices. Therefore, the perpetrators of a terrorist act may be different, and their act does not mean equal fighting between two conflicting parties, individuals or groups, as it should be in war, which is also a fundamental difference with terrorism, but only perhaps opposition or disagreement with some extremes who they resort to a unique act, which is almost always against the powerless and the weak, in order to prove to the "strong or powerful" that he is also not ideally strong. Namely, it is not an act of war, but an act of imbalance, a kind of arbitrariness and incomprehensible destruction, and in itself cannot be recognized as an act of war. Other than these features, the other acts or elements applied are generally just similarities.

1.3. Activism

In order to explain terrorism as a phenomenon of modern society, or rather as a phenomenon that disrupts the continuity of modern life, one must also enter into the essence of other, very important types of action. Primarily, the importance can be attached to activism. Specifically, it refers to actions aimed at advocating for the goals or beliefs of a motivated person in different areas of social life. The basic motive for activist action is revolutions that cause radical changes in relation to the past, because the goal is to deal deeply and violently with political and social reality.

¹³ The distinction between revolution, riots and activist protests needs to be clarified.

¹³ Kosrokar Farad, analyst, author of a book on the radicalization of young jihadists, author of articles in the French newspaper Mond.

Namely, in order to understand the basic difference and to outline important segments of function, it must be emphasized that riots and protests do not contain two basic elements of revolution, namely the ability to overthrow the existing political and social order and a decisive leader with a clear ideology. In the broadest sense, protests are public gatherings or public gatherings of persons to express protests or opinions. Protests are an expression of objections, in terms of actions taken, to particular events, policies or situations.

They can take many different forms, from individual statements to mass demonstrations. As a reminder, over the last twenty years, protests have become a successful mechanism for powerful superpowers, ie strong political, security and economic systems, as a means of overthrowing governments and individual politicians, which later left room for unstable areas and systems, and therefore space for terrorists acts¹⁴, which is primarily important in explaining the essence of the occurrence of this phenomenon.

The concept of activism has been addressed by various authors who have explored the issue of civic engagement in politics with consensus emerging around the 1970s. the division of conventional and unconventional forms of citizen participation and action in politics. Conventional forms, as a rule, are understood to mean behaviors related to political elections and parties, especially voting in elections, then participating in election campaigns or giving contributions to parties.

Unconventional forms included behaviors such as participating in demonstrations, boycotting, occupying buildings or stopping traffic. However, modern approaches have avoided labeling movements as unconventional because such behaviors, e.g. protests, social movements and more, voluntary activities in pressure groups, civic associations, foundations and other organizations are also an important part of contemporary political activity.¹⁵

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Kearns, E.M., Betus, A. & Lemieux, A. "Why Do Some Terrorist Attacks Receive More Media Attention Than Others?", *Justice Quarterly*, 9, 2018.

Thus, it is generally believed in the broader analytical circles that the division is meaningless, and that in the present day it may be more useful to divide which behaviors differ depending on whether they are individual or collective, and given the amount of effort involved. intended consequences.¹⁶

If we take into account the opinion of a group of well-known British authors from 2016, three types of activism are distinguished through research into political activism in the UK:

- individual activism (eg boycotting of products),
- contact activism and
- collective activism (eg public demonstrations).

Very important for research on the topic of the connection between terrorism and the media, that is, their collation and cause-and-effect relationship is the fact of media-promoted activism. Specifically, as part of a two-year project aimed at developing a reliable and concise set of indicators of civilian and political participation by Americans, they also identified three dimensions:

- the dimension of electoral behavior,
- the dimension of cooperation activities and
- the dimension of politically expressive behavior, which invokes political voice.

All three of these dimensions are well supported by the media, that is, they are very important for media attention, which, if recognized as a means of promotion for a particular act, will necessarily be misused.¹⁷

Of particular interest is precisely the third dimension of political voice, that is, collective activism with political goals, which can be media-triggered to cause certain extremes in the reaction that leads to terrorism.

¹⁶Uslaner, https://www.unodc.org/documents/frontpage/Use_of_Internet_for_Terrorist_Purposes.pdf.

¹⁷ It is often the case that the overthrow of a government or disagreement with a political regime in a country is interpreted as a terrorist act if it takes the victims as an initial method of action, Uslaner, 2016.

This third dimension is important for the broader analysis, because it covers behaviors such as contacting officials and politicians, participating in protests, calling for radical measures, contacting the media, organizing and signing petitions, all the way to causing acts of terror. Examples given: The Twitter Revolution and the Arab Spring have political implications, and their course of events can be explained through the implementation of media or social networks in the pursuit of goals.

Some determinants of social media have actually triggered social activism in multiple directions. With Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and the like, the traditional relationship between political power and citizens / individuals / potential activists has changed in terms of facilitating cooperation, coordinating actions and communicating problems. We can see the full echo of this phenomenon in the following examples: When ten thousand people took to the streets of Moldova in the spring of 2009 to protest against the communist government in their country, the action was dubbed "Twitter Revolution" because of the participants' that protest was negotiated through her.

A couple of months later, when student protests took place in Tehran, the US State Department made the unusual move of asking the twitter headquarters themselves not to maintain a regular Web site to keep participants of the protest without a major tool for organizing protests. The scenario of the entire activities is covered by the media and further supported in extra-terrestrial or rather when favorable interests are expressed.

Numerous examples, first in the Balkans in the late 1990s, and then no coincidentally continuously linked examples later, in the Arab countries (Tunisia 17.12.2010, Algeria 28.12.2010, Jordan 14.11.2011, Oman, Yemen, Mauritania 17.11.2011. , Saudi Arabia 21.01.2011, Egypt 25.01.2011, Morocco 30.01.2011, Libya 31.01.2011, Bahrain 04.02.2011, Syria 26.03.2011), say that this is the same scenario, which if is analyzed more deeply, that is, if its consequences are looked at thoroughly, it can be a kind of well-prepared overture for a deliberately induced process terrorist activities, both in these countries and beyond, in Europe and in the world.

In this case, he was concerned, first of all, with the increasing protests of the Protestants and the violent denial of the implementation of democracy, which sufficiently took and caused many casualties and great destruction, and the act itself into a political kind of terrorism. Of course, the "strongest" remained untouchable and assumed the role of peacemaker, who further took over the process in pursuit of their own interests.

How powerful the media is in terms of their capacity to organize protests that later overthrow complete governments, is that in the past, activists were driven by goals, and now, in modern times, they are driven by media and more widely by social networks that used to organize protests.

Thus, the cry and the message are transmitted to the media, and social networks are coordinated among users (culprits, movers, organizers, perpetrators). Thus, all of the above processes only used the media as an integral mechanism in the realization of certain goals.

1.4. When activism turns to terrorism

The so-called layering of a country's transition situation, issues of ideology, political action, as well as many other reasons, can certainly provide insight into the mechanisms of transit of activism to terrorism. More recently, Islamic associations and organizations, among which, on this occasion, highlight the Muslim Brotherhood, in terms of the development of that terrorist organization, are the most adequate examples of this. For this reason, the very explanation of this type of transit will be based on the explanation of the politicization of a religion, that is, its abuse, which brings us back to the beginning of the twentieth century, when the movement was created, and for all political reasons.

Political Islam or Islamism is a political-religious movement based on the belief that Islam is simultaneously a religion, a way of life and a state, and that therefore society and the state should be organized in accordance with the principles and provisions of Islamic law. Islamists emphasize the political character of Islam and often participate in various forms of counter-regime action.¹⁸

¹⁸The Terrorist Is A Star! Regulating Media Coverage of Publicity Seeking Crimes, *Federal Communications Law*

Political Islam involves three dimensions of action: social-charitable and missionary action; the establishment of political movements and parties predominantly using political, peaceful means and the use of radical means, including armed violence, that is, holy war / jihad and terrorism.¹⁹

The role of the largest movement of the 20th century in the Islamic Brotherhood, the Muslim Brotherhood, explains the relationship between concepts: political Islam and Islamic activism. Given the historical background of Egypt in the early 20th century, when it was under British influence, the first reformist movements launched an avalanche of struggles for the reputation of Muslim thinking and independence, which eventually led to what is today called the strategy of political Islam. The beginnings of such a strategy are precisely the organization of the Muslim Brotherhood Society, founded in March 1928 in the city of Ismaili in Egypt by Hassan al-Banna.²⁰ This society advocated social reform based on the principles of the Koran, which in their view is "supreme law" and contains moral principles of universal character, which is why Muslim society should not aspire to European values.²¹

Activist methods meant a bottom-up approach, that is, influencing the change of the individual, family, and ultimately the whole of society, through preaching and education. Founder Hassan al-Banna gradually built a disciplined, effective and grassroots organization. Acceptance of his ideology was colored by the current social and political circumstances of Egyptian society, where low self-esteem and poor living conditions prevailed, so that the establishment of an Islamic society and an Islamic state seemed to solve all the negative consequences of historical turmoil. Combining Islamic thought and action, Hassan al-Banna created a powerful organization, engaged in political and social activism.

Journal, Volume 60/Issue 3, 2018., p. 495.

¹⁹ Jihad is one of the foundations of Islamic belief and action, it is based on the Quranic commandment to fight in God's way; many believe that the restoration of Islamic power and prosperity requires a return to Islam; some associate the messianic vision with militancy; Jihad is a form of struggle to lead a useful life, to be a good believer, to do good deeds, and it can also mean combating injustice, fighting for the spread of Islam and its defense against the oppressor, if necessary by armed means, or holy war ; armed struggle or holy war is less jihad, greater jihad is the fight against one's own ego, selfishness, greed and evil, Esposito, 2008.

²⁰ Sheikh Hassan Ahmed Abdel Rahman Muhammed al-Banna, born October 14, 1906, died February 12, 1949, known as Hassan al-Banna, was an Egyptian teacher and Imam, best known for establishing the Muslim Brotherhood, one of the largest and the most influential Islamic revival organizations.

²¹ Esposito B., 2001. Brigitte, *Terrorism & the Media. From the Iran Hostage Crisis to the World Trade Center Bombing*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1994., p. 53.

In the face of such organizational goals and numerous sympathizers and members, the Muslim Brotherhood began to expand drastically, continuing the concept of social solidarity and helping the masses. It was primarily aimed at attracting members, discussing religious and moral reforms, and building a network of social organizations.

In the early 1930s, the Brotherhood began publishing its own publication, and the first Muslim Brotherhood conference was held, which also influenced the rise of members. By 1930, there were five branches throughout Egypt, fifteen by 1932, and as many as three hundred by 1938, with an estimated 150,000 members.

By 1949, they had become the largest organization in Egypt, with 2,000 branches across Egypt, with about 600,000 members.²² The period of the largest expansion of the fraternity (from 1932 to 1954) included the creation of branches outside Egypt. The first branch was created in Syria (1937), followed by branches in Jordan, the Palestinian Territory (Transjordan), Libya, Sudan, Lebanon, Iraq, and other Arab countries.

A major significant upheaval occurred during the Arab uprising in Palestine, which lasted from 1936 to 1939, when the Brotherhood turned to political action by demanding reforms in Egypt and emphasizing demands for the departure of the British. In doing so, they were temporarily granted a restraining order, which was lifted on the eve of World War II. This development led to the radicalization of the Muslim Brotherhood, which created the secret military wing of the "Secret Apparatus". The discovery of an arsenal of weapons by the Egyptian police in the Brotherhood's possession was the reason for his ban in 1948.

In December of that year, members of the Brotherhood killed a responsible person for banning the organization - Egyptian Prime Minister Mahmoud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi. Two months after that, the Egyptian authorities killed Hassan al-Banna.²³ During this period, the Muslim Brotherhood further strengthened faith in themselves according to the principles of the Egyptian patriots and Arab nationalists.

²²Doris A. Graber, *Mass Media and American Politics*, Congressional Quarterly Press, p. 239.

²³ Hassan al-Banna was killed on February 12, 1949 in retaliation by Egyptian authorities.

A few years later, in 1952, a group of "freelance officers" carried out a military coup in Egypt. The monarchist regime was overthrown and a Republic was created. As they felt betrayed by the promised but unfulfilled Islamization of Egyptian society, in 1954 the Muslim Brotherhood staged an unsuccessful assassination of Egypt's first president, Gamal Abdal Nasser.²⁴ With such a shift in the Brotherhood, Islamic ideology became radicalized and more militant and combative, so that in the 1970s new political upheavals and changes occurred at the top, which at one point resulted in the banning of action and the emergence of a branch of the Islamic Resistance Movement. Hamas.

Shortly after the ban was lifted, the Muslim Brotherhood movement reverted to the concept of social activism, focusing on social work, taking care of the social problems of Egypt's inhabitants, while the leadership renounced violence and conflict. It was critically directed against Islamic radical groups that used force.

Undoubtedly, the organizational structure of the Muslim Brotherhood, as the oldest, largest and most influential Islamic organization, points to a networked form of structure that has obviously greatly affected the reach and power of action. According to many renowned analysts, the Muslim Brotherhood can be characterized as a "federal social network" in which branches scattered throughout Egyptian urban and rural areas, as well as around the world, play a very important role. The membership fraternity has a three-channel (three-tiered) structure established at the 1935 conference. The most striking analytical elaboration in the Society of Muslim Brothers study was presented in 1969 by Mitchell P. Richard.²⁵

The first level members are called "assistants" and are only required to sign a membership card and pay a membership fee. The second level consists of "related members / associate brothers" with the Brotherhood.

²⁴Leiken & Brooke, *Terrorism the media*, 2007.

²⁵Richard P. Mitchell, 1925 - 1983 Professor of History and Specialist in the History of the Modern Middle East and North Africa.

They need to know the principles and goals of the Brotherhood, actively participate in its activities, or actively implement the content of the Oath of Obedience. On the third level, they are "active brothers" and they fully devote their lives to the Brotherhood. They also need to know the Quran at a higher level, practice Islamic obligations, have a thorough knowledge of action, study social issues, and speak the Quran in Arabic whenever possible. Of course, this form of organizing also enables direct implementation of the ideas of the Brotherhood in practice, so that the results of its activities are practically felt by the end users - the broad social masses. The fastest way to transmit is through the media, recording announcements, giving directions and the like.

Such a three-channel "network-cell" organization made it possible for the Brotherhood to survive even when it was forbidden, but it also trained other extremist organizations, groups and individuals how to act, what means to use to convey instructions, information, tasks, that is, how to communicate faster and how to implement their ideas and goals.

Of course, the media is used as a tool, that is, the primary means of communication, action, confirmation of the act done, spreading discontent, invoking nationalism, extremism, radicalism and analyzing the effect of action.

1.5. Media and social networks as a tool of contemporary terrorism

Terrorism and the fight against terrorism have become essential parts of domestic and international political action, thanks to the media being strongly on the front line, especially when targeting or targeting innocent populations. It has happened in the past that while citizens expect as complete information as possible without exaggeration and sensationalism, the authorities call for restraint from overreporting, to preserve the integrity, ongoing operations and peace among the population.

For this reason, charges have been brought or are still being made against the media, in the sense that they serve as a bullhorn of terrorism to attract publicity. Despite the importance and repetition of acts of terrorism, the media often struggle to establish a solid reporting base and not to serve one (government) or the other (terrorist).

Throughout history, it has often happened that questions and problems are solved only in emergencies, which creates the risk of incoherence of information and the possibility of error.

So, the media can reveal a lot in terms of terrorists' capabilities, how they organize themselves, reflexes and routines, principles, plans, intentions and the like. Terrorism is probably one of those areas of activity where professional ability is most needed, and in the context of that, it is very important to look carefully at the role of the media, which are often viewed as a means of modern-day terrorism, neglecting the real role they play.

The general public is often drawn to terrorism as a topic and as a phenomenon, and there are at least three factors that can be distinguished here: event, actors and power. Since these are ethical issues, they are particularly concerned with the media's portrayal of violence, which is in fact a means of modern-day terrorism. So, terrorism is not only about arousing fear but also about deteriorating conditions and polarization.

Terrorist attacks are often carefully crafted to capture the attention of the electronic media and the international press, which only confirms that terrorism targets viewers rather than victims, so that it uses the media as a tool to reach its final destination.

The relationship between media and terrorism remains essentially the same, as is the need for the terrorist organization to publicize and use different psychological strategies and tactics in the use of the media.²⁶

For the sake of reminders, terminologically, the media (mediator, something in between) can be divided into traditional (print, radio, TV, film) and new media (all content aimed at the audience and computer mediated). New media and practically mark the new technological revolution of the transfer of media and culture to forms of communication and production, assisted by modern computers. However, social media (they include - by one division - collaborative projects, blogs and micro-blogs, social networking sites) are part of new media, but are often identified with social networks.

Thus, social media and social networks represent a theoretical and practical construction used in the social sciences to study relationships between individuals, groups, organizations or social units. This term is used to describe the social structure that is determined by user interactions.

In general, media and social networks are self-organized and complex, so that a globally coherent pattern emerges from the local interaction of the elements that make up their system. These patterns become more visible as information expands, or as the network expands. The nuances of local composition can be lost in large-scale network analysis, so the quality of information may be more important than the scale required to understand network properties.

Thus, media and social networks are analyzed on a scale that is relevant to the researcher exploring a theoretical issue, that is, transmitting informative content as a message or as news.

Given that the media message is flexible and the terrorist network is subject to constant change and restructuring, the focus must shift to the relationships between the actors within it. Specifically, relationships and acquaintances within a network of users can provide a better explanation for the organization and functioning of these entities. Social ties and relationships are, in the broader context, a crucial determinant of terrorist organizations' performance, sustainability and success.²⁷

²⁶ Ksenija Đurić Atanasievski and Mile Draganović, *Media and Terrorism*, 2012, p. 57.

²⁷ Wu; Carleton; Davies, *Terrorism*, 2014.

Conclusion

We must affirm a new definition of terrorism that will have wide International applicability, and only with such definition we could 'open space' for wide international operations against current terrorist groups. This new definition of terrorism will be the basis and operational tool for enlargement of all parts of international community („the wind in the back“ to fight terrorism), and will provide specific penalties against perpetrators and those who support terrorism. Such definition of terrorism will certainly enable the formulation of better and more effective codes of laws and international conventions against terrorism. That should, also, hamper the efforts of terrorist groups to gain public legitimacy and erosion of support among those parts of societies which are willing to help them.

The phenomenological features of modern terrorism (internationalization and transnationalization) pointed out multidimensionality of this phenomenon, and the need of multidisciplinary approach. Modern forms of terrorism gives a completely new dimensions, due to differences, in the forms of manifestation (which are conditioned by the development of science, technology and technology) and social, economic, political and historical roots.

Every terrorist act is politically motivated and is a negation of Democracy. Democracy is imperfect solution, but in modern World we do not have better Societal Model. Democracy is a matter of responsibility, not a matter of law. About Democracy could only be spoken among equal Partners. Democracy is also conquest of freedom. But, It exists and makes sense only if it increases freedom, and the essence of a democratic society is its openness.

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GLOBAL TREAT OF TERRORISM DURING COVID-19

Another look at terrorism and COVID-19 coexistence



By Mitja Znidaric

Abstract

Is COVID-19 virus or biological weapon? Is it terrorist act or selective killer? What is behind this new treat? These and much more questions go through our heads when we hear for this new invisible thing, called SARS-CoV-2 virus and COVID-19 disease. It seems everything vanished when COVID-19 pandemic started this January 2020. Terrorism and other threats just went away. Many people even did not realize that it happened so. Many governments, governmental and non-governmental organizations fighting global terrorism and at the forefront of all the world's media houses, have suddenly disappeared from public life. In this paper we analyze all possible treats of terrorism during Covid -19 Times.

Key words: terrorism, COVID-19, treat, control, terrorist organization

Introduction

For unusual reasons, the COVID-19 pandemic has been reduced to focus just on intelligence and the fight against terrorist threats, including less prevention of violent extremism and radicalization. In addition, terrorist organizations have not made or have been heard (without statements) since the COVID-19 pandemic started. Does a pandemic potentially change the strategy and mindset of a terrorist organization or terrorist personality?

A new report authored by Pool Re and Cranfield University's Andrew Silke, Professor of Terrorism, Risk and Resilience, reveals how the COVID-19 pandemic is already having a significant impact on terrorism around the world. (Source: <https://www.cranfield.ac.uk/press/news-2020/covid19-and-terrorism-assessing-the-short-and-longterm-impacts>)

The report, "COVID-19 and terrorism: assessing the short-and long-term impact" reveals:

There is a mixed picture on the level of attacks in the short-term – lockdown measures will tend to inhibit attacks but terrorist propaganda calling for attacks (while authorities are distracted, etc.) will incite some incidents.

Much propaganda – and particularly that connected to far-right extremism – is focusing on conspiracy theories connected to COVID-19 and this has already inspired plots and attacks.

Islamist extremist propaganda is focusing more on the vulnerability of government opponents distracted by the pandemic and the opportunity this presents for attacks. There is a significant current increase in online extremist activity, raising the risk of increasing short-to-medium term radicalization.

There are strong long-term concerns that states weakened by the serious economic consequences of the pandemic will be more vulnerable to the emergence/resurgence of terrorist groups in many parts of the world.

In COVID's shadow, global terrorism goes quiet. But we have seen this before, and should be wary. Every news is obsessed with COVID-19 pandemic information. As we have seen no extra news about global security or counter terrorism measurements.

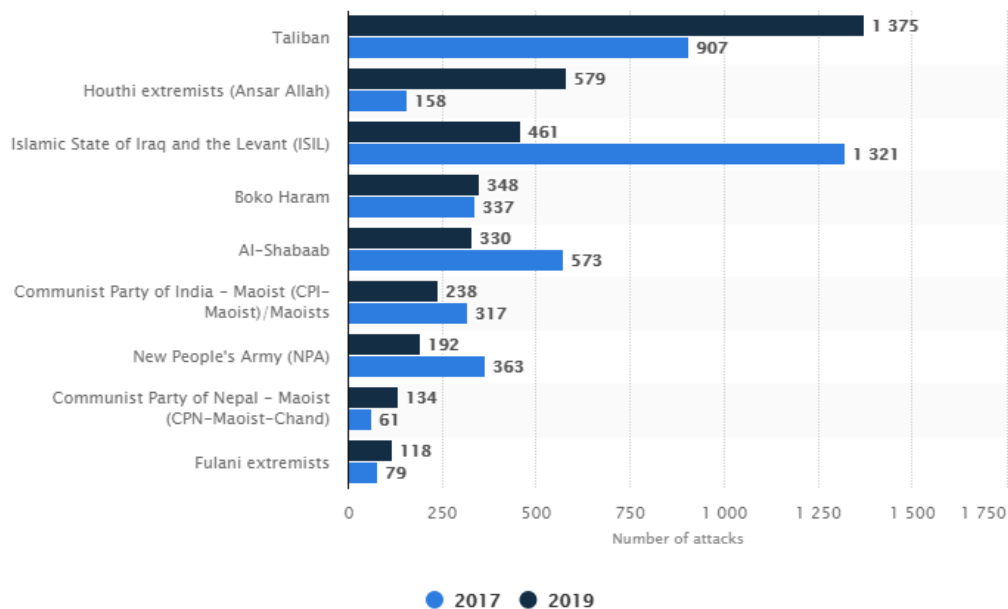
In this pandemic time, we can see good news about terrorism as well. The curve of international terrorist attacks has been flattened. This year, till now, we experienced "just" 26 terrorist attacks all over the World. In comparison with the year 2019, when 73 attacks occurred, it is clearly visible that COVID-19 has great impact to the global terrorism also. (Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_terrorist_incidents_in_2019) It covers just major attacks, excluded terrorist attacks on drug wars or similar.

But we have seen that before. The attacks of 11 September 2001 were followed by a wave of attacks around the World. For example, Bali in October 2002. Casablanca, Istanbul, Jakarta and Riyadh in 2003. Then we saw attack in Madrid in March 2004, followed by Khobar in May and London in July 2005 and Bali in October. At this point I did not mention many other attacks in the Middle East and West Asia.

Since 2005 al-Qaeda has been prevented from carrying out major attacks in western capitals, with the exception of the Charlie Hebdo shooting in Paris in January 2015.

As we can conclude, here, terrorist attacks do not stop. Many terrorist groups tried to destroy major capitols, countries, innocent lives and they tried to make great propaganda for them. Do not forget that even Europe has registered 57 very dangerous individuals and 47 groups or entities inside the EU (data from 2019).

Just for clearer picture, see below all kind of terrorist attacks in comparison of 2017 and 2019:



Graph: Most active perpetrator groups worldwide in 2019, based on number of attacks (Source: www.statista.com)

If we closely look at one very big terrorist attack, like about the Easter bombings in Sri Lanka last year, it is very obvious that we can fail to identify new threat, because we have focus on the other issue.

On Easter Sunday (21 April 2019), suicide bombers killed at least 253 people and injured some 500 at churches and top-end hotels across Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan authorities said they believed a little-known local militant Islamist group known as National Thowheed Jamath (NTJ) was to blame.

The government admitted a "major intelligence lapse" after it was revealed that an Indian intelligence warning from the beginning of the month about planned attacks was not properly shared by the authorities. Security services had been monitoring the NTJ (National Thowheeth Jama'ath – National Monotheism Organization), but the prime minister and the cabinet were not warned, ministers said.

Most governments invested huge sums in antiterrorism organizations after 9/11, but as history shows, humans find new way of self-destructing. The entire World has faced a persistent threat from terrorism mostly over the past decade, with recent attacks focusing on busy public spaces.

Domestic threat is also in the States. The COVID-19 started new tensions. When people must stay at home it seems like very abusive situation. It is the reason why people raised against the government. As a rule, the wrong rhetoric of the local government has very negative consequences. Recall that the U.S. government made fun of people and the virus. But when the matter got worse and people started dying, however, it was a problem as the population resisted by force. People became violent as the measures began to intensify. Any ban leads to rebellion. In the case of the US, however, the problem is much bigger, as there are extremely violent and brutal minority groups that in no way follow the security authorities. These violent groups can be considered terrorist organizations because of the threat they pose to society. These groups are very well organized and are willing to act in accordance with their plan and understanding of it.

The Chicago Police Department said that domestic-violence-related calls increased 12 percent during a period from the start of the year through mid-April, compared with the same time period in 2019. In other cities, including Los Angeles and New York, the police have seen a drop in calls, but the authorities have said they believed that victims were in such close quarters with their abusers that they were unable to call the police. (Source: New York Times, August, 7, 2020)

Anyway COVID-19 pandemic had reduced opportunities for terrorism. The lockdown had seen all over the World high streets and public spaces almost deserted, with most non-essential businesses forced to close, lowering the number of potential terrorist targets.

While lockdown is getting relaxed, danger for terrorist attack rises. People come out to public spaces again, which is very interesting for terrorists. They access more victims at the short period of time. Most of countries have recovery strategy, but they forgot on security.

Recovery strategies mention redesigning public spaces to make them “secure”, but only focus on the risk of the COVID-19 virus itself. Security also needs to take into consideration the threat posed by terrorism.

Rather than relying on improvised explosive devices or firearms, recent terror attacks have often been “low-tech”, requiring very little planning and featuring weapons that are easily accessible. For example, vehicles were used as weapons by driving them into crowded spaces in attacks in London, Barcelona, Berlin and Nice over the past few years.

The challenges of disrupting terrorist plots involving vehicles are considerable. Vehicles are common, inexpensive to obtain and easy to maneuver towards crowds. This attack method is likely to pose the greatest threat during the COVID-19 recovery.

The COVID-19 pandemic has triggered the deepest global recession in eighty years and the global economy is expected to lose \$8.5 trillion in output over the next two years. The economic fallout will be especially devastating to countries in the developing world and those dependent on oil revenue — characteristics of many Western counterterrorism partners in Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia. Developing economies are already saddled with fiscal deficits and high levels of public debt, while oil-producing states have suffered a collapse of oil demand and prices.

Most developed countries have already severely reduced the budget for counter-terrorism operations and redirected money to tackle the so-called COVID-19 pandemic. In some cases, direct medical costs treating patients infected with COVID-19 virus and preventing disease reached millions of dollars or euros and these numbers are still rising.

This means that counter-terrorism budget cannot get enough money and proper military trainings are already declining. The sum of all these effects will result in a big drop down of counter-terrorism capabilities, which will allow terrorists to spread their influence and cause more actions. The pandemic, however, offers new opportunities for terrorists and poses distinct challenges for the governments that seek to combat them.

While the coronavirus has put the international community in the crosshairs of a crisis like no other since the founding of the United Nations 75 years ago, António Guterres noted that “like the virus, terrorism does not respect national borders”.

Conclusion

“It affects all nations and can only be defeated collectively”, he said, opening the second annual gathering of UN and international experts known as Counter-Terrorism Week, held virtually this year, with a call to “harness the power of multilateralism to find practical solutions”.

We are just at the beginning of a new era of terrorism. The international public has barely begun to get used to the new situation. Terrorists also need to get used to it. They need to find new ways and means to expand their influence.

All this gives us an advantage over terrorists. We can prepare for the now known circumstances and anticipate new possible views of terrorist organizations as well as individuals.

Closing the borders and control over the movement of people has for the ordinary people of enormous bad things. To prevent terrorism, as well as other illegal operations and actions, the current situation is more favorable, as the movements are easier to spot.

In any case, we must not neglect the fact that terrorism is a living organism, like a virus, and is spreading in its own way. Terrorism knows no boundaries or limits. Live on and expand.

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COOPERATIVE ADVANTAGES OF NATIONS : MYTH OR REALITY ?



By Tatul N. MANASERYAN

Abstract:

The main findings of the study present the main shortcomings of the absolute, comparative and competitive advantages and suggest new foundations of the theory of cooperative advantages with scientific arguments, justifications, statistics, economic indices and factor analysis. If genuine competition pursues exclusively economic interests and implies a multiplication of profits from private capital, then cooperation and the utilization of cooperative advantages necessarily include the social component, in other words, the vital interests and well-being of the participating countries and their peoples. In our opinion, the realization of absolute, relative, competitive advantages implies the use of economic power from the positions acquired, while the utilization of cooperative advantages requires a combination of competitive advantages and a balance of forces.

Key words: cooperative advantages, competitive advantages, era of digitalization, competitiveness, economic development

Introduction

Dynamic changes in the 21st century have led to a shift in traditional business concepts and approaches to economic development. The main purpose of our study is to identify the opportunities and challenges of exploiting collaborative benefits in the digital age by introducing a theory of cooperative advantages of nations. In order to achieve the mentioned goal, we have a task to bring out the most famous concepts related to the proposed theory developed by A. Smith, D. Ricardo and M. Porter, the merits of mentioned theories and some of their inconsistencies with the current challenges and trends of the dynamically developing world economy, as well as to justify the need to apply the benefits of cooperation.

The role of the state in considering national interests and harmonizing them with those of different countries and developing effective cooperation is also emphasized. In addition, from the possible scenarios of global development - confrontation, isolation - cooperation, the latter leaves no alternative for prosperity and progress.

Research methodology.

The main results of our study are aimed at presenting the main shortcomings and omissions of absolute, comparative-competitive advantages by presenting scientific arguments, substantiations, statistical data, economic indicators and factor analysis while presenting the principles of the new theory of cooperation advantages of nations.

To take the most advantage of trade, the principles of absolute (A. Smith), comparative (D. Ricardo), as well as more modern, national competitive advantage (M. Porter) theories are still widely used. All of these theories describe the potential for competitiveness in one or two countries. In addition, one common denominator of all three theories is that the arguments are based on certain assumptions and scientific abstractions.

Literature review

Before presenting the principle approaches to collaborative advantages, it is advisable to briefly recall the basic principles and essence of theories of absolute, comparative-competitive advantage. According to Adam Smith's theory, described in the 1776 study of the causes of the wealth of nations, the absolute advantage is the ability to produce more goods than competitors (Stigler, 1976, pp. 1199; Paul, 1977, 42). The concept of the "economy of scale effect" helps to understand the process of gaining an absolute advantage.

Coming to the theory of comparative advantage formulated in Ricardo's Principles of Political Economy's Tax Principles, it clearly suggests that a comparative advantage can be obtained based on the effectiveness of work related to climate, geography, natural resources, and other factors. In turn, these factors lead to the country specializing in low-cost products. It also allows countries to enjoy free trade in comparatively advantageous goods (*Patnaik, 2005, pp. 31-41*).

A century and a half after these theories, Harvard University professor Michael Porter presented his new approach to discovering and realizing national competitive advantage within the Five Powers as a method of analyzing competition from micro to macro, and to global trade (Porter, 1979, pp. 78-93).

Theoretical abstractions and real developments (analysis). All three theories deserve appreciation because they offer a more realistic approach to the business environment, focusing on most current trends, factors that affect economic growth, and human well-being. Moreover, each of the theories chronologically is a tangible advance compared to previous conceptual approaches, doctrines and hypothesis.

At the same time, it can be noted that all three are based on certain assumptions, scientific abstractions, to convincingly draw the principles of the concepts and theories presented. In the case of the theory of absolute advantage, it must be deduced from the multilateral trade, the variety of goods, which implies that trade takes place in only two countries; within a country, but has restrictions on movement, "barriers between countries."

The theory of comparative advantage assumes that only two countries trade freely (barter) with each other, producing the same two types of goods. In addition, labor is considered the only factor of production, labor supply is unchanged, labor price determines the price of two goods produced with stable costs or with the same technology, cost coverage, that all labor units are homogeneous. Moreover, it is assumed that consumers in both countries have the same taste requirements and preferences. As in the previous theory, it is assumed that the factors of production in each country are perfectly mobile, but there are barriers to movement between countries, transportation costs are the same, the factors of production are fully used in both countries, the prices of goods in two different currencies are the same²⁸.

The five-force model assumes perfect competitive markets, in particular, it refers to a simple market structure.

This theory assumes competition - an environment in which companies seek to gain a competitive advantage, on the one hand, in local - foreign markets, on the other hand, from suppliers or customers. This, in turn, neglects the possibility of developing cooperative markets.

The main shortcomings of the three theories. It is clear that the assumption of the theory of absolute advantages that only bilateral trade can take place between two countries, with only two products, does not allow us to take into account the multilateral trade that can take place between different countries, such as the fact that which countries apply protectionist measures (quotas - quantitative restrictions, trade, environmental or economic, agrarian policy technical barriers, not tariff barriers). Theories of absolute comparative advantage never take into account capital or land or other resources necessary for production. There are many industries in the real world where firms have a dominant position. Labor productivity is really changing, full employment is never achieved, employee productivity fluctuates when moving from one production to another, additional retraining courses are needed for further employment. In addition, the technologies are rarely the same, even when producing homogeneous, similar products in different countries.

²⁸ International Financial Management, Comparative Advantage, Meaning of comparative advantage, <https://efinancemanagement.com/international-financial-management/comparative-advantage>

The theory of comparative advantage ignores the different tastes and preferences of consumers, all the non-labor costs required for the production of goods, as well as the heterogeneous nature of labor, the proportion of labor required depending on the different products and services. It ignores transportation costs, the changing nature of costs depending on know-how, new technologies, large-scale or small-scale production, and so on. Despite the growing mobility of factors of production within the country, labor resources do not move freely from one region of the country to another or from one industry to another due to a number of local and external barriers and restrictions, which also depend on the level of labor specialization.

Restrictions are generally possible in world trade, whereas the theories under consideration assume only free trade between states. As in the previous theory, the comparative advantage theory ignores underemployment and unemployment in almost any country. In addition, it does not take into account the fact that not all products can be sold freely. Due to strategic importance or other considerations, less attention is paid to the demand side of the trade, focusing mainly on supply.

Referring to the theory of national competitive advantages of M. Porter, it should be noted that more attention should be paid not to abstractions, but to current realities, given that perfect markets are not realistic at present and are usually regulated and conditioned by asymmetric information provided to market players. Moreover, the influence and effectiveness of the five forces in many sectors of the economy are becoming more complex due to a number of other influencing factors. In addition, economic cycles in the 21st century make it harder to predict economic growth, trade and competition. Therefore, while presenting views on competitiveness, trends and assessments, one should be more careful to consider at the same time the most important local, regional and global trends. This, in turn, reduces the effectiveness of using the five powers model in static or less dynamic markets. In fact, instability and uncertainty characterize the current state of global post-crisis markets, along with increasing complexity and vulnerability.

The Fourth Industrial Revolution, based on rapidly changing technological solutions and innovative business models, further complicates the use of the Five Powers model. Some experts add new strengths to changing global markets (Downes, 1997, pp.2-3) stating that underlying assumptions of the model are no longer viable. Particularly, three new forces are identified that require a new strategic framework and a set of very different analytic and business design tools: digitalization, globalization, and deregulation²⁹.

In order to better understand modern developments in today's global environment, it is worth considering realities such as global interconnectedness, new directions and models of regionalization, unfair competition through subsidies, and the impact of "gray" or "shadow" economies. Therefore, we propose to focus more on the discovery of synergistic resources, the multilateral opportunities to use the advantages of cooperation between countries, instead of being limited to bilateral relations only by states isolated from modern realities, from dynamic changes. This can extend the notion of a mutually beneficial trade to a multifaceted win-win partnership, in addition to the traditional win-loose competition or instead of competition.

Moreover, the advantages of cooperation imply the interests of several actors at once in the whole chain from the stage of their discovery to their realization, therefore, their participation, which ensures the expediency of applying the theory, the practical interest of the involuntary stakeholders such as:

- all consumers who benefit from a more competitive and more wider range of products and services as a result of cooperation;
- all micro, small, medium and large enterprises, which have achieved a high level of competitiveness without state sponsorship as a result of cooperation and get additional opportunities not only to consume their products, but also to acquire partners, to improve the products and diversify the range with their help.

²⁹ For a more detailed comment on Downes' critique of the Five Forces model see the article from 2001.

We presume that cooperative advantages may touch the interests of prospective stakeholders also:

- at the meso level, various sectors and sub-sectors of the economy, which can jointly close the production chain by acquiring better quality of raw materials, qualified labor, equipment, new and more efficient ways and methods of organizing work, opportunities for innovation, new and more demanding consumers;

- at the macro level, the level of competitiveness of cooperating national economies increases, the required amount of investments is provided, the level of employment of quality labor increases, the consumption of goods and services increases, consequently improving the foreign trade balance, the living standards of the population and other macroeconomic indicators;

- in foreign policy: conflicts are reduced, focusing resources on the common good, and new security guarantees are formed.

Finally, the conceptual approach we propose rejects abstractions and assumptions; it emphasizes the forces that have a general impact, assuming a more detailed analysis of existing, projected future trends.

The imperative of discovering the benefits of cooperation and their effective realization is conditioned by the fact that reaching an agreement on resolving the growing conflicts in the world economy and establishing peace and security. It is obvious that the states are trying to maximize the profits from them, which, in turn, ignores the interests of the peoples of the rival countries, may eventually lead to unemployment, poverty, mass emigration, increase in illegal migration, etc. The same goes for the implementation of the theory of national competitive advantage. In addition, if the competition itself pursues only economic interests, presupposes a multiplication of profits from private capital, then the utilization of the benefits and advantages of cooperation necessarily includes the social component, in other words, the vital interests and prosperity of the participating countries and their peoples. This, in turn, implies curbing unemployment, poverty, inflation, illegal migration, and joint, team participation in solving other social problems.

We believe that the realization of absolute, comparative, competitive advantages presupposes the use of economic force from the acquired positions, while the utilization of cooperative advantages requires the combination of competitive advantages and the balance of power. After all, competition not only does not exclude, but also implies the use of all kinds of tricks, conflicts of interest, economic losses, from economic to the application of political sanctions, while cooperation is based on trust, cooperation, even mutual assistance.

After all, without the dominance of the trust factor, it is impossible to succeed in the modern world, particularly, in an effective fight against coronavirus that started in the beginning of 2020³⁰ and other epidemics, as well as many natural-man-made disasters.

The role of the state in the development of cooperation in the context of globalization and regionalization:

The application of the theory of cooperative advantages, in contrast to the classical school approach, not only does not exclude, but also implies a certain participation of the state, a re-evaluation of the role of the state. It is obvious that in the era of global digitalization it is impossible to avoid unwanted conflicts without the cooperation of states. Moreover, many international organizations that have emerged in recent decades owe their effective activities to the combined actions of states. Consequently, John Maynard Keynes's theoretical belief revolutionized not only economics but also gave a birth to two major institutions, the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (now the World Bank), without which it is impossible to imagine today's world economy. The same is true for the International Labor Organization, World Trade Organization, and many others under the umbrella of the United Nations.. Therefore, the role of the state should not be overestimated in the modern world. It is especially useful for promoting highly competitive industries at the micro level, encouraging healthy competition in all respects, creating a favorable environment for attracting investment, representing the national interests of the country abroad through macro-external relations, flexibly combining national competitive advantages with similar advantages of other countries.

³⁰ Current novel coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak, World Health Organization Report, <https://www.who.int/health-topics/coronavirus>.

To turn competition into cooperation, to protect one's own economy from possible external economic threats, to protect business circles, consumers as much as possible, to jointly undertake the future of the world economy with other countries and other issues. It is obvious that the role of the state in utilization of cooperative advantages is not limited to the above. According to distinguished experts, states can focus their economic diplomatic potential on developing, concluding and implementing bilateral agreements, assessing regional and global economic challenges, exchanging information on external economic threats, exchanging expertise, and resolving strategic alliances (Stiglitz, 2001, pp. 34-41; Bertucci, 2003, p.56; Coşar & Fajgelbaum, 2016, pp. 24-56). The role of the state is becoming more essential in the era of digitalization and the Fourth Industrial Revolution, sustainable development considering the green economy challenges³¹.

Challenges to sustainable development.

At present, the issues of sustainable development are of utmost importance. At the same time, sustainable development is commonly assumed as a process equated with the solution of problems related to the biosphere, and more often, it is limited to the discussion of issues of local importance. At the same time, one can realize that no country can aspire to sustainable development by focusing only on domestic issues (Holliday, Hennebry & Gammage (2019, 2551-2565). Moreover, the countries that are not able to provide favorable conditions for effective regional and broader – global cooperation will sooner or later be compelled to create that environment in order to gain some weight in the world economy and to fully utilize their competitive advantages turning them into cooperative advantages. In other words, in today's interconnected world, no country can remain isolated of regional and international developments, ensure sustainable development in any sphere of public life. Therefore, one of the priority tasks is to analyze in depth the main trends in the modern world, to assess their possible impact on certain countries, as well as groups of countries, strategic alliances, and regional alliances. Current corona-economic crisis might serve as an accelerator to speed up an efficient joint study in relevant areas.

³¹ Challenge Paper: The Green Economy, Stakeholder Forum, 2012, by: Stakeholder Forum, Sustainable development goals, Knowledge platform, available at: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/index.php?page=view&type=400&nr=664&menu=1515>

There has been a lot of talk lately about the general trend of globalization, whereas the massive nature of regionalization that counteracts is not less valuable. It can be noted that regionalization itself contributes to the spread of the most acceptable standards of globalization, the localization of universal values, based on the most essential features of each of these countries. Regionalization greatly contributes to the process of utilizing cooperative advantages at the regional level. European Union, Association of Southeast Asian Nations, North American Free Trade Area, Eurasian Economic Union are some examples of mentioned trend. Despite the different peculiarities of regionalization, at least one strong commonality is observed in all the mentioned structures. Peoples and states have been able to unite around common issues, pushing common ethnic and political conflicts in the background. It is the common concern and the willingness to jointly fight the threats that have made it possible to further expand the scope of cooperation to include economic, social and other areas.

Despite the war against Artsakh and Armenia, having tangible damages to local economies for more than three decades (Cheterian, 2015, pp. 12-75), there are many grounds for cooperation for sustainable development in the Caucasus region: ranging from natural disasters forecasting, preparedness, man-made disaster and techno gene disaster prevention, timely and effective mutual assistance to the latter, to jointly addressing environmental threats, environmental cooperation, and other issues that may be developed in parallel with political dialogue. One of the most important preconditions for sustainable development is the assessment of the economic damage caused to each country in the absence of regional cooperation, the clarification of the preconditions for utilizing cooperative advantages of national economies.

All this suggests that in order to compete effectively with the neighbors in the region, to actively participate in cooperation, each country must direct its human, mineral, financial, technological and other resources to those sectors and sub-sectors of the economy where competitive advantages are present. On the other hand, it is necessary to identify the whole system of economic threats, to fight them consistently, to ensure economic security in the country, to achieve internal economic stability, and to develop it. For any country in the world the threats to economic security and sustainable development can be internal or external in nature (Tamošiūnienė, Munteanu, 2015, pp.19-23).

One of the keys in ensuring economic security is the scientific and technical capacity that characterizes the economic situation of the country and the opportunities for its development in the future. Without its incessant renewal and development, it is impossible to imagine the application of a high level of any country's defense capacity, as well as the development opportunities of the main means of production of the key branches of the economy. Currently, the scientific and technical field faces numerous challenges worldwide. The sharp decline in the solvency of enterprises has led to a decline in demand for new scientific and technological developments. The reduction of budget funding for a number of state-of-the-art equipment and technologies has led to a corresponding reduction in the volume of scientific research, particularly, in emerging markets. Consequently, mass removal of scientific personnel and experts from mentioned field, the capacity of academic institutions is reduced, the reproduction of basic science is weakened.

Our study underlines the significance of joint efforts for efficient fight against threats of economic security that are common for most of the developing and some developed nations. They have penetrated almost all sectors of the economy, and had a substantial impact on various areas of human life. The economic policy pursued, which has led to a decline in production, the lack of structural transformation seriously hinders normal development, destroys the foundations of national security.

In the field of foreign economic activity, the most important issues related to ensuring the economic security are considered:

- the coordinated regulation of foreign trade, taking into account the economic interests of each nation, increasing the efficiency of foreign economic activity in the conditions of integration into the world economy and wider cooperation;
- further development of export capacity by expanding production of machinery, equipment, other high-tech products,
- assistance to improve the level of competitiveness of country's export capacity,
- easing the external debt restructuring in order to ease its service burden;

-coordinated efforts to stabilize the extreme fluctuations of exchange rates as opposed to currently artificially stabilized, rates which has nothing to do with the development of the real sector of the economy;

- close cooperation between nations aimed to turn free competition into a fair competition without subsidies and other unfair practices having harmful impact on national competitive advantages.

Foreign economic policy can not only directly counter economic threats, but also play an independent role in changing the balance of economic capacity of participants in international integration processes. Therefore, it is time to take steps, first, to eliminate uncertainty in the world economy (Chinn, Ferrara, Giacomini, 2017, p. 12) and each country which may allow to identify development guidelines, to formulate, to harmonize the principles of domestic and foreign economic policy.

All this, of course, needs to be derived from the global economy, from the processes and trends in the region. Finally, a joint fight against common economic threats and effective cooperation with neighboring countries can be a crucial precondition for sustainable development based on utilizing cooperative advantages.

Conclusions.

One of the limitations of the study is the difficulty of collecting compatible data from different countries, in particular statistics and the institutional basis for the internationalization of competitive advantages of many economies. In addition, diverse cultures of political system and governance play an important role in the effective implementation of the principles related to the theory of cooperative advantage. After all, cultural barriers can not be ignored to agree on a number of scenarios to achieve the set goals.

The success of practical targeting can be viewed on a micro level (the use of collaborative benefits starts with certain companies and aims to serve private interests, taking into account the interests of the state and consumers); at the macro level, reflecting the growing ratio of GDP to improved per capita GDP, as well as overall trade turnover and other economic indicators. At the regional level, it improves trade and cooperation between neighboring countries. Competitive advantages are transformed into cooperative advantages, which complement each other's strengths, achieving synergistic results in all possible branches of national economies. At the global level, the utilization of the benefits of cooperation can significantly contribute to the establishment of peace, the maintenance of stability and inclusive development.

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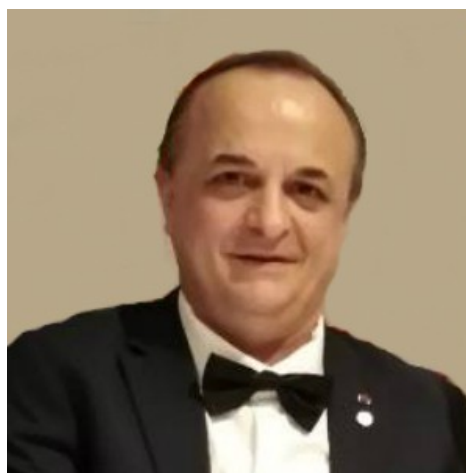
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PROPOSALS FOR MANIFESTO OF NEW UTOPIA

„ WORLD AFTER COVID -19 VIRUS CRISIS “



By Prof. Zoran R. Vitorovic, DID (Ph.D.)

Abstract

In Paper author is analyzing all segments of unique and complex Covid 19 Virus Crisis.: from discourse of basic theories and types of 'Covid 19 fears' to the main characteristics of first three phases of Crisis. Worst communication between political and societal authorities with public has produce more insecurity and disorientation with long term potential of many different treats for stability for local, regional or national level. Fake news, autism of elites and coming economic depression, with a potential of new terrorist attack and all over presence of 'old logic' are bringing a World to the point of very dangerous asymmetric treats which could be solved only if we as a Global Community urgently start to implement 'new logic' of human (daily) thinking and acting. Author is giving concert Proposal for implementation of this New Logic in a short 'Proposal for a Manifesto of New Utopia for better World after Covid 19 Crisis'.

Key words: Covid 19, crisis, fake news, proposal, Manifesto, New Logic, New Utopia

Introduction:

The emerge of a powerful and unprecedented Pandemic, like Covid 19 in 2020, has showed all weaknesses of modern Society, a Society that is 'on entering door' of the Digital Age. Globally, the dominant matrix in all media reports, political debates, business, and everyday life, was and remains - FEAR. We still don't have Global panic, but level of public frustration is rising so fast that the perception of reality could be easy, quick and brutally shift from a rational to aggressive, irrational and destructive.

In discourse of many different analysis of fears that have so far influenced the behavior of political and social elite's activity dominates three basic fears:

The first fear, in general, has been/and still is fear from of a new, small, invisible, and unknown virus (CoVid 19- Sars 2) - what is that and what exactly to do to defeat population. (History of human development has proven that any 'fear from something new, unknown and almost invisible', usually could be a trigger for irrational decisions and actions.)

Another fear (that fear is also a moral & ethical dilemma), is about question „Should we give priority to preserve the economy or give priority to saving of human lives? “. Epistemological analyzes might be a good source for understanding the essence of this dilemma, but it is also a question of whether a human individuals, with de facto modest intellectual abilities (intellectual abilities which the course of history has proved - the emergence of wars, genocide, and animal manifestations of human irrationality), had learn, at all, something from similar crisis in the human history?

The third fear is fear from political decisions which political authorities should /could made, in a short period of time. Political Elites have a fear that such decisions could have as a last consequence loss of political positions (political elites are playing between so called 'popular and unpopular measures').

Development of Covid -19 Virus Crisis during 2020.:

The current genesis of the Development of the Covid Pandemic -19 can be divided into 3 phases:

- The first phase, the so-called preparatory period of "birth of problems", was from January to March 2020 characterized by introduction of the first drastic measures to protect the population.
- The second phase, from June 1 to September 15, was a period of "relaxation and easing" of restrictive measures.
- The third phase, from September 15 until today, is also known as the Second Wave of the C-19 Pandemic.

In the first phase of the crisis, Countries had waited, with great uncertainty, decisions of the WHO in order to know what to do; that period was full of fear, disorientation and shock due to the lack of adequate answers to the question „what's going on ,why and how“.

After WHO declared a Global Pandemic of Covid -19 and a couple of societal and political authorities, like Henry Kissinger, announced their vision of the existing problem, Global World suddenly has stirred.

Drastic measures were introduced like physically restriction of the movement of people and lot of new narratives „were born “- social distance, lockdown, distance learning, homeschooling, stay at home ect.

As many times before, the introduction of new narratives further induced disorientation and fear in a large part of the population Globally because no one has precisely define/ understand the most of this new words.

Psychologists warned ,at the beginning of the first phase of the C19 crisis, that terms such as "social distance" in people who are physically isolated (examples of Italy, Spain and Greece where for 14 to 30 days people were physically not allowed to leave their homes), will create the subconscious impression that one individual person must totally distance him from other humans and that could be very similar to the syndrome of "putting prisoners in solitary confinement indefinitely".

To avoid more fears Psychologists and medical experts has warn that Instead of using the term "social distance" much better will be to use the term "physical distance".

It is similar with other terms from a whole new vocabulary of new Covid 19 narrative sets.

In the second phase of Pandemic Covid -19 development, the States suddenly began to implement relaxation to restrictive measures which has create impression that the crisis had just begun to pass away and that 'now is a time to restart economy'.

In many countries, such as Italy or Spain, quarantine measures (mandatory wearing of masks, hand hygiene, physical distance of 1.5 m between two people) have been totally abolished, especially for tourists. And again, profit (to save the economy) began to dominate the life, and majority of population has forgot that the 'real danger' from a virus still dd not disappeared.

In the third phase, from mid-September, everything that was done wrong in terms of dealing with the crisis, in the First and Second Phases, began to reflect on very drastic ways. The Czech Republic, Belgium, France (with more the 52,000 new infections reported in just one day), Germany and other countries, had suddenly found in the throes of a hyper-growing problem.

States have again set out to introduce partial or total lockdown and restriction of movement to citizens. The economy has become a 'burning issue' and the fear of the Great Depression has begun to be the first and foremost thing to talk about - from work to home. Apart from Germany, which approved aid to the economy - for small businesses 70% of the average income, for large ones over 40%, all other countries reacted rather confused and insecure, which further increases the fear and frustration of the population.

When we look closely in the genesis of the development of all three phases of the Covid 19 crisis, so far, it is clear that social and political authorities, in most countries, have failed in several fields. First of all, from very beginning of the crisis there were not adequate communication between public and political authorities. This lack of adequate communication has created impression in a public that this Global pandemic would end in a minimum of 6 up to 12 months.

For example, in the US Presidential race, US President Donald Trump confirmed in a conversation with prominent journalist Bob Woodward, "that he and his team had knew for Covid 19 in January, but that they did not want that panic spread across the US¹.

Unfortunately, it is obviously, that this was a premise followed by many European and World leaders in decision-making processes. Such model of handling with a Covid 19 crisis did not prevent spreading of fake news and fears, especially in a First Phases of this crisis.

It is interesting that in a first phase of Covid 19 crisis small Switzerland did everything right. In less than two months, the number of infected was reduced from few thousands to 5 to 6 per day; Government had established Covid - 19 Task force - from scientists, economic experts and political leaders- and parallel to that Swiss has very promptly react with financial means to support companies .Effects of such measures were (on a short and long run) that wider fear and panic was avoided. Alain Berset², Swiss Ministry of Health, said: "We must follow this second wave of the pandemic in the best possible way, but there is no room for fear or panic. We should all think and act responsibly and look for constructive solutions to existing problems, which are certainly not few. "

But such balanced approach, like the Swiss one, unfortunately did not exist in other countries.

Instead of that, in a practice, there were a tendency of tribalistic behavior towards neighboring countries and peoples, especially during the first phase of the crisis, when it came to the purchase of protective masks and respirators. Kidnapping of medical equipment, as a model of behavior, and confinement to national frameworks, as an announcement of a political model of behavior, were becoming more and more present.

This behavior, especially noticeable in many EU countries, has exposed all dysfunction and formality of the existence of something that till yesterday was called the "common European House". How can there be a 'common EU House' if one state had sizes physical transport of masks to another state of the same EU? Or when one Country literally 'snatches in front of the nose' of another country respirator - and we have a dozen of such examples.

¹ Bob Woodward book, www.washingtonpost.com

² Alain Berste – Reichen die BeschlossenenRegeln , Herr Bundesrat ? , www.srf.ch, 28.10.2020.

The first phase of the Covid -19 crisis brought to the surface the hypocrisy of modern inter-state relations, or as retired Serbian career diplomat Zoran Jeremic put it: "This is a time when everyone thinks only on their own, State, problems. Do they really care that, for example, our people are stuck at an airport in Germany? Nobody cares. If we do not solve it ourselves and help them get to Serbia as soon as possible, no one will help us. And the only difference between "them" and "us" is that „they“ have a little more money which they could use in this Crisis then we, everything else is the same. We need to be aware of the reality we are entering in. "

Along with tribalism and national isolationism, States have - completely incomprehensibly - begun to arm themselves and conduct military exercises. According to existing theories of War , Defense and role of Army it is clear that Army does not have the function, purpose, or capacity to prevent the spread of an almost invisible small virus with weapons. Why, then, since the beginning of the spread of the Covid Pandemic 19, more and more countries of the World have started arming themselves, performing military maneuvers, etc. And regional tensions, from Greece to Turkey, from Pakistan to India, from Armenia and Azerbaijan, France and Turkey - are intensified?

Autism of Elite - still a live?

If we look at the broader picture of the conditions in which Global, Regional and Local processes had been developed over the last 20 years, we can see that a formalistic approach to Global debates, Hypocrisy in the behavior of Statesmen, greed of business elite's, still are there as a dominant model of action.

Prof. Klaus Swab, Misel Foucault and Prof. Hatidza Berisha - messengers of the present moment vs. Autism of Elite

When more than a decade ago Prof. Klaus Swab, the founder of the WEF Forum, who is also one of the leading thinkers of today's World , warned representatives of political, business and social elites, especially in the West, that the people are slowly losing confidence in government authorities - no one has listened. Formally, at WEF rallies in Davos, representatives of Elit's loudly approved numerous initiatives launched by the Forum, and all had signed Declarations, Binding Resolutions , etc., and upon returning to their domicile countries representatives of Elites quickly forgot what they had signed.

Dozens of times, Prof. Swab warned that it is necessary to face the Reality as soon as possible so that in a few years we would not have insurmountable clashes of generations (generations X, Millennia's and Z) and that in the end, due to unresolved problems, we would not leave space in social decision making to populist and right wing movements. Unfortunately, most Representatives of the Elites did not want to hear all these warnings. One of this was a warning of the possible emergence of new epidemics, new diseases, etc.

On the other hand, one of the leading experts on strategy in Eastern Europe, Prof. Hatidze Berisa (Prof on the Serbian National Defense School, Min. of Defense, Serbia) , reiterated that "the two key's elements of society's security are strong education system and a strong health system. If we do not have a healthy nation, a healthy society, we have no basis for the development of a healthy economy or prosperity of society as a whole. "

It is interesting that to the similar conclusions has come one of the leading thinkers of Neoliberalism Michel Foucault in 1963³. In his book „The Birth of the Clinic “, Foucault, analyzing the great epidemics that struck the World from the 16th to the 20th century, concluded that government authorities almost always behave similarly.

First, they think how to preserve themselves on a power, and then everything else. Foucault also underscores the importance of a healthy society and a strong health system for a strong State and healthy society.

The question which still remains open is - WHY Professor Klaus Swab, Misel Foucault and Prof. Hatice - who warned the local, regional and global community about everything that could happen to us - almost none of the ruling elites wanted to hear? And with Elite Autism we came to all problems which we are facing today in Covid 19 Times!

Instead to look realistic on all possible treats to society, majority representative of Elite has work and think politically hypocritically and business greedily – egoistically. In first, second and third phase of Covid - 19 crisis nearly 75% of all decisions are made ad hock, clumsy, incomprehensible and chaotic.

³Michel Foucault (1924 -19849, Naissance de la Clinique, Paris,Presses Universitaires de France 1963, impr. 2009, ISBN: 9782130578659

Fake news

The expansion of Fake News is the next phenomenon of this Covid - 19 crisis, and the reason for that is very weak presence of experts and doctors in public. Namely, if most military experts around the world agree, based on the analysis of military laboratories, that the Covid 19 virus is a very atypical virus that survives in all microclimatic conditions and mutates quickly, than this is most likely something that is a virus, but it is not of natural origin. Unfortunately, there is still no public evidence for such claims.

But, even if it is natural or artificial, the Covid 19 virus is there, people are dying, and we have to live with it. But If there is no wider social and public debate about Covid 19 virus than space is created (in every country) for the placement of false news.

Fake news, along with quarantine measures in the second phase of this crisis, had led us not only to the potential breakdown of health systems across Europe and the World, but also to the possible escalation of physical violence, as people no longer want to suffer quarantine and isolation and take to the streets. they demonstrate, ruin, destroy property.

This riot was most concretely reflected during September and October on the streets of a dozen cities in Italy and Poland. Could this phenomenon have been prevented in time?

Of course, this undesirable effect could have been prevented, but it was necessary at the very first beginning of the First Phase of the C19 crisis, to underline to the public that:

- First, the crisis will be longer than a one year.

- Secondly, even when adequate vaccines appear, it will take at least two to three years for most of the world's population to be vaccinated. Vaccine is one preventive measure and not „killer »of virus. All of that were necessary to be said clearly to the citizens at early stage of this Pandemic, but that did not happened !

- Third, launch wider debates, locally, regionally and globally, about the availability of the vaccine to all. Thus, it seems that even when vaccines appear, everything will revolve around achieving maximum profits and that will push many countries deeper into the credit and debt crisis (in order to buy vaccines they will have to borrow from commercial banks around the world under very unfavorable conditions).

The third phase of the C19 crisis - the most dangerous one !

Very false communication between social and political elites and the local population since the beginning of the Covid 19 crisis has begun to yield unintended results. The so-called psychological factor dominates, where the stability of societies now depends primarily on the readiness of most of the people to endure and consistently implement and reintroduce measures of limited population movement and increased quarantine.

Two phenomena can be seen in this third phase of the crisis: the growing existential fear and nervousness, not only of employees but also of business owners (from restaurants and hoteliers to the transport industry and tourism) ; as well as the clumsiness of government representatives who are faced with the dilemma - to introduce a total lockdown (to save the people) or slow down (to save the economy).

The reintroduction of restrictive measures of movement and gathering of people, for many companies, primarily in the field of service and hospitality industry, means the definitive closure of companies. However, for 30 years inside of business and political elites was developed the mantra „that states as a system are too expensive and should be abolished more and more at the expense of the free market “.

One small, almost invisible, virus tore down this theory like a 'tower of cards' and put it all back to square one - to the States as the basis organizational model of modern societies.

Whether and to what extent the States, exhausted by the first and second phases of this crisis, will be able to implement (under the accelerated procedure) measures of subsidizing and supporting small and medium-sized businesses – still is open question.

Many business owners and economists predict that more than 1/3 of companies will go bankrupt, or as Stephan Thailmann⁴, CEO of Gastroconsult, Schweiz, says "it is not a question of how many companies from the gastronomic industry will be shut down, but how many companies will survive."

⁴Bilanz 10/2020, Oktober 2020, pg. 38,Bilanz ,Das Schweizer Wirtschaftsmagazin,bilanz.ch

At the beginning of 2021, Europe will face with the beginning of a great economic depression, depression which World did not faced in last 300 years! In this economic depression, if the political relationship between individual countries (Turkey and France, for example) will sharpened and the relationship between Christians and Muslims would be further polarized, not only in Europe but also Globally, and as one of result will be intensify Islamic terrorist attacks in Europe. These attacks will have a chain effect against the action of so-called white radical extremists, and the spiral of violence can be develop at such a rate, in a short period of time, that it will be very difficult to stop it.

BUT, There is hope that all of this could be stop as soon as we start with implementation of the New Utopia (new ideas and new visions).

PROPOSALS FOR MANIFESTO OF NEW UTOPIA

„WORLD AFTER COVID -19 VIRUS CRISIS“

Thesis No. 1: After Covid 19 The World will not be the same.

Until the onset of the financial crisis in 2008, the generally accepted rule of neoliberal theorists was that time is the State step down and that the future lies in the omnipotent free market. However, during 2009 and 2010, countries like China and Russia emerged from the financial crisis far faster and healthier than the EU and North America.

The next proof that States, as systems, are still the only ones able to solve multidisciplinary complex problems is a Crisis like Covid 19 virus.

Investing in private hospitals turned out to be good for profit, but those same private hospitals had neither the capacity nor the desire to fully bear the burden of fighting the Covid 19 crisis. Again, states had intervened and form Covid Hospital systems, both temporary and permanent.

The education system has shown, from Germany to the countries of Eastern Europe and Africa, all the rigidity, inflexibility, and inability to solve the problems of educating children and students during the Covid Pandemic of 19. The main features were lack of technical equipment and untrained teachers and professors to use new learning models such as homeschooling and distance learning.

Solutions: The World after the C19 Pandemic will not be the same! It is necessary to introduce a new logic and approach - primarily in the development of a healthy health care system as well as the development of an education system capable of adapting to all possible future crises. We should remember the words of Prof. Klaus Swab, the founder of WEF Davos "that we need more morals and ethics in business and social development". The new logic implies a more honest and fair approach.

Thesis No. 2: We forgot to communicate (people with each other, Elites and State authorities with the Public)

In this text, I have repeatedly said that the authorities and elites misunderstood the public, which further caused several problems.

Solutions: The social and public pedestal should be given to Science and Scientific Diplomacy.

The presence of science in everyday life will help remove tensions between different parts of society, social strata and ethnic or religious groups. In some European countries, the media have registered "a new phenomenon during quarantine - increased social socializing of neighbors." Instead of being part of everyday, normal behavior, it is *now interpreted as a social phenomenon*. Namely, with the development of the modern way of life, even before the appearance of the Pandemic, great social individualization and alienation of individuals was noticed.

Life in many of the most developed countries has been reduced to focusing on making as much profit and personal wealth as possible and less and less socializing. Humans are also a social beings who can individually developed through social interactions with others.

By stronger forcing and application of scientific diplomacy, it is possible to annul the growing tensions within the States but also between the States. The reason is that the language of science is the same and precise everywhere and scientific diplomacy should be focused on merging everything that connects and not separating all of us as a human being's.

We should not wait for representatives of institutions or organizations! People should connect as much as possible through informal groups and initiate new models for solving existing and potentially coming problems.

Thesis No. 3: Forget greed and making a profit at any cost!

In the text, I have emphasized several times why the race to maximize profits to the core, as the everyday logic of modern business, has destroyed the health and education system in 90% of countries.

It is essential to change the logic, and instead of cruelly greedy profit, a more moral and ethical way of doing business should be developed. This model requires a more honest and fair play attitude not only towards employees but also towards other companies and society.

Solutions: Business owners, not only in Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia, but also in the EU, should be educated that they will make more profit if they take care that their employees are satisfied and maximally motivated.

Only the employed person who perceives the company as his and not only as the property of "some boss there" will have a greater motive for work, a greater degree of responsibility and willingness of the individual to protect the interests of the company in which he works.

Communism no, but a kind of social honesty and ethical moral business, yes.

Thesis 4. Develop new models of work and life - give a bigger role to informal groups

The leading Russian philosopher, Prof. Alexander N. Chumakov⁵, says "that thought he History all societies developed in the form of spirals upwards, in so-called cyclical models. Globalization is an unstoppable process and what we need is more debate about best possible local, regional and global solutions. "

⁵ Alexander N. Chumakov, „Philosophy of Globalization“, Moscow University Press 2020, ISBN 978- 5-19-011515-4,UDK 32.001, BBK 66.0:65.5

Solutions: Each period of development of human History was characterized by new models of social organization of the human community⁶. After 1492, 1913, 1929, 1941, 1999, it is time for a greater presence of the so-called 'female principle' in social and international relations. It is the principle of a constructive and not an alpha male destructive way of solving problems. Everything that needs to be given to nature, and it needs to be copied in the organization of the human community. This female principle - the constructive development of societies, the principle of dialogue and tolerance and not the principle of force, should be reaffirmed and developed through the strengthening of informal groups of people.

For example, in times of economic depression, the principle of empathy, voluntarism, and joint work without financial compensation should be developed. How?

The store needs to work, there are not enough funds to pay employees. People can unite, and everyone can volunteer in a store. The one will ensure that the store gets food and drinks from the farmers (free of charge), the another person will transport food to the store (free of charge), the third will sell it in the shop (but sell not for a money, but for exchange of goods, services or energy with other stores and companies).

Selling for money will not exist -all will be based on a principle of a barter of goods.

From everything that is on sale in the store, employees will be able to have daily and monthly personal needs. With the exchange of goods (barter), they will get energy, and everything 'will circulate between all parts of society as in a circle'.

Thesis No. 5: Modern political activism that has developed over the last 30 years should replace a new approach - politicians at all ruling levels (local -municipality; regional, national, or Global) will work as volunteers!

The development of global, regional and local social processes which has taken place over the last 30 years was in the shadow of a fierce desire to possess 'political power'. And political power is like the strongest narcotics because in this way of organization of modern societies it enables holders of political functions to influence the development of social and, above all, economic relations.

⁶ Zoran R.Vitorovic, Book „Preventivna Diplomacija“, Ars Libry 2003, Serbia

This resulted in the development of a model of hypocrisy and immorality accompanied by corruption that ultimately led to very weak health and education systems, and potentially this political profile led to millions of deaths during the Covidia 19.

Solutions: Laws should be introduced in all Countries of the World so that all people can engage in political life, but only as volunteers. At the same time, according to that Law, anyone who performs an administrative function locally, regionally, or in national parliaments and state bodies, should do so as a volunteer.

This position must not be abused by an individual for protectionism and the acquisition of additional capital through intermediation between the state and companies or between companies.

Every politically active person would live from his job and salary from institution (Universities or School) or a Company (where he is employed) - but as a politician this person would work in political positions for two hours a day, but as a volunteer. In that way, more politicians could perform one function, institutions will be more efficient and eradicate from corruption, precessionism, hypocrisy, and political immorality.

Thesis No. 6: Societies must introduce a flexible, healthy, efficient, and lifelong education model - a combination of formal and informal models

The current C19 crisis has shown that education systems are rigid, old and inadequate for any crisis like Covid 19. When home schooling and distance learning were introduced, at the beginning of the first phase of the C19 crisis, all the negative elements of this type of education came to perversion.

For example, in many countries in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa, children and students did not have laptops and PCs at home, so they could not even attend distance learning. On the other hand, in developed countries like Germany, there are many professors and teachers who are not trained to work with online educational platforms. At the same time, there are not enough lecturers for many subjects in primary schools, such as geography, so many schools in Europe have hired former tourist guides to teach children geography.

In some countries, such as Bosnia or Albania, it has been observed that many professors have found that in online education it is enough to send lectures to students via the viber application, and that any further work with students is unnecessary, except for exams.

Solutions: We need to work, firstly, on educating of educators and, secondly, to develop models of formal and non-formal education where the pillar of sustainability of an elite Faculty or University (like many in the USA) will not be paying for student semesters but acquiring real knowledge.

To study at many US Universities, students must take student loans which they then pay back over a lifetime. In such circumstances, the quality of expertise and knowledge replaces the acquisition of a formal title (model: pay and finish), which has as its ultimate goal employment in a prestigious company.

This model of education destroys even the minimum of real science, and when a crisis like C19 occurs, without real science and real experts, there could not be adequate solutions of the problem.

With other words, the goal of education should not be to obtain a diploma or title, but to obtain real knowledge and skills. The best model was proposed by Prof. Refik Secibovic, founder of the Faculty of Management and Tourism in Bosnia. (Refik Secibovic, GPJ No. 3, pp. 159.)

Thesis 7. The old Logic should be replaced by the New Logic and it starts with the implementation (in every segment of human life) of Ecology of Consciousness.

The basis of all today's problems, in all segments of societal life is the forcing of the still old logic of the problem -solving approaches. It does not matter which part of social life is taken; the basis of the problem is the old ways of thinking.

Solutions: We must start to Introduce a New Logic, New way of Thinking and dealing that will start with the general Ecology of social consciousness.

Or as a Prof. of Communication who is also a Dean of Faculty for Tourism and Management in Bosnia and Hercegovina, Marijana Secibovic⁷, says "The reform of consciousness consists only if we allow the World to know its Consciousness. First step is that one individual awaken it from the dreams of itself, and to explain to himself and then to others all of it its own actions."

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⁷ Prof Marijana Secibovic, „ Potrebna nam je reforma svesti“, Oktobar 2020., marijanass.com

THE SLAVIC IDENTITY AND NATIONALISMS AT THE BALKANS



By Prof. Rubin Zemon ,Ph.D

Abstract

In no country or time has the “nation” been anything other than a potent shared idea and it has never been more than an idea. A state can be defined by its laws or its border, ethnic groups can at least be understood statistically as the proportion of a population that dances the same dances, eats the same traditional or ritual foods, speaks the same language, and gathers together to engage in those activities.

The nation is different because it only exists in the minds of nationalists. The first nationalists spoke of “common blood”, but this did not fit well with biological knowledge, although they continued to speak of their nations in quasi-genetic terms. Writings and speeches of nationalists leave no doubt that they believed the nation to be such spiritual state, or perhaps a shared emotion.

At the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th 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. Processes of development and construction of national identities in Balkan states mainly choose the primordial way, which as a consequence has the social antagonisms on a religious base among the people, presented as ethnic conflicts. In this paper author will tackle the main pattern and characteristics of the Slavic identity and Nationalisms in a view of the modern theories.

Rees Davis is saying that “Medieval historians tend to find themselves in a tricky position when there is any discussion of nations and national identities. They are painfully aware that they may be regarded as unwelcome and even improper guests at such a discussion. After all, it is well known that a most impressive galaxy of historians, sociologists and social anthropologists – Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson, Elie Kedourie, Eric Hobsbawm among them – have affirmed categorically that nations and nationalism, as we know them – an important qualification – are essentially modern, indeed arguably post-1780, phenomena”(Davis R., 2004:567)

At several points in his work ‘National Identity’ Anthony Smith offers the following definition of a nation: a named human population, sharing a historical territory, common myths and memories, a mass, public culture, a single economy and common rights and duties for all its members. (Smith A.,1991: 116) A medieval historian would have no difficulty in identifying communities which seem to meet the first three of these criteria – a named human population, common myths and memories, and a historical territory, even though we may add that the territory in question might be an imagined country, in the past and/or the future. But clearly no medieval or indeed pre-late nineteenth- or twentieth-century collectivity can meet Smith's three remaining criteria – a mass, public culture, a single economy (whatever that means), and common rights and duties for all its members.

Recently, the problem of ethnicity has been one of the most widely discussed topics in early medieval studies. Traditional research has taken the meaning of the terms "people" or "tribe" for granted. A "people" is a racially and culturally highly homogeneous group sharing a common descent and destiny, speaking the same language and living within one state. Peoples (and not individuals or social groups) were often seen as factors of continuity in a changing world, as the real subjects of history — almost immutable in its course, indeed more a natural than a historical phenomenon. Their fate was described using biological metaphors: birth, growth, flowering, and decay.

It has become clear enough now that ethnic units are the result of history. It may be discussed if ethnicity, in a very general sense, has been a basic organizing principle from times of old, a position that Anthony D. Smith has labelled "primordialist," vs the "modernist" view that sees the nation as a relatively new phenomenon. But single peoples (or ethne - Volk - narod) can have a beginning and an end; their composition changes; and their development is not the result of inherent "national" characteristics, but is influenced by a variety of political, economic, and cultural factors.

Maps of Europe in the early Middle Ages usually show clear ethnic boundaries; only in some cases do they allow for areas of overlapping populations. Coloured arrows denote routes of migration; although these sometimes become quite intricate (as in the case of the Goths) they nonetheless establish an equation between the bearers of identical names in different periods and areas. A map of Europe east of the Elbe, Enns and Adria rivers in the seventh century would show Avars, Bulgarians, Slavs, and Byzantines. In a certain sense we could call these four the dominant peoples of the period. A closer look, however, makes it clear that none of them was — a "people" in the modern sense of the word, that ethnicity meant something different for each of them; and that they all were tied to each other in a complicated pattern of interdependence that shaped the very form of their ethnic existence.

The world they all lived in had developed in the course of Antiquity; indeed, it was the creation of the Imperium Romanum. Perhaps it seems paradoxical to see the "mass of Slavs," as the Byzantines disdainfully called them, as an offspring of the Roman world. (Pohl W., 1998: 16) But the very bipolarity between civilization and the barbarians, between the Imperium and the gentes, was a result of the Roman system. It attracted generations of barbarian warriors and profoundly changed barbarian societies; Roman gold, goods and symbols became inevitable factors of prestige among barbarians, social inequalities and tensions grew, and many a rural population was militarized by the enticing new possibilities to fight for — or against — the Romans who had accumulated such incredible wealth. By the end of the sixth century, the old bipolarity had been reestablished on a "lower" level. New peoples had taken the role of the Germans in the vast areas outside — and increasingly inside — the ancient Danube frontier. On the one hand, Slavic populations proved rather impenetrable to Roman influence.

The Slav way of life again represents a model complementary to that of the Avars and Bulgarians. Slav traditions, language, and culture shaped, or at least influenced, innumerable local and regional communities: a surprising similarity that developed without any central institution to promote it. For the theory of ethnicity this constitutes an important example: should we speak of one Slav ethnos (and we have reason to believe that a certain conscience of Slavic identity existed)? Apparently ethnicity operated on at least two levels: the "common Slavic" identity, and the identity of single Slavic groups, tribes, or peoples of different sizes that gradually developed, very often taking their name from the territory they lived in. These regional ethnogeneses inspired by Slavic tradition incorporated considerable remnants of Roman or Germanic population ready enough to give up ethnic identities that had lost their cohesion. (Curta F., 2008:161)

Accepting the Christian religion, studying of a Holly Bible and Christian philosophy as well as practicing, spreading and disseminating of Christian way of life in own understandable language for the people, were very important processes and elements of building of the religious but also ethnic identity of a certain community.

Mission of Cyril and Methodius, supported by the Byzantine Empire, and their speech in front of the Pape Adrian, in Vatican in 869, that a Slavic language is an equal with a Greek, Latin and German language is giving to us information that language fragmentation was a main pillar of the ethnic identity of people in that time. Continuation of a mission by their students and support that they had by the Medieval Bulgarian State, as well as other Slavic states in a Slavic ecumen, showing that a process of identity building was a parallel processes with the Christianization of the Slavic population and building of Church institution.

Because all these processes were in a same time, and because there was not a clean distinction what is state-servant identity, what is ethnic, what is religious identity among the people that experienced themselves in a cycle of “US”, oppositely to “Others”. In those times all Slavs were “WE” and “Others” were Romeyes (Byzantians), Germans or Latins. For that reason accepting or presenting of a state identity and ethnic identity among different Slavic communities in Medieval time, by the Medieval writers, have to be treated very sensitively by the modern scholars and politicians. Changing of different medieval states cause the changing of the ethnic identity of the people, which probably had not e priority, or maybe among the majority of the people was not existing. State identity of servant identity was probably the main identity of people in that time. All Slavic Kings and heroes were accepted as “Our” kings and heroes by the entire Slav population at the Balkans, oppositely to Byzantine ones.

With penetration of the Ottomans in the Balkans, situation with ethnic identity, become much more complicated. The great majority of Slavic population became, enslaved or raya and Islam religion became an official state religion.

Ottoman state was built on a concept of a “holy war” with aim of extension and defending of Islam. Their paradigm was that a World is divided on two spheres, “*dar-ul –islam*” (sphere of Islam) and “*dar-ul-harb*” (sphere of war). Duty of any Sultan was to extend the rule of Islam in as much as possible biggest territory. Even that the point was given to the religious war, the aim wasn’t to terminate the “*dar-ul-harb*” or its people, but to concur them for the interest of Islam. When people were concurred, their shifting to Islam was welcome, but very rare it was with violation.

Occupied people with different religion had clean defined position, under the direction of their own religious leaders.

Millet is a term for the confessional communities in the Ottoman Empire. It refers to the separate legal courts pertaining to "personal law" under which communities (Muslim Sharia, Christian Canon law and Jewish Halakha law abiding) were allowed to rule themselves under their own system. After the Ottoman Tanzimat (1839–76) reforms, the term was used for legally protected religious minority groups, similar to the way other countries use the word nation. The word Millet comes from the Arabic word millah (ملة) and literally means "nation". The Millet system of Islamic law has been called an early example of pre-modern religious pluralism. [www.1] In an Ottoman Empire, member of Islamic religion (a Muslim) has all the rights, oppositely to of those who were non-Muslim with restricted rights. 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 (Јиманоски Н., 1993: 32). 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”.

Orthodox Millet or “Urum Millet” (Rum- Millet, Romei), the biggest community in Rumelia (Balkan Peninsula), was under the control of Patriarch of Constantinople (Istanbul). After the fall of Byzantine Empire, sultan Mehmet II known as “the Conqueror”, who perceives himself as the decedent of Byzantine Tsars and first ruler of the World, decided to make the unification among the Orthodox people and Church and he select George Sclaris, with monk’s name Genadij to be the first patriarch of the united Orthodox Church, “Millet bashi” (leader of a Millet) and etnarch (secular ruler).

Until 18th century in Balkan except the Constantinople Patriarchy Church, were existed two autocephaly churches in Ohrid and Pech. But, these two churches were unequal comparing with the Constantinople and also were abolished in middle on 18th century, after the strong lobbying of so called Greek Phanariotes. Even that a Sultan was agreed Orthodoxy organization to be managed by the Patriarch together with Holly Synod composed by metropolitans, he kept a strong control. Theoretically patriarchs were elected by the Synod, but they must be confirmed by the Sultan. **(Jelavich B., 1983: 59).**

So called “millet” system of Ottoman Empire started to change in 19th century, gradually being replaced by nationalism, an identity that transcended religion. Nationalism was truly only a force among the intelligentsia and the political and economic elite. For the mass of the people of the Empire, religion was still the primary self-identifier. **(McCarty J., 2001:39).** On a question of one Greek national activist at the begging of XX century for the ethnic (national) identity of people from Thessaloniki, are they “Romainoi” (Greeks) or “Voulgaroi” (Bulgarians), they looked him confused! First they “signed of the Cross” and lather answered naively: “But, we are Christians – what is mean “Romainoi” or “Vulgaroi”?”!! **(Mazower M. 2000: 67).**

In practice, religion identification did not much conflict with the ideals of nationalism. Radical intellectuals, who were not themselves necessarily religious, were willing to use religion as a unifying force as long as it suited their purposes.

Language was only the most obvious mark of common nationality, not primary definition. What was essential was a shared “racial” history. The important point was whether one believed that common ancestry existed, because no one could identify their ancestors beyond a limited number of generations, especially not in a region that had been invaded by the gene pools of so many conquerors. It was not necessary for individual members of the nation to be conscious of their membership, or even to want to be included. Intellectuals and politicians defined who members of the nation were.

Thus Pomaks, Torbeshi, Gorani (Muslim communities that are speaking Slavic language) were considered as “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. The Greek nation avowedly included Greeks in Greece proper, who spoke Greek, Greeks in Albania, who spoke Albanian, Greeks in Anatolia who spoke Greek or Turkish, and even Slavic speaking Macedonians, who had no wish to be Greek. These were to be difficulties when the same groups were claimed by different nationalism. In Macedonia, inhabitants were considered to be Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians or Macedonians, depending on who describes them. Being fought over was not a happy experience for the Macedonians.

The new state-borders from 1878 (Berlin Congress) and from 1913 (after the Balkan wars), 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. 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 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 С. 2010).

Nation-states are products of a very specific historical development in Europe that was enabled by the introduction and rapid development of capitalism and capitalist way of production. European nation-states have developed simultaneously with the formation of modern (ethno)nations from the sixteenth and seventeenth century on. In this process the states have acquired an ethnic dimension and identity. Dominant ethnic communities within certain territories usually determined ethnic identity of nation-states. States are understood as specific or even the only means and mechanism that can assure the realization of specific (national) interests of (ethno)nations. European states were established and are still perceived as nation-states of certain nations- we could say “single-nation-states”. This concept could be explained by a simple equation: State=nation=people. (**Žagar M., 2010:172**).

Following this logic nation-states and their population were believed to be ethnically and culturally homogenous entities. As the result, a myth of ethnic homogeneity was born that strengthen the belief that nation-state belonged to a certain (ethnic) nation. The myth of ethnic homogeneity was a powerful force in building a common collective, ethnically based identity in the territory of a certain state. This myth is the basis for the political ideology of nationalism and often exploited by nationalists movements and politicians. (**Smith A.D., 1991: 194**). However, as it is often the case with myths, the myth of ethnic homogeneity of nation-states does not correspond to reality and ethnic/cultural plurality has always been reality of most territories and states. Nationalism, is exclusive and/or hegemonic, and is usually hostile to others. Hostile to diversity and pluralism, nationalism is incompatible with liberal democracy.

Different models of nation building and imagining of nations are exist. Indeed, according to Benedict Anderson, nations are differencing on how are they imagined and constructed. A nation *"is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion"*.

Members of the community probably will never know each of the other members face to face; however, they may have similar interests or identify as part of the same nation. On nation building processes in Europe are existing two mainstream concepts or model- so- called Western or Constructive model and so- called *Ethnic or Primordial model*. While according to the *Western model* an individual may to choose to whom nation will belong, the Ethnical model is not aloud such freedom! Even the individual will emigrate in another community, she/he genetically (organically) is staying as member of the birth-community. While in the Constructive model is clear distinction and determination between ethnical and national identity, in a Primordial model is not exists such distinction and between the both identities is a sign of equality.

Perhaps the central question in understanding of nationalism is the role of the past in the creation of the present, certainly this is the area in which there have been the sharpest divisions between theorists of nationalism. Nationalists, perennialists, modernists and post-modernists have presented us with very different interpretations of that role³². The manner in which they have viewed the place of ethnic history has largely determined their understanding of nations and nationalism today. None of these formulations seems to be satisfactory. History is no sweetshop in which its children may 'pick and mix'; but neither is it an unchanging essence or succession of superimposed strata. Nor can history be simply disregarded, as more than one nationalism has found to its cost.

³² For **nationalists** themselves, the role of the past is clear and unproblematic. The nation was always there, indeed it is part of the natural order, even when it was submerged in the hearts of its members. The task of the nationalist is simply to remind his or her compatriots of their glorious past, so that they can recreate and relive those glories. For **perennialists**, too, the nation is immemorial. National forms may change and particular nations may dissolve, but the identity of a nation is unchanging. Yet the nation is not part of any natural order, so one can choose one's nation, and later generations can build something new on their ancient ethnic foundations. The task of nationalism is to rediscover and appropriate a submerged past in order the better to build on it.

For the **modernist**, in contrast, the past is largely irrelevant. The nation is a modern phenomenon, the product of nationalist ideologies, which themselves are the expression of modern, industrial society. The nationalist is free to use ethnic heritages, but nation-building can proceed without the aid of an ethnic past. Hence, nations are phenomena of a particular stage of history, and embedded in purely modern conditions.

For the **post-modernist**, the past is more problematic. Though nations are modern and the product of modern cultural conditions, nationalists who want to disseminate the concept of the nation will make liberal use of elements from the ethnic past, where they appear to answer to present needs and preoccupations. The present creates the past in its own image. So modern nationalist intellectuals will freely select, invent and mix traditions in their quest for the imagined political community. (Smith, Anthony D. "Gastronomy or geology? The role of nationalism in the reconstruction of nations." *Nations and Nationalism* 1, no. 1 (1994): 3-23. See pages 18-19.)

The challenge for scholars as well as nations is to represent the relationship of ethnic past to modern nation more accurately and convincingly. [www.2]

But, some scholars have the position, that six objective factors can contribute to identification of a group as a nation: territory, state (or similar political status), language, culture, history and consciousness (**Krejci J.& Velimisky V. 1996: 209**).

For reach cultural, religious and ethnical diversity of the Balkans, national idea and nationalism were recipes for violations. Even the Austrian foreign minister in 1853, has warned that “establishing of new states according to the nationality boundaries is the most dangerous from all utopist schemes” (**Mazower M. 2000: 149**). With a processes of creation of nation-states, at the same time appeared an issues of minorities (at the begging were religious, but latter ethnic or national) their statues in new nation-states, protection of their religions, cultures and languages, as well as other social and political rights.

Identity and identification among all the people, as well as among the Slavic people are processes and relations, not a position or status! First at all, identification is intra subjective process of identifying or distinction. The objectivity of ethnicity, together with its history, is a construction, virtual reality. The existing concept of nation-states in the Balkans is not just an ideal goal of every distinct ethnic community, but also a possible source of ethnic, cultural, historical and religious conflicts. Historically Balkan states and Slavic communities waste a lot of time on Xenophobia and dreaming for “homogenous nations”, as idea that was imported by the foreign powers out of Balkans, in 19th and 20th century. To achieve an ideal of eternal peace is not possible without **tolerance and good relations with “others” in our societies**, which can’t be imaged without construction of the history of the region with positive cases of mutual understating and cooperation in Medieval Ages in the Balkans, especially among the Slav people and communities.

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DIPLOMACY IN AN ANCIENT CIVILIZATION OF PUNT



By Dr. Kemal Yildirim

Abstract

The Land of Punt was a major civilization in the ancient world. Located to the South and East of the Nile Valley, it was Dinastic Egypt's main trading partner and the source of much of the frankincense, myrrh and other coveted products that were used by the Pharaohs in their traditional rituals and ceremonies. According to the Egyptian First Dynasty rulers or Horus – Kings, Punt (Tanetier or “God's Land”) was also their ancestral homeland. Punt was called Taneter, which meant land of the Gods, by the ancient Egyptians. Today, Punt is the Horn of Africa

Key words : civil rights, civil region, culture, cultural diplomacy

Introduction

The land of Punt, with its reed, beehive-shaped houses raised on stilts above water, was the most exotic and mysterious of places to visit, and from which to receive visitors, for more than once the Royalty of Punt came to the court of the Pharaoh in Egypt. It seems to have been considered by them a most unique haven; an emporium of goods for both king and gods, and gradually acquired an air of fantasy, like that of Eldorado or Atlantis. For this reason, it was sometimes featured in narrative tales such as the *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor*.¹

The Egyptians sometimes called Punt land Ta-Netjeru, meaning "Land of the Gods," and considered it their place of origin ." (Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands*:1997)

"In addition to the erection and endowments of many temples listed in the Palermo Stone, the Pharaohs of the Fifth Dynasty were active, as the King Sahure (2458-2446 B.C.) from this Egyptian Old Kingdom, Dynasty V (2498-2491 B.C.). Egyptian ships also reached the shores of the land of Punt on the Somali coast to procure highly valued cargoes of myrrh, ebony and animals, among other goods. " Text Reference: *The UNESCO General History of Africa: Ancient Civilization of Africa*, Vol, II, General History of Africa, G. Mokhtar, 1990, p 64-68

The Queen and Female Pharaoh of Egypt sent a trade expedition to the Land of Punt , the Ancient kingdom of the Somalis , in the 15th century B-C. The Famous French Egyptologist Christiane D.Noblecourt , in his book "Hatshepsut ,the Mysterious Queen" said that the Ancient-Egyptians and The Puntites used to speak and communicate with the same language . Hatshepsut got also many products from the Land of Punt ,surnamed also , the Land of gods , ancestors ,"Ta - An- Jirnay "; as the frankincense , myrrh, ebony, gold , and exotic animals ,Cheetahs, giraffes, baboons, etc .Also ,in order to reinforce the mutual relationships, a Puntite delegation was sent to the Ancient Egypt during the reign of Hatshepsut² it also worths to know that The Somalis wear still this traditional costume, loincloth called "Gundhate" of their Egyptian- Puntite Ancestors .

¹ <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/punt.htm>

² <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/punt.htm>

Existing Location Hypotheses of Punt

The debate over Punt's place on the map began in the 1850s, when the newly formed Antiquities Service of Egypt began clearing the great temples in and around Thebes. Based on newly revealed hieroglyphic texts that described Punt as a source of aromatic substances situated to the east of Egypt, Heinrich Karl Brugsch first suggested, in the late 1850s, that Punt lay on the Arabian Peninsula. It seemed straightforward enough. After all, the Greeks had glorified the "perfumes of Arabia", a land that lies due east of Egypt.

Auguste Mariette changed this thinking with two discoveries. One was a hieroglyphic list that the Pharaoh Tuthmosis III left at Karnak Temple in Thebes that included Punt in those lands south of Egypt. The other was Hatshepsut's bas-relief, which, among other evidence it bears that points to Africa, shows distinctly African animals as products or natives of Punt, including the giraffe and rhinoceros, neither of which is found in Arabia. For the location of Punt, Mariette settled on the Somali coast, which also is known for its aromatics, including the fabled incense.

Mariette's hypothesis held well into the next century. Then, in the 1960s, based on a detailed study of the flora and fauna and other elements of Punt represented in Hatshepsut's bas-relief, Rolf Herzog placed Punt along the Upper Nile south of Egypt, specifically between the Atbara River and the confluence of the White and Blue Niles. Punt, Herzog felt, was reached overland and by river, but not by sea.

Yet Hatshepsut's relief appears to contradict that stance, as Kenneth Kitchen pointed out in a 1971 review of Herzog's work. Most indisputably, Kitchen notes, the fish that Hatshepsut's carvers depicted beneath the Punt ships, along with other marine creatures such as spiny lobster and squid, are clearly recognizable as species that swim to this day in the Red Sea.

Kitchen, in nearly four decades of writing on the subject of Punt, has succeeded in establishing what today is the most widely accepted position on the location of Punt. It was situated, he proposes, in what is today eastern Sudan and northern Ethiopia, extending from the Red Sea to the Nile. Arabia was out of the question, Kitchen says.

Perhaps the most contrary evidence is linguistic, he writes: “As for Parehu, the only named chief of Punt, the consonant *p* in his name and that of Punt itself also firmly excludes Arabia”. Old South Arabian languages possess an *f* but no *p*. Thus, Kitchen writes, “Arabia would have had a Farehu, chief of Funt”! Egyptian has both consonants, so the transcription is reliable, he adds.

Other experts, while acknowledging the *p* problem, are not so quick to dismiss Arabia as the Land of Punt. In a 2003 paper – one that Kitchen himself called “a brilliant, most impressive tour de force” even as he challenged its premise – Dmitri Meeks advanced the notion that Punt lay along the entire western coast of the Arabian Peninsula, from the Gulf of Aqaba to Yemen. Meeks says that when one takes all ancient references to Punt into account, the picture becomes clear. “Punt, we are told by the Egyptians, is situated – in relation to the Nile Valley – both to the north, in contact with the countries of the Near East of the Mediterranean area, and also to the east or southeast, while its furthest borders are far away to the south”, he writes. “Only the Arabian Peninsula satisfies all these indications.”

In one of the most recently proposed hypotheses, Stanley Balanda, in a 2005 – 2006 paper, offers a sort of compromise between the Kitchen and Meeks theories. Balanda argues that a key expression within Hatshepsut’s text has been misinterpreted as saying “by the sea” or “along the sea front” when it really means “on both sides of the sea”. If Hatshepsut’s expeditionaries had indeed, as Balanda translates one bit of hieroglyphs, “pitched tents for the king’s representative and his expedition to the incense terraces on both sides of the sea in order to receive the chiefs of this land”, then one place on the Red Sea presents itself above all others. This is the straits of Bab el Mandeb at the sea’s southern end, where today Djibouti and Yemen face each other across narrows no wider than the English Channel. Punt, Balanda proposes, was a region of indeterminate size stretching out on both sides of the strait, which lay at the heart of Puntite commercial activities.

Sumatera Hypothesis of Punt

The most famous Egyptian expedition to Punt, and the one from which we derive most of our information is the one conducted by 18th-dynasty Queen Hatshepsut (1473 – 1458 BC) and recorded in the splendidly detailed reliefs on the walls of her mortuary temple at Deir El-Bahari. This expedition was led by the Nubian officer, Nehsi. The route “by land and sea” most probably went from Koptos overland via Wadi Hammamat to the Red Sea port of Queisir, the dismantled fiveships being transported by donkey to be re-assembled on arrival at the port (Kitchen 1993). The text accompanying the Deir el-Bahari reliefs specifically repeats three times that the expedition went “by land and sea” and this same method of travel was used on the expedition led by Henu in the reign of king Mentuhotep III and on the expedition mounted by king Ramesses III. The expedition of Senusret I provides some of the clearest evidence of a major Egyptian expedition to Punt using the Red Sea route.

Papyrus Harris I, a contemporary Egyptian document which detailed events that occurred in the reign of the early 20th dynasty king Ramesses III, includes an explicit description of an Egyptian expedition’s return from Punt:

“I hewed great galleys with barges before them. They were sent forth into the great sea of the inverted water, they arrived at the countries of Punt. They were laden with the products of God’s Land. They arrived safely at the desert-country of Coptos: they moored in peace, carrying the goods they had brought. They [the goods] were loaded, in travelling overland, upon asses and upon men, being reloaded into vessels at the harbor of Coptos. They [the goods and the Puntites] were sent forward downstream, arriving in festivity, bringing tribute into the royal presence.”

Sayed in the mid-1970s found potsherds with painted (hieratic) inscriptions and inscribed stelae recording expeditions to Bia-Punt (the “mine” of Punt), some carved, round-topped anchors and a fragment of carved cedar timber with a mortise, most likely from a ship. He suggested that Mersa/Wadi Gawasis was the pharaonic port of *Sjww* for seafaring expeditions to Punt in the Twelfth Dynasty. Bard and Fattovich in 2001 revealed ceremonial structures, ship timbers, stone anchors, ropes, and other artifacts dating to early and later Twelfth Dynasty.

They also uncovered carbonized ebony woods and obsidian (a volcanic glass), as well as blades of a steering oar. They even found cargo boxes bearing painted hieroglyphic text describing the contents as the “wonderful things of Punt”.

Such clear evidence for a sea route to Punt is practically irrefutable, and it is now generally accepted by most scholars that some if not most expeditions used the Red Sea to travel to Punt. The attribution of Punt as “Land of the Gods”, “Land of the Ancestors”, “Holy Land” or “Divine Land” referred to as the Abode of the Gods where its location is to the east of Egypt in the direction of the sunrise, means that Punt definitely located east of Egypt. The expeditions to travel to Punt used the sea route began at the Red Sea.

The Egyptians were not particularly well versed in the hazards of sea travel, and the long voyage to Punt is a situation involving exposure to danger. The rewards of obtaining incense, ebony and other valuable goods clearly outweighed the risks.

The expedition to Punt by Hatshepsut is recorded in the splendidly detailed reliefs on the walls of her glorious mortuary temple at Deir El-Bahari. Her reputation and magnified accomplishment achieved by the successful return upon the dangers of the sea, ritual and celebration after the achievement and the indicator of her leadership and skill in motivating and governing the Egyptian society to high achievement, exhibit how difficult the voyages leading to and returning from Punt was. Such things were also accomplished by the former and following pharaohs, though not well documented. These complications and achievements would indicate that the voyages did not take place solely in the Red Sea, but in the open sea, the Indian Ocean. The very long distance would explain why so few voyages were made there, unlikely in the Red Sea alone. The inscription on the wall of Deir El-Bahari “*traversing the Great Sea on the Good Way to the Land of the Gods*” and from Papyrus Harris I “*They were sent forth into the great sea of the inverted water...*” depict the route was an ocean (“Great Sea”).

The colonnade reliefs at Deir El-Bahari are clearly of crucial importance since they show in great detail its flora and fauna and its inhabitants. The scenes illustrate not only the trade products which the Puntites traded with the Egyptians but also some of the fauna and flora of Punt.

The former may be classed as luxury goods of which the most important is incense (*ānti*), used widely in Egyptian religious ritual worship. Other goods include ebony, ivory, gold/*electrum*, cinnamon wood, khesit wood, balsam, resin, tortoise shells and weapons. The fauna depicted include such diverse species as short-horned cows, pig-tailed macaques, one-horned rhinoceros, monkeys, dogs, skins of clouded leopards and a wide variety of fishes are also displayed. The floras have been identified as the betel palm, the ebony tree and the styrax tree. The huts of the people are built on poles, with ladders giving access to them, made of wickerwork of the same shape and construction.

Archaeological evidence is so far somewhat sparse and unless additional evidence turns up, it is unlikely that anyone will ever be able to pinpoint the location of Punt with total certainty. All that one can do is make a hypothesis for its whereabouts with a fair degree of probability, by gathering evidence shaping a compound of observable characteristics (term similar to “phenotypes” in biology). The evidence shall be of genuine proofs strongly or most probably representing the phenotypes. The richer the compound of the phenotypes, the stronger the likelihood of the hypothesis. Relying on this method and after gathering evidence, the author makes a hypothesis that the Land of Punt is located in Sumatera, Indonesia.³

Land of Punt and its relation with Atlantis

The Land of Punt designation as Ta Netjer by the Egyptian people which literally can be translated as the Land of the Gods, is the abode of the gods, and its location is toward the sunrise, where sun god Ra. The Land of Gods can be interpreted as “the land of the ancestors”, which means that the ancient Egyptians viewed the Land of Punt as their ancestral land.

From the discussion above and the abundance amount of the evidence, it is clearly allegable to conclude that the Land of Punt in Sumatera. In connection with the Land of Punt as the ancestral land of the ancient Egyptians, it can be concluded that the ancestral land of the Egyptians is in Sumatra, with the most probable location is in Bengkulu.

³ <https://atlantisjavasea.com/2015/11/14/land-of-punt-is-sumatera/>

The story of Atlantis came from Egypt, which is said to be contained in the inscription on a temple in Egypt. In general, Egypt has records of the most complete and accurate account of the events of the past, even the most ancient. It is also said that the origin of the Egyptians were in Atlantis, as a region that has been conquered. We could speculate that the ancient Egypt told by the priest is actually a primordial ethnic group and believed to be their ancestors prior the deluges and other catastrophes. The Egyptians were among the refugees and survivors of the catastrophes; then resettled on the land which is now called the Egypt. In the rescue, they brought records and registers, and hereinafter preserved them in their temples, or their memories were written back after being in a new place.

Linkage between the Land of Punt and Atlantis is both an ancestral land of the Egyptians. This clearly reinforces the hypothesis by the author that the state of Atlantis is Sundaland, considering Sumatera was once located within the territory of Sundaland. The primordial Egyptians, that is, a region conquered by Atlantis, is in Sumatera, while the capital city of Atlantis is in what is now called the Java Sea.

Conclusion

As most of the sources indicate to us that Punt civilization still remains a mystery to modern age even today, since no historian so far precisely know its actual location. It has been suggested that Punt, because of its exotic "overseas" character, might be as far away as Somalia, Yemen or even the Horn of Africa. But nowadays most orientalist especially those modern Egyptologists place Punt much nearer to Egypt. It is so far known that some of Punt's treasures were carried over land by way of Nmay and Irem (through the modern Sudan). We also hear of the children of the chiefs of Punt that were raised at the Egyptian court alongside the children of Kush (Nubia) and Irem. Therefore, it has been assumed that Punt was not so far away, and most modern scholars place it perhaps on Africa's East Coast or most probably only just south of Egypt. Meanwhile, some also try to classify flora and fauna suggest that Punt may have been located in the southern Sudanese or the Eritrean region of Ethiopia. Yet this would place Punt to the east of Nubia and there is no evidence of military conflict between Punt and Egypt, as there was between Egypt and Nubia.

It is also imagineable whether Punt was indeed an actual political entity through all the years between Egypt's Old and New Kingdoms, or was rather more of a generalized, most probably encompassing a rather large area of Eastern Africa. The pharaohs were originally from the Land of Punt, now the debate about the pharaonic origins is Over !

However other assumptions assume that The Land of Punt was a trading partner of Egypt, it was known for producing and exporting gold, incense, aromatic resins, cinnamon, ebony, ivory and animals. The region is known from ancient Egyptian records of trade expeditions to it. The Egyptians were continuously in trading relationship with the Puntites, as recorded in their history from the 4th to the 26th Dynasties (27th – 6th centuries BC).

The most famous Egyptian expedition to Punt, and the one from which we derive most of our information is the one conducted by 18th-dynasty Queen Hatshepsut (1473 – 1458 BC) and recorded in the splendidly detailed reliefs on the walls of her mortuary temple at Deir El-Bahari, Egypt.

The exact location of the Land of Punt is unknown, and through the years it has been cited as part of Arabia, the Horn of Africa, present-day Somalia, the Sudan or Eritrea. The debate goes on as to where Punt was located, with scholars and historians on every side offering plausible supports for their claims.

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PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF ONLINE EDUCATION DURING AND AFTER THE COVID – 19 PANDEMIC



By Andrey Gorokhov, Ph.D.,

According to UNESCO, the closure of schools due to the Covid-19 coronavirus pandemic in 2020 affected more than 1.5 billion students in 165 countries – 87% of all students in the world¹. The education system has never experienced such a large-scale shock in its history. A global coalition on education was established under the auspices of UNESCO to restore the educational process. This coalition includes more than 90 partners from the public and private sectors.

Online education has become the solution to restore education in the current situation. Therefore, one of the goals of the created coalition was to help countries to mobilize and implement innovative and appropriate solutions for distance learning².

Is the transition to online education (distance learning) a development or regression of education? Is this system effective? Online education increases the level of knowledge of students in universities and students in schools or not?

We will try to answer these questions.

¹UNESCO rallies international organizations, civil society and private sector partners in a broad Coalition to ensure #LearningNeverStops – URL: <https://en.unesco.org/news/unesco-rallies-international-organizations-civil-society-and-private-sector-partners-broad>

²Ibid.

First: Online education requires high competencies from teachers in schools and from teachers in universities.

If teachers do not have high competence in the field of online education, then such education turns into self-education. And this negatively affects the quality of education. For example, according to the results of a study, before the pandemic, only 32% of school teachers in Russia regularly conducted video lessons³. Teachers in the current conditions had to teach, as well as learn themselves, learn to teach online. And this is a huge burden on all teachers.

We may find ourselves in a very interesting situation. Situations where some students know more about online education opportunities and its technologies than teachers do. This completely upends the education system. And this is a challenge for the entire education system. Therefore, it is necessary to improve the competence of teachers in the field of online education and in the field of it. Teachers should be able to use different platforms in the educational process.

Second: Online education increases competition among educational organizations both nationally and globally.

Given example. In Russia in the period of the pandemic the company «Yandex» has launched a platform of «Yandex. School»⁴. More than a hundred teachers, including textbook authors, experts, competition organizers, etc., taught for free on this platform. These are teachers with high competencies. Not every school has such teachers.

Also during the pandemic, the following Russian platforms provided full or partial free access to their educational programs: «Учи.ру», «Яндекс.Учебник», «Школьная цифровая платформа» Сбербанка, «Фоксфорд», Skyeng and others.

³Эксперты назвали главную проблему для учителей в онлайн-образовании [Experts named the main problem for teachers in online education] – URL: <https://rg.ru/2020/04/27/eksperty-nazvali-glavnuiu-problemu-dlia-uchitelej-v-onlajn-obrazovanii.html>

⁴Яндекс.Школа – URL: <https://school.yandex.ru/>

And such platforms create competition for ordinary schools. But this is on the one hand. On the other hand, it increases the level of education. Also, online education becomes a virtual assistant that helps attract world-class specialists to the educational process in various schools and universities, regardless of where such a professional is located geographically.

The third: Online education requires technical capabilities: the Internet, computers, and a stable connection.

In online education, all participants in this process must have modern technical support (personal computers, accessible high-speed Internet). If we look at the level of Internet access at the global level, we will not see exactly the numbers that we would like to see. According to the International telecommunication Union (ITU), 3.6 billion people do not have access to the world wide web. Europe has the highest Internet access rate (82.5%), while Africa has the lowest (28.2%)⁵.

If we talk about Russia, it should be noted that according to the decree of the President of Russia on the national development goals of Russia until 2030, the growth of the share of households that will be provided with broadband access to the Internet is set at 97%⁶.

If we talk about the present time, in Russia, 81% of the population has access to the Internet⁷. At the same time, among teenagers (16-19 years old), Internet penetration has almost reached 100%, and in the category of 20-29 years, this figure is 97%⁸.

⁵New ITU data reveal growing Internet uptake but a widening digital gender divide – URL: <https://www.itu.int/en/mediacentre/Pages/2019-PR19.aspx>

⁶ Указ Президента России о национальных целях развития России до 2030 года [Decree of the President of Russia on the national development goals of Russia until 2030] – URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/63728>

⁷ Интернет 2020 в России и мире: статистика и тренды [Internet 2020 in Russia and the world: statistics and trends] – URL: <https://vc.ru/future/109699-internet-2020-v-rossii-i-mire-statistika-i-trendy>

⁸ Прирост интернет-аудитории в 2019 году обеспечили пенсионеры [The growth of the Internet audience in 2019 was provided by pensioners] - URL: https://www.rbc.ru/technology_and_media/13/01/2020/5e1876549a7947210b5ef636

Now, about the **technical possibilities** of online education.

Personal computers are owned by 49.7% of all families in the world⁹. At the same time, according to UNESCO, 826 million children in the world cannot study from home because they do not have a computer¹⁰. Yes, of course, you can use a mobile phone to access the Internet for education, but will such an educational process be effective? The question is rhetorical.

Families faced a shortage of computers in developed countries. This is a common problem that affects almost all countries. Therefore, public organizations, political parties and government agencies in different countries are making efforts to provide computer equipment to all students. For example, in Russia, as part of the joint campaign «Help to learn at home», which is conducted by the Ministry of education of Russia, the political party «United Russia» and the Agency for strategic initiatives, about 50,000 units of computer equipment were donated to Russian schoolchildren in April 2020¹¹. By the end of May, computers had already been transferred to 300,000 Russian families¹². Of course, similar examples can be found in other countries.

The joint efforts of civil society and the state during the pandemic help to solve the problems that have arisen during the transition to online education. But not all countries can solve the problem of technological and digital lag for economic reasons. This is not a problem for individual States, but also a common problem that the international community and international organizations should work on.

⁹New ITU data reveal growing Internet uptake but a widening digital gender divide – URL: <https://www.itu.int/en/mediacentre/Pages/2019-PR19.aspx>

¹⁰Более 1,5 млрд детей переведены на дистанционное обучение, но половина из них не имеют дома компьютера или интернета [More than 1.5 billion children have been transferred to distance learning, but half of them do not have a computer or Internet at home] - URL: <https://news.un.org/ru/story/2020/04/1376532>

¹¹Почти 50 тысяч единиц компьютерной техники передано в регионах школьникам для дистанционного обучения [Almost 50 thousand units of computer equipment were handed over to schoolchildren in the regions for distance learning] – URL: <https://edu.gov.ru/press/2378/pochti-50-tysyach-edinic-kompyuternoy-tehniki-peredano-v-regionah-shkolnikam-dlya-distancionnogo-obucheniya/>

¹²В России за лето обеспечат всех нуждающихся школьников компьютерами [Russia will provide computers to all school children in need over the summer] – URL: <https://iz.ru/1016230/2020-05-27/v-rossii-za-leto-obespechat-vsekh-nuzhdaiushchikhsia-shkolnikov-kompiuterami>

Conclusions:

The development of online education requires teachers with high competencies, teachers and teachers must constantly improve their knowledge in the field of it, constantly learn, be able to use educational platforms.

Educational information platforms can help raise the level of teaching at both national and global levels. At the same time, half of the world's inhabitants do not have access to online education opportunities today for technical and economic reasons.

At the moment, a complete transition to online education is not technologically possible at the global level. *But online education when combined with classical forms can significantly increase the level of education.!*

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EDUCATIONAL QUALITY: PRESENT & FUTURE SCENARIO



By Prof. Jagdish Khatri

Abstract

The unprecedented crisis due to Covid-19 has changed the way we think, work and live. It has its impact on education too. Hence, we need to review and redesign the whole educational system, including its purpose, the process of delivery and the parameters of quality. Education must be a tool for holistic development of the learner. It must inspire the learner to be the best version of him or herself. While online education has gained prominence during the pandemic period, we need to integrate all teaching methods. There is also need for personalization of education to suit the individual aspirations. The Paper attempts to define the real purpose of education and the broad quality parameters.

Key words: Covid -19, education, quality, online education

The Changing Scenario

The pandemic Covid-19 has changed the whole world and its systems in an unprecedented way. The crisis has prompted us to think, behave, work and live much differently. Although its impact has been almost in all aspects of life, it's more prominent in the education sector with all educational institutions getting closed indefinitely and resorting to online system for teaching as well as evaluation. It's high time we take a pause and redesign our education system maintaining its real purpose and the quality.

The Real Purpose of Education

Education should not be just a medium to fill the minds of learners with heaps of information, asking them to memorize all, and then evaluating on the basis of their memory. Neither the education should just provide Degrees or Diploma to act as passport for getting employed. It must have a higher purpose for holistic development of the learners.

Swami Vivekananda Ji, the famous Indian monk and philosopher, had said:

“The purpose of education must be manifestation of the perfection already prevailing in a man.”

Another famous quote sums up the purpose as:

“ The real purpose of education should be to replace an empty mind with an open mind.”

An empty mind has capacity to receive and absorb new knowledge, while an open mind is essential to be receptive of new and diverse ideas.

“3-Is”- Parameters of Educational Quality

We need to evolve common parameters that would be applicable to all types of education at all places. Hence, I suggest a new approach, marked by 3 I's; that is:

Inspirational,

Integrated,

Individualized.

Inspirational:

The education must be able to inspire a person to attempt for becoming the best version of him or herself; to be the best that he or she can be! The student must imbibe the right values and ethical principles to become a better human being & a responsible citizen. This may include lessons from spirituality too.

Integrated:

In order to be more effective and relevant in today's context, the designing of curriculum and delivery mechanism must integrate all methods of pedagogy, not being dependent on traditional classroom teaching or on online teaching only. It must be a combination of theory and practical; classroom and digital technology methods. It must also have curriculum that integrates multiple streams of subjects like Science & Humanities, Commerce & Arts, Medicine & Psychology and likewise.

Individualized:

In ancient times, India had a tradition of 'Guru-Shishya Parampara' where the disciples (Shishya) used to go to the Master Teacher (Guru) to learn various disciplines like Philosophy, Theology, Moral Values, Governance or even for becoming a better warrior. Guru used to own the disciple who in turn submitted himself to the Guru totally. Individualized training was imparted combining both theory and practice.

In present scenario, with modern information & communication technology available with the learners, it is possible to personalize education curriculum for the students, meeting their individual requirement and aspiration.

Stakeholder Participation

Maintaining highest standards of educational quality would require integrated efforts of all relevant stakeholders. There are three main stakeholders of an educational system:

The Society, the Institutions, and the Learners.

Society includes the Parents, Employers, and the Government itself.

Parents are supposed to be the first teachers of a child, responsible for imbibing basic moral values and positive attitude.

The employers need to point out their requirement of skills and provide assistance in developing right curriculum as well as provide necessary internships.

The Government must match the educational set-up with the likely requirement in different sectors over the years and create adequate infrastructure in all regions.

Institutions include: Schools, Colleges, Universities, Online Education Centres, Coaching Institutes, Faculty Members, Regulator Agencies, and Publishers etc.

Educational Institutions need to have a balance between their services provided and the commercial targets. They must remember that ultimately only those institutions will survive who deliver quality education. They must attract all types of learners.

Teachers and faculty members must keep themselves updated and skilled to deliver latest knowledge using modern technological means.

Regulating agencies must ensure quality in curriculums and infrastructure.

Learners include the enrolled students, elders and housewives, part-time & online students.

- Learners must share their part of responsibility to develop a passion for learning new skills and constant updating of their knowledge.
- Learners need to analyze and finalize their focus areas of attention.
- Learners need to protect themselves from the undesirable impact of too much social media.

Likely Scenario in Future

Educational systems all over the world are under metamorphosis due to unprecedented Covid-19 crisis, technological developments, demographic changes and enhanced aspiration levels. In view of above, following scenario is likely to emerge in educational sector:

- It will take quite a longer time for schools, colleges and universities to come back to full operations as in pre-Covid-19 period. It will depend upon the time taken for elimination of corona virus pandemic as well as on restoration of confidence in the parents to send their wards for classes. Also, the decisions of respective Governments and local administration would be crucial in this respect.

- Online education is here to stay and would need to be adjusted into the whole educational system within defined areas, keeping quality constraints in mind.. However, online education and digitalization cannot be a replacement for the Campus life. Students at prestigious universities like Harvard, MIT have refused to pay original fees as online education does not serve whole purpose of taking admissions in such universities. Campus life shapes the personality of the students with learning through peer-to-peer interaction, guidance & counselling by Professors, hostel life, debates, cultural activities, library and other facilities.

There would be substantial drop in new enrolments, especially in foreign universities and distant institutions. Universities may be forced to substantially revise their fee structure and admission criteria to attract quality students.

Recommendations

1. It would be prudent to develop and implement a Hybrid Model of Pedagogy, combining classroom and online educational methods of education. However, the distribution of content between the two methods would be decided for individual courses by the institutions, keeping the requirements of each topic in mind.

2. Faculty members at all levels need to be retrained for developing online modules and for proper use of digital devices.

3. There is strong need for ‘Glocalization’ of education wherein education should strive for developing global mindset while serving local needs.

4. ‘One-size-fits-all’ types of curriculums cannot serve the purpose in all regions. Each country must develop its own curriculum, societal needs & constraints in mind.

Covid-19 has been an unprecedented crisis for the whole humanity, but it has also given us an opportunity to review our existing paradigms and rebuild new systems. Let's not waste this opportunity!

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GLOBAL TENDENCIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION DURING THE CHALLENGES OF DIGITALIZATION AND A REVIEW OF THE SITUATION IN SERBIA IN 2020



By Nikola Vidović, M.A.

&

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Abstract:

The research provides a comprehensive analysis of the challenges facing the education system, as well as all its factors, taking into account educational institutions - universities, colleges and schools, students and professors, as well as parents, but also state institutions in the era. digitization. The focus of the paper is on the difficulties faced by professors in organizing online teaching as well as the advantages of traditional learning, which were especially evident during the current global crisis caused by the coronavirus pandemic and the lack of two-way communication, many forms of teaching were no longer possible (practical classes or laboratory exercises), it was much more difficult to monitor students' progress and give objective assessments and give grades in relation to their progress and demonstrated knowledge.

Another big challenge was with students who needed additional support they received from teachers and peers, so that the technological support that exists in households with a review of the situation in the Republic of Serbia, in terms of Internet access, how many students have computers and laptops, as well as whether they can be accessed through other information technologies.

The paper also considered the facts as well as the measures taken by the state and what technological base as well as the laws governing the digital form of education. According to our estimates, it was determined that extremely positive measures were taken, as well as that a lot of effort was invested by all participants in the education process to overcome the first wave of infection and the introduction of a state of emergency, but that it is necessary to build a unique model based on traditional way of education with the support that can be provided by online education and digitalization of the entire system.

Key words: education, challenges, lectures, global, analysis, Serbia

Introduction

Education nowadays plays important role in the development of a country, because if a country does not have a proper education system that has adequate measures and takes timely action to improve and respond to the challenges posed by present events, it may be left behind by other countries which support education with better way and with a better approach, prepared and sufficiently built for challenges and threats (The *Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development* of the Republic of Serbia, 2012).

There are many factors, that affect the education system. Culture, technology, economical matters and human capital give much impact to the education system of a country, and it depends on these factors as well as the instruments that are levers of Government power, how the country and its education system will cope with crisis periods, such as the crisis that occurred globally in 2020, caused by an infectious disease caused by the coronavirus.

Challenges in Digital Age of Education

Today, we are facing a global crisis regarding the approach to the supply of education, and that is why it is important to establish a system that offers various options, beside of a using one-way communication, where teachers stand in front of the class and explain all the materials, while students just sit down and listen to the teachers.

This does not necessarily mean that we should strictly deviate from the traditional way of education and lecturing, but that it must be upgraded and improved with information technologies, which will prepare both sides for challenging times and changes, and of course for the activities they will deal with tomorrow the people attending those classes.

Educators and teachers must be flexible and technologically well supported as well as students in order to establish a teaching relationship which is stable in situations, such as this with infection of COVID-19. Regardless of the type of acquisition and provision of the knowledge, whether it is state institutions, universities, faculties and schools, or simply freelance lectures on certain areas and courses offered by certain agencies or companies, support is extremely important.

The development and use of information and communication technologies have transformed modern society into an "information society". Its main feature is that information and communication technologies play the most important role in production and the economy, as well as in all other spheres of life of individuals and society as a whole, where we give special focus to the education segment. Fact is that education is essential in human's life, and as time goes by, system of education changes dynamically following the needs of human beings. Cutting edge digital services will play important role in keeping the traditional universities relevant to future demands. With the clear goal for digital learning and an environment where immediacy is the norm, university materials need to be available for students anywhere, at any time, and on any device.

Digitalisation brings with it many new opportunities and we have to go through social challenges which it also presents. Digital technologies can enhance flexibility and creativity, help to improve efficiency and learning outcomes (European commission, 2018). Also, it is essential to adequately prepare citizens, both teachers and students for interconnecting by investing in the skills and competences required to thrive and positively engage in society in the digital age.

We can design and create what education should look like in the future, taking into account the challenges at the global level, and the technological basis as the foundation of the digital era of education (European commission, 2020), which would include the following elements to work according to needs:

- Making better use of digital technology for teaching and learning through connectivity in schools, self-reflection tool and mentoring scheme for schools, and digitally signed qualifications;

- Developing digital competencies and skills through higher education hub, certain open science and research skills, cybersecurity in education, training in digital and entrepreneurial skills, improving education through better data analysis and strategic foresight.

Taking into account the above steps, we must also look at the fact that building a unique global network of interconnection among students and professors, we must base the basis on regular access to education through the physical presence of all participants, especially in terms of assessment and testing. which was passed through a lecture, whether it was through an online lecture or in an amphitheater.

Analysis of the Technological Basis for Online Lectures in Serbia

Distance learning itself is a challenge for the family and society, and when it encompasses society as a whole, it becomes a pressure for everyone, especially in a situation where challenges and threats from the global aspect to the local region, specifically to the state, are multiplied (Smith & Hamilton, 2017). When we analyze the aspects and role of parents in the conditions of online learning or distance learning, we conclude that due to business obligations, children, as students, remain unattended most of the day, and this can negatively affect their commitment to school.

There are a large number of children who are in long isolation due to strict respect and fear of their parents, which negatively affects the psychological behavior of even adults (*The Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia*, 2019).

At the same time, in a situation where the entire education system relies only on online lectures, parents who work online share attention because of their children and this can reduce their focus on work or lead to more departure due to the extra time needed for children.

On the other hand, analyzing outside primary education through primary schools, students and most of those attending secondary schools are mostly independent in performing tasks assigned in the distance learning system, while parents of young children, mostly mothers, are transformed into part-time teachers, together with their work obligations.

In the school year 2019-2020, 517826 students were enrolled in the Republic of Serbia, who globally attend 3286 schools. Therefore, the burden of online schooling has fallen on many parents. Some of them who could or already had an online telecommuting job were more flexible in helping and monitoring children from school. Those who needed a physical presence at work due to measures related to the elderly could not rely on their grandmothers or grandmothers, nor on kindergarten or school.

By analyzing the technological base for conducting online lectures and distance learning, it was determined according to statistical data that 73.1% of households in the Republic of Serbia own a computer, which is an increase of 1% compared to 2018, and 5% compared to 2017. The prevalence of computers in households varies depending on the territorial unit: in Belgrade it is 85.4%, in Vojvodina 72.8%, in Šumadija and Western Serbia 66.7% and in Southern and Eastern Serbia 66.3% (Statistical office of Republic of Serbia, 2019). In the Republic of Serbia, 80.1% of households have an Internet connection, which is an increase of 7.2% compared to 2018, and 12.1% compared to 2017.

Regardless of the strategy that envisages the improvement of education in Serbia and all legal aspects that are realized respecting the digitalization of the educational system, there are difficulties because it is difficult for certain pupils and students to cope with the network. Some students come from economically disadvantaged families and do not have the technical equipment to monitor classes online. Also, we have students whose parents have a low level of education and are not able to support them in learning. An additional problem is that the school no longer has insight into other difficulties that our students may face: do students need support for advice, do they suffer from domestic violence or do they need social assistance.

Ways to overcome these difficulties and challenges: teachers do not insist on 100% achieving educational goals; when assessing students, they take into account the incentives and motivation of students to continue learning (it is evaluated using the KNVISO scale); teachers encourage peer support - students who easily learn materials can be “mentoring” students who struggle and so on.

Readiness of the Educational System in Serbia during the Challenges during the Covid -19 Pandemic

Ministry of education, science and technological development of the Republic of Serbia quickly reacted after the proclamation of the state of emergency and two days after started with on-line classes (since 17 March) coupled with tasks sent online by school teachers. Adaptation of education system to pandemic in Serbia poses different challenges for schooling system and society at large. Serbian Ministry of education and the whole system of education achieved significant results in organising distance learning in collaboration with local and international companies like Telecom, VIP, Telenor, Comtrade, Huawei, Microsoft and others (Chine-CEE Institute, 2020).

In close cooperation with Office for technical backup and hosting system for learning management Moodle was installed and named „My school“. It is open source software widely used in Serbia and abroad for education. Department for digitalisation at the Ministry controls the system. Many teachers employed in elementary and high schools organises material for this

distance learning system. Initially classes have been registered in one school. Yet, after director of the school contracted the virus, Government of Serbia with the help of UNICEF purchased software „Camtasia“ for recording classes in schools. With equipment provided within the German Development Cooperation project “Dialogue on Employment Creation, Initiative and Dual Education” (DECIDE), two studios were prepared for classes for distance dual education.

Platform for online classes mojaskola.gov.rs (<https://mojaskola.rtsplaneta.rs>) provided lessons televised every day on two channels of national TV. Thus, both children with and without access to computers can follow the classes. Yet, there is no substitution for computers when it comes to school tasks that children need to perform for the class teachers in order to have grades. Therefore there are free applications also for mobile phones and tablets. Microsoft offered free usage of Office 365 platform during the pandemic and promised its free usage even after lifting the state of emergency in order to organise distance lessons and group calls. U.S. company also organised free on-line seminars for teachers.

This information was provided to staff of each school. Microsoft and their local partner Informatika prepared instructions for teachers at <https://rasporednastave.gov.rs/alati-uputstva.php>.

Zoom app for online meetings used in some schools in Serbia is supported through free internet by MTS Telecom and Telenor mobile networks. Beside zoom, Ministry made cooperation also with Viber app.

Local hardware company “Comtrade” donated platform “My classroom TeslaEDU” for online teaching and for testing of students of final year of elementary school organised from 22 to 24 April. Platform is free for teachers and students during the crisis. Together with Ministry it set up Call center open 12 hours a day. Students of eighth-final year of elementary school who did not had access to online classes got internet and devices (mobile phones and tablets) from Huawei (100 tablets), Comtrade (300 mobile phones), Telecom 800 internet cards and 800 mobile phones, VIP 800 internet cards and 400 mobile phones and Telenor the same as VIP (Chine-CEE Institute, 2020). Even before the outbreak of the epidemic, parents were able to use the model at <https://moj.esdnevnik.rs/>) in order to be informed about the grades of their children.

Online tools and platforms like Unique Education Information System - UISE, some of which were developed before the epidemic, were adopted or developed swiftly and efficiently (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, Law on Higher Education). Yet, in practice UISE, and other measures adopted before and during the outbreak of infectious disease of coronavirus and Covid-19 epidemic may be used for monitoring and tracking peoples since their early childhood and storing data on each citizen which can be misused by those controlling the data. Dangers for this kind of 'surveillance' are in eventual total control of population from the cradle to the grave (The *Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development* of the Republic of Serbia, 2012).

This is one of potential dangers of the organisation of distance learning. Many challenges arise from prolonged social isolation, like added pressure on parents or other children caretakers to share their work time with watching kids and helping them with new type of school tasks (Chine-CEE Institute, 2020).

School is one of the most important institutions for the constitution of modern society, for developing different skills required to become responsible and accomplished persons in adult age. Serbia managed to organise the system and it is important that education return to normalcy as this situation tends to have significantly more negative than positive impacts.

Conclusions:

Considering all the aspects we presented in the paper, we can come to certain conclusions, which show that from a global perspective, as in the Republic of Serbia, there are problems with the challenges posed by full digitalization of the education system, and strict deviation from regular education based on traditional methods. The Republic of Serbia implements a strategy for the development of digital education in line with world trends, and provides significant support for both professors and students, which is not only the state base but also public companies and private companies that process and offer solutions for needs in line with development.

Keeping the system of online education as support to regular learning, and the mixture of these two types of approach would make great and stable base which would give more opportunities both for teachers and students. That would be ideal model for further challenges in education.

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MULTY – LAYERDED EDUCATION SYSTEM OF CHINA

(Some Thoughts from my Ten Years as a Student and a Teacher in Mainland China)



By Larisa Smirnova, Ph.D.,

Some ten years of my life, from 2009 to 2019, I spent studying and teaching at a Southern Chinese University – Xiamen University. Xiamen University was established in 1921 and will soon, in 2021, celebrate its centennial anniversary. The picturesque University's multiple legends included a "Lake of Lovers" in the hills surrounding the campus where someone apparently drowned or, as the legend said, was taken away by a 'passion ghost', and even a murder case, in which a monk from the Buddhist school of the nearby Nanputuo temple killed his Xiamen University student girlfriend, whom he was prohibited to marry by the orders of his religious vows.

Law Doctor Zhu Chongshi, the President of the University, who had received his doctoral degree from the University of Belgrade in 1990 and was once a visiting scholar at Harvard, proudly advanced the 'coffee culture' and the Latin name of the University -*Universitas Amoiensis*, while, at the same time encouraging traditional Chinese practices, such as associations of martial arts.

In total, I spent four years enrolled as a student in Xiamen University – first as a Chinese language student and then as a PhD scholar in government administration; I also spent five years teaching Russian as a Foreign Expert at the same University. In this article, through reflecting upon my experience, I will discuss the nature, evolution, and quality of the education in China.

Traditional Layer

The education system of China is multi-layered. The traditional education, one of the best scholarly descriptions of which is contained in Benjamin A. Elman's monumental work "A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China" and a humorous portrayal in Wu Jingzi's classic "The Scholars" (Rulin waishi), was focused on the combination of 'wen' (knowledge of literature, and by extension, of civilian affairs) and of 'wu' (knowledge of martial arts, or by extension, of military affairs).

The goal of the traditional education was very clearly stated: government. Those who got a chance to receive education were destined to rule those who didn't. However, and it has to be specially stressed, those who didn't receive education – e.g., the villagers – selected, from their community, those children who were evaluated as talented in studies and who would be, in the opinion of the Community, able to pass the civil service exams. The community exempted these children from physical work and materially supported them during their studies.

It was how the Chinese "electoral democracy" functioned. The same model was to a large degree accepted among the peoples of the Asian civilization who used the Chinese characters and were influenced by the Chinese writing system, especially, the Koreans, the Vietnamese, and to a lesser degree, the Japanese.

The mindset of the traditional Chinese civilization, in its various forms, can be accessed by studying classical Chinese poetry. Personally, I started by collecting random poems online and by asking Chinese acquaintances for familiar quotations, but now that more works on Chinese poetry are available to Western audience, if I were to choose one book to recommend, I would incline in favor of works of the Columbia University professor Zong-qi Cai, for example, his bilingual English-Chinese workbook “How to Read Chinese Poetry”.

Zong-qi Cai categorized poems in themes that reflect the main subjects that were of concern to a pre-modern Chinese person: starting with Love and Parting, differently expressed by Men and Women, the poetry covers such realms as service or work as well as return to live on the farm when retired or encountered bad luck in one’s career; traveling and contemplating various landscapes; a forever prominent for the Chinese of all times theme of homesickness; philosophical meditations on history, fame, and human nature; as well as various allegories mostly of political nature that were written as allusions to persons or events that the author could not or restrained from directly referring to.

As to the martial arts education, the accepted belief, to which any practitioner of Chinese martial arts is likely to sooner or later get exposed, is that the Chinese, who were the first ones to invent the gunpowder during the Middle Ages, deliberately refrained from using it for warfare. The arguments advanced to explain why are either that they found it too cruel, or that they found medicine would be unable to treat firearm wounds, or that the Chinese, who had a deep respect for the integrity of the human body, found it unacceptably insulting that bodies would explode into pieces and it would not be possible to bury them intact, as well as for other similar reasons.

Regardless of whether you will consider these arguments as fully convincing, it is certain that the Chinese kung fu, unlike its Japanese or Korean counterparts that have by now been reformed to largely become performance-focused, has to a considerable degree preserved its martial component, and, along with etiquette of respect and moral cultivation of the practitioner that had won it great renommée among philosophers, still teaches mastery of a variety of cold weapon techniques.

Modern Education Layer

The colonization of India, Perry Expedition to Japan, as well as the Russian exploitation of Siberia were among the series of the 19th century events that triggered the decisions of Qing China to start sending young Chinese to study overseas in late 19th century.

Some illustrious intellectuals, such as writer Lu Xun, a promoter of modernization of written Chinese language, as well as thinker Liang Qichao, who reflected on the differences between concepts of ‘state’ and ‘nation’, were part of the overseas students lot, contributing to its seeming prestige. However, many returnees always faced an attitude that could be called “Aung Sang Suu Kyi” dilemma: having acquired a great deal of knowledge and experience through their studies and travels in foreign lands, they became at best irrelevant when back home or were perceived as presenting a potential threat for the existing political order.

Engineering skills for national defense from foreign conquest, and not political liberalization, was what the Chinese government primarily wanted to acquire through sending students abroad. Therefore, one major thing that the Chinese overseas returnees have been trying to introduce to China, as pertinently pointed out by Benjamin A. Elman in his book and as such returnees themselves mentioned to me in a multitude of conversations, is the study of mathematics. Through this endeavor, mathematics, Elman writes, even started to be introduced as part of the Late Imperial China Examinations curriculum.

The problem was, however, that the majority of students memorized mathematical formulas visually, much like they do with the pictographic Chinese characters, without understanding the nature of underlying physical processes and potential implications for engineering. On the other hand, the Chinese students, already used to analyzing government in their traditional education, excelled at social sciences and started to push for changing of the Chinese political order, provoking a series of revolutions in the first part of the 20th century.

Whereas the traditional education specific to China is so interesting to visiting foreigners, the modern education layer – teaching knowledge brought back by the overseas returnees or acquired in the West by other means – is what constitutes the nowadays core of the Chinese secondary and tertiary education curriculum. Secondary schooling ends with a competitive national examination called “gao kao”.

Although the number of the Chinese students departing to study overseas is unprecedentedly high, those who got the best score in national exams tend to choose top domestic universities as opposed to directly applying for foreign schools. The Chinese still view “gao kao” as well as the “civil service examination” available after graduation from University as a remnant of the historical Imperial Examination system, and prioritize joining secure domestic government service.

Among the Chinese students in overseas institutions, even though this might not be in direct relation to their actual ability, there is usually a big difference in social status between those who are perceived as “having gone abroad to spend their parents’ money because they were not so good at domestic exams” and those “who are sent on a stipend by the government to bring back valuable knowledge”.

Foreign Teachers in China

A prosperous and well-organized country for ancient times’ standards, China has long been known for its fecundity and high population density. Although the Indian doctors seem to challenge this view, a well-accepted belief in Chinese medicine is, for example, that the Chinese doctors were skillful in baby-delivery from women with narrow hips, of whom Asia abounds, without “barbarian” Caesarian sections that, until invention of modern-day anesthesia and antiseptics, led to the death of the mother.

The demographic pressure, thus created, resulted in emigration. The Chinese civilization developed around the areas of modern-day Henan and Sichuan provinces with climates close to Europe. The Chinese who resided there, on the one hand, feared conquest from the North, from subarctic Siberian steppes, where the physically robust Mongols and Manchurians came from, to accomplish the conquest of the remains of the indigenous Chinese Tang and Ming dynasties.

On the other hand, the Chinese migrated towards the South, in the direction of subtropical Fujian and Guangdong provinces, and further down to the Pacific islands: Taiwan, Hainan, a multitude of other islands and island countries of the Pacific Ocean, all the way down to Hawaii and the coast of California.

Famously, Doctor Sun Yat-sen, the revolutionary, spent years in Hawaii, where he had family. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, a U.S. law, points to the fact that America was already a dream destination at the time as well as to the existing tensions in migration relations between the two nations.

While America was much more familiar and attractive, but not always friendly, in the first half of the twentieth century, China unexpectedly found a supporter to its goals – technological advancement for the goal of national defense - in the Soviet Union. Having decided to break with the past of the Imperial Russia, the Soviet Union acted for ideological reasons and offered help, that it viewed as sincere and a large part of which was of military nature. These relations resulted in the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

However, no matter what kind of government ruled China, as soon as it could consolidate itself, it always devoted primary resources to the strongest possible protection of its sovereignty. While for some time the Soviet experts and advisors acted rather freely in China, in 1956, China established the State Administration of Foreign Experts Affairs (SAFEA), the Chinese government body charged with handling the work of foreign teachers and advisors in China. In 1960, followed the China-USSR split that, besides differences on ideological issues such as the historical legacy of Joseph Stalin, involved practical questions. As a result of various disagreements, the Soviet experts were returned to the Soviet Union.

During the times when Deng Xiaoping ruled China, most foreign experts working in the country under the SAFEA auspices were not sent in an organized way by any government, but were, for the most part, loner adventurers from English-speaking world. Even though many of them were similarly brought to China by ideological considerations, such as Marxist sympathies, as well as personal convictions of social and international justice, what distinguished them from preceding Soviet experts was that they came on their own initiative and not on behalf of any country.

Thus, during the thirty years of what came to be known as Reform and Opening Up Policy, inaugurated by Deng in 1979, it became a good habit for the Chinese leaders to have a “foreign friend”, much like even Mao Zedong himself befriended the American journalist Edgar Snow.

It was a “golden age” of foreign teachers in China, many of whom taught at Chinese universities: while for the most part, these teachers were not so qualified as to teach subjects related to technology, they usually were very devoted and proved instrumental in enhancing the English-language skills of the Chinese students and preparing them for technological studies overseas.

Although it was speculated that SAFEA usually limited the allowed time of presence in China for foreign teachers to five years, I happened to know many of these “Reform and Opening Up” idealists who stayed in China for very prolonged periods of time, such as for over twenty years. However, I indeed know very few who eventually stayed in China for good. It is hard to say, for what reasons. They probably came to ‘help social and economic development’ of China in the first place, not to immigrate into, or, as some Chinese might still remind you, especially online where the usually courteous Chinese exercise their freedom of expression, “they did not come to ‘colonize’ this country”.

Foreign Students in Chinese Universities

China also runs a number of programs for foreign students, in priority enrolling in degree programs those students coming from developing countries. I happened to meet some African nationals who had been students of such programs back in the 1980s. While nowadays some programs are even taught in English, receiving, for example, students from India, as a rule, those students who would like to learn anything else than Chinese language, would need to be extremely motivated as they would first have to acquire a high enough knowledge of Chinese. My own research showed that the predominant majority of students stopped at the level when they satisfied their curiosity about Chinese language and culture.

And still, if the Chinese can master English, which should be as difficult for them as learning Chinese for a foreign learner, why would the opposite not be possible? What happens to those students who choose to enroll in ‘beyond language major’ degree programs in China?

Such was my way of reasoning when I enrolled in the PhD Program administered by the Confucius Institute, a ministry of education agency charged with promotion of Chinese education to overseas target audiences.

The selection for the program started from testing the language level of the applicant. The required language test (HSK level 5) was not very difficult for me to pass with a good score. Then followed a language interview, that, equally, I passed successfully. Then followed some academic review process. And so here I was selected, the supervisor was appointed, and I found myself with several other foreigners in a group with the majority of Chinese PhD candidates at the School of Public Affairs, Department of Politics, focusing on government administration.

The program at first seemed exceptionally good. It was structured exactly like a program in a US University would be: it required students to take two years of courses and seminars before starting to work on the dissertation. The first disappointment happened, however, when I realized that almost none of the books required for the courses was authored by a Chinese author: there were mostly Chinese translations of Western materials. Those books that were in fact written by the Chinese professors mostly consisted of retelling works of Western scholars and introducing Western concepts in Chinese language. The second disappointment happened when I realized that my PhD supervisor, otherwise a friendly person, due to differences in accents, could hardly understand neither my Chinese nor my English.

I held on to the program for the first two years all until the comprehensive written exam. It was the last stage of the coursework part of the program before the fieldwork and dissertation. My Chinese language ability was, of course, far from being sufficient to hand-write the required examination... And even though hand-writing the exam paper in English would have probably been found acceptable, I felt like “I had hit a glass ceiling”.

As I kept residing in China for some time after being awarded the SAFEA Friendship Award for my services as a Russian language teacher while I was finalizing my PhD thesis (I eventually obtained the degree from Moscow University instead), I kept noticing brave foreign students on campus, many from developing countries, who were often armed with a corresponding to the course American textbook in English that they had either borrowed from the library, or purchased on amazon, or downloaded online.

* * *

It is of course impossible, in this short essay, to analyze all the dilemmas faced by the education system of such a complex country as China. Besides the dilemma of traditionalism versus modernity, it seems to encounter a conflict of interest between the Chinese returnees from overseas universities and foreign teachers who would like to directly teach in China.

Not many countries, besides some exceptions in the English-speaking world, are ready to put their nationals in direct competition with foreign workers. In the case of China, even if such direct competition happened, all sides should be ready for it to be severe, as the Chinese society itself is an extremely competitive one.

However, during the ten years in total that I spent in China, I found the Chinese campus to offer an extremely thought-provoking environment on many issues I would not have reflected upon with such acuity, such as expansionism and protectionism, the nature of international borders and justice among nations.

The effects of some recent reform trends on the Chinese education system as I knew it and described in this article, are perhaps too early to discuss, as exposure to Chinese culture has taught me to be perseverant and refrain from speculating hastily on recent events.

A good balance within the Chinese education system was seemingly established during the Thirty Years of Reform and Opening Up Policy, which can be summarized as follows:

- Most foreign students in China learnt Chinese language and traditional culture, thus focusing on acquiring familiarity with the Chinese civilizational outlook;
- The degree programs for foreign programs that worked best were those that targeted students from developing countries with goals similar to those of the Chinese overseas students — bringing technological knowledge back home;
- Foreign teachers present in China focused on language teaching, preparing the Chinese students to study overseas;
- Those foreign teachers who came to China were not sent by any one country with any homogenized agenda but rather represented themselves, and were taken care of by the SAFEA personnel while in China as they encountered objective difficulties in their everyday logistics.

This balance in the Chinese education system, which, since the times of Imperial China, preserves its close link to the government, was based on the international perception of China as a country struggling to protect its civilizational identity and national sovereignty. It was also based on China's eagerness to help other developing nations to do so. Many of China's foreign policy positions, such as opposition to the non-UN sanctioned overseas military interventions by the United States of America and its NATO allies, added to such perception of China as a pillar of international and social justice. Of course, the economic successes of China's own development could only help such international perceptions.

To some extent, although again, it seems too early to reflect thereupon, the advancement by China of "One Belt One Road" plan, that has been viewed by many as expansionist in nature, may be seen as contradictory to China's previous diplomatic stances and may have shaken the balance within many areas of Chinese society, including but not limited to its education system.

Hopefully, as one more thing I learnt in Chinese culture is that it has always been so in history that ‘crises periods and times of stability alternate’, some new equilibrium will soon be reached. For the time being, having returned to native Russia, I am very nostalgic of that quiet Xiamen University campus I had seen upon my arrival in 2009, when there were very few cars, no smartphones, no University rankings, when students listened to the teacher, when Chinese and foreigners coexisted peacefully and exchanged happily, and when McDonald’s across the street from the University's main West Gate was the one ‘foreign restaurant’ available for what included but in fact was not limited to language exchanges.

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NEUROSCIENCE AT THE SERVICE OF LEARNING AND EDUCATION¹



By Prof. Dr. Gabriel César Dias Lopes, PhD

Abstract:

This article reflects on Neuroscience as an adjunct to Pedagogy, seeks to understand the development of the brain and its contributions to the teaching process, to contribute to the learning of new skills for the 21st century. In the meantime, the educator's understanding of the brain and its functioning is fundamental to its performance in the classroom. In a bibliographic, qualitative-descriptive research work, the objective here was to discuss the performance of the five brains, and within a socio-historical conception, based on the Vygotskian theory to debate neuroscience as a learning tool. The importance of educating the brain biology on the part of the educator to identify its plasticity and cognitive, affective, emotional, motor and anatomical dimensions is emphasized and using this understanding as a tool for his actions in the classroom, thus correlating neuroscience and school learning

Keywords: Neuroscience, Brain Plasticity and Learning

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Introduction

The importance of including neuroscience as a tool in the educational process of teaching and learning is due to the fact that it enables the understanding of the human brain and therefore the understanding of the student's action and behavior. Understanding that learning is the object of education and that currently there are many noises that affect and prevent it from occurring easily, neuroscience appears as a contributory factor for the acquisition of new skills and abilities for the exercise of education professionals in the classroom. Class.

According to Relvans (2009), knowing brain biology is important because it goes through the construction of education. Thus, it is necessary for the teacher to know the biology of the brain in its cognitive affective, emotional and motor dimensions, being able to consider neuroscience as a great ally of education. To do so, you need to understand what neuroscience is and how it has contributed to teaching and learning.

As Neuroscience is a relatively new science that studies the central nervous system as well as its complexity, it can contribute to Pedagogy helping to understand the biology existing in the brain. With this understanding, teachers can understand that there is also an anatomy, and a physiology providing cerebral learning, to better understand the student in his singularities. Thus, in order to understand Neuroscience in its various functionalities, it is first necessary to understand the functional and pathological structures of human behavior with regard to memory, humor, attention to sleep, and general behavior.

In the studies and analysis on the origin of Neuroscience, two great scientists stand out in the 21st century, namely Hits and Fritz, who measure the importance of understanding this for the understanding of the individual's development process and, consequently, their learning.

1. The Brain and the Origins of Neuroscience

It has long been known that the brain is an organ of the central nervous system that is very important for the functioning of the body. This organ constitutes the largest part of the brain, representing about 80% of the total mass of this structure. Its functions are related to intelligence, language, consciousness, memory, among others. In addition, it is able to process information from the senses together with other brain structures, initiate movements and influence emotional behavior. As for anatomy, the brain can be divided into two hemispheres: the left and the right, which are connected by the corpus callosum, a structure made up of myelinated fibers.

The left hemisphere controls the movements of the right side, and the right side controls the movements of the left side of the body. These hemispheres are divided into four brain lobes, which have specific functions. They are: frontal, temporal, parietal and occipital lobe. Each lobe is named according to the location in relation to the skull bones. In the brain, it is possible to observe two very distinct regions: a region known as gray matter and another known as white matter. The gray matter has neuron cell bodies and can be seen more externally. This portion is known as the cerebral cortex and receives impulses from various locations to be processed. There are regions of the cortex specialized in interpreting sensations, sounds, smells, developing thoughts, keeping memories and controlling movements, for example.

In 1970, new technologies are developed that present us with an image thus providing more physiological and pathological information, never developed among them computed tomography and magnetic resonance. So it provided more physiological information. In 1990, Cardal established that each nerve cell is unique and distinct and individual and that these cells respond to stimuli thus forming synapses, regions of the cortex specialized in interpreting sensations, sounds, odors, developing thoughts, keeping memories and controlling movements, for example. (SOUSA, 2017). More internally to the cortex is the white substance, which is more whitish in color than the cortex.

This last region is formed by bundles of myelinated axons and, therefore, it is whitish. Externally, it is possible to notice that the brain is full of grooves, which delimit gyri or cerebral circumvolutions. These grooves are formed by the folds that appear in the cortex, which increases faster than white matter. The protuberances formed in this way are called spins or circumvolutions. Grooves are important because they guarantee an increase in brain volume, and very deep grooves are called fissures. Among these fissures, we can mention the longitudinal, which guarantees the division of the brain into two hemispheres. (CARDAL, 1990 apud SOUSA 2017). We need to understand the relationship of this brain to our daily lives. What is known is that all effective relationships and bonding relationships are linked to intermediary caring for the brain, which is related to the pleasures of our emotions, and our experiences of affective bonds.

This is how the evolution of man happens, leaving the reptilian brain and going to the neocortex earned intermediate brain, which is represented by a layer of thinking and reflective structure that we know as the upper brain. In this process of advancement, man builds himself in his knowledge, in this process we are faced with 21st century students, we are faced with a great challenge which is to understand them in the classroom and how to work with their reactions, because the student is a thinking subject who masters a language and who builds his thoughts and his actions, therefore, it is necessary for the teacher to understand how the human brain works because only then can he understand the strong and aggressive primitive reptilian brain that is in each one of us.

Without losing the understanding that this subject has the intermediate brain responsible for emotions, for the intellect, the teacher needs to understand, stimulate, so that he, the student, can develop knowledge. Neuroscience makes this study possible, this walk through the structure of the brain, which is coated with an anatomical structure of two hemispheres, which is not so simple, the hemisphere has the function of communication, it is responsible for language analyzes, classifies, identifies, Already the hemisphere law is responsible for spatiality, temporality, but the two communicate with each other and this communication goes through five brains of which we humans are endowed, thus clarifying the multiple efficiencies and multiple intelligences in learning.

What are these five brains? The individual that is constituted of a unique and singular anatomical and physiological structure inside the cranial box, we have the social brain the cultural brain of society's relations but depending on the individual brain to carry out the actions, it is located in the prefrontal area put it requires attention and skills in positive attitudes, from personalities.

The third brain is represented by the movements of the body is located in the parietal area, and is the dexterity and refinement of the movements, by the readiness for the spoken by the reading and the writing.

The other important brain is the affective and emotional. It plays a fundamental role in our lives. It is in them that we establish our emotional bond. It represents our limbic system and is located in the hypothalamus, integrating with the cortex and in the frontal orbital area, in the singular cortex of the tonsils. cerebral. (SOUSA, 2017).

The frontal cortex has the function of stopping impulsive actions and the anterior cortex activates other actions to respond to conflicts. The role of the amygdala, on the other hand, is to produce responses to fear and negative responses. The fourth brain is a creative brain, a potential brain capable of using all its capacities from both the left and the right hemisphere to solve problems, expressing itself better to the desires and new discoveries.

It is noticed that when knowing the brain, the teacher will have a base that they can use to help their work in the classroom to understand each behavior, of the students. Hitzig & Fritsch (1870 apud RAMÓN Y CAJAL, 1902)) made a report that electrical stimulation in specific areas of the brain of the cerebral cortex caused movements. In that same century, two more scientists stood out, Broca and Wernick (1861), who confirmed the following, that language is organized in specific areas in the cerebral cortex. There were some presuppositions of Neuroscience.

According to (PATERNO & ZORZI apud SOUSA, 2017), the study of neuroscience considers the knowledge of brain functions as key pieces for stimulating healthy cognitive development. Knowing that the brain constantly reorganizes itself, in accordance with external stimuli, the challenge is to facilitate the absorption of the correct and positive stimulus. The authors claim that the first mechanisms for such absorption is memory.

For Kandel (2011) “we are products of our synapses”. It further states that we are who we are because of what we learn and what we remember. This author approaches that there is a dialogue with psychiatry and cerebral biology and therapeutics and affirms that, not everything that is explained by psychic conflicts or by altered neurotransmitters, therefore, all our brains are possible to change, to heal themselves. up and move.

It can be said that our brain and body are renewed through new learning. In this context all teachers need to understand the new trends in their pedagogical practices, put neuroscience brings a contribution showing us a broader look at the understanding, how the nervous system works, in this way neuroscience passes through the important interfaces for the teacher in classroom can understand how the brain's structural process is and how it works in the learning process.

The first scientific basis highlights what it is to learn and how the chemical bases are directly related, and the physical bases can understand the functioning of the neural function, therefore these chemical and physical structures will work exactly in a cellular structure. They are: neurons and glial cells, which investigate how it will work to receive transmit and decode information. In this process, one can affirm the great contribution that neuroscience provides for a better understanding of the human nervous system.

According to Relvans (2011), it is necessary to study the groups of neurons that have a foundation within a circuit connection, highlighting that in any case, the brain is related to muscle functions and that there are nerve fibers that are inserted forming the neuromuscular system that give us the condition of writing and speaking and reading. In this context, there is a greater understanding of how to understand the student's behavior in the classroom, of what can be detected in fears in school phobias, in depressions.

When you have this understanding, it becomes much clearer to understand the other. Another Neuroscience interface is to understand how thoughts and memories are processed, planning and motor skills and forms, which are conditioned in classrooms, and in schools in general.

2.1 Learning and memory

At the beginning of the last century, Santiago Ramón y Cajal, (1902) already stated that almost all animals are able to modify their behavior with results of experience. [...] the authors argue that the most plausible explanation is that learning and memory are expressed as changes in the synaptic connections between neurons. According to Luria (1903-1978 apud Sousa, 2017), the brain is a biological system that is in constant interaction with the environment, that is, higher mental functions are developed during the evolution of the species, social history, and the development of each individual. It can be said that we have the concept of brain plasticity here. Understanding that the human brain is restructured, and can be revitalized (neuroplasticity), there are other possibilities to work the teaching and learning process, since the brain is dynamic, has the ability to change in response to the challenges of society Modern. this view allows changes in educators' actions, understanding that nothing is decisive, and better and better results can be obtained from new pedagogical practices.

In Vygotsky's theory (2000), the relationship between development and learning are important points, in which he values pedagogical action and intervention, in addition to considering that it is learning that promotes development. For him, learning is a necessary and fundamental aspect for the establishment of superior psychological functions. The individual develops, in part, thanks to the maturation of the individual organism, but it is the learning that provokes the internalization of the psychic function. Thus, neuroscience helps to understand why the child does not learn it implies analyzing how the reverse process occurs, that is, how he learns. Achieving success in the learning process is linked to the integration of the object and material to be learned in an activity that makes sense to the child and involves objects that he can perceive.

Educators need to internalize the importance of the child being attracted by the way it is being taught to have the pleasure of learning so that the subjects are assimilated. It is necessary to avoid repetitive methodologies and invest in participatory, engaging, stimulating classes that promote concentration and attention.

Stimulating the learning of formal and scientific knowledge parallel to what happens in the child's brain, in addition to the relationship between assimilation of information will provide the internal development of a scientific concept in the child's consciousness. According to Vygotsky (2000), a concept is more than the sum of certain associative links formed by memory; it is more than a simple mental habit: it is rather a complex and genuine act of thought that cannot be taught only by permanent repetition. In fact, it can only be accomplished when the child's own mental development has reached the necessary level. The expansion of concepts presupposes the development of many intellectual functions: deliberate attention, logical memory, abstraction, the ability to compare and differentiate, among others. These complex psychological processes cannot be mastered through initial learning alone. Practical experience shows that it is impossible to teach concepts directly.

Final Considerations

In this context we understand the contributions of neuroscience to education, the discourse as: knowledge, memory, sleep, humor of forgetting the attention of fear of affectivity, the senses and language are physiologically structured, by our brain, from child to adult boys or girls.

All of this becomes an interesting and fundamental subsidy for understanding the pedagogical actions to understand the importance of neurons, including mirror neurons, which enable the human species to recognize itself as an individual, and learn to communicate and understand intellectual learning, and to know that brain plasticity is an ally of education because the brain continues to develop, to change and adapt to adulthood to senile adulthood. By understanding these brain actions it does not, change our view of learning and teaching. Neuroscience enables us to reflect that the backward and the limited do not exist, but we have several possibilities to learn, so there are several ways to teach.

As much as we better understand how the brain works, the better we can teach them. In the process of understanding how the brain learns neuroscience, it shows us a new concept of the student in the classroom. Seeking to understand the cerebral subject, and within its plurality as the human brain learns and keeps knowledge. Who is this cerebral subject he thinks dialogues, uses languages as a main tool in the learning process.

The teacher can use exactly this process to understand the history of this student and treat him as a unique subject in his singularity of the classroom within a collective where he will be included as a participant in diversity.

What can be said is that the construction of each brain is unique, but these brains undergo changes in the measurement of the learning process, thus becoming an important main author for this new learning of the 21st century, so it is extremely important to understand how far they are. the dimensions of this cerebral and reflective subject are stimulated as educating, and having recognized his potential, in his limits of affection capacities and in his limitations in his potentialities.

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REVERS LOOP: GLOBAL TO LOCAL -FOOD MARKET COMMUNITIES WITH OPEN -SOURCE



By Mateja Mertik, Ph.D.

Abstract

COVID-19 brings us a new way of thinking and facilitates a new way of using digital technologies. In this paper, we will show the changes in agriculture, briefing some of the findings to support sustainable food systems before the COVID period on the European and national levels with a pilot study of LOKeT, a Direct-to-Consumer Market model implemented in Slovenia, and will reevaluate some of the directions and benefits from the perspective in the COVID period. Further, we will show some of the facts already addressed in this new post covid perspective and underline the necessity of the use of digital technologies for local development, the same technologies that enable global village. We will show the importance of data in this sense and the importance of the holistic approaches from European to national as local levels to be successful to overcome the current situation as also to help to overcome the climate change crisis before us.

Key words: Covid -19, Global, Local, Food, Market, Open-Source, LOKeT

1.0 Introduction

Due to COVID-19 recent crisis, we have seen how vulnerable and fragile the global world is that will have to face great challenges in the short term. The economic consequences of the coronavirus are following in all sectors including agriculture. On the other hand, we have never been so connected within the web and mobile technologies. They are acting on a global scale connecting people, companies, and services and have got a big push during the covid situation.

Although this push within technologies, it was shown how important are the facts and the way we used technology and how little commitment and solidarity between EU countries meant at the beginning of the crisis where nobody was prepared.

We have also been able to see how fast some new things have happened in the aspect of the terms and the European single market. What has been not negotiable in the sense of the European single view just a few months ago become actual in a matter of days. We have seen immediately, only with a week, that within European also national supply schemes have become actual as we could see the fragility of the single European market that practically did not work; on the one hand, there was a challenge of export barriers and on the other, the challenge of organization of transport logistic, both lead to the fact to start realizing again that food safety is one of the keys that we need to pay close attention to.

In this paper, we will examine possibilities of strengthening sustainable agricultural practices and local food production in the sense of crisis, where a lot of initiatives in a short time become reality due to the changes of COVID 19. We will also discuss some of the previous aspects and challenges that we have faced by the experiences during LOKeT project (Local e-market), we will show the key concept of LOKeT project and will reevaluating the challenges and needs of ICT technologies and open-source philosophy that are gaining new focus in the current situation.

2.0 Building food market communities with the open-source LOKeT project

A pilot program of local food market mobile services, LOKeT (Local e-market), was designed seven years ago to support an alternative bottom-up approach for strengthening sustainable agricultural practices and local food production in Slovenia in 2014 (Mertik M., 2014).

Europe at this period was faced with challenges in Food and Agriculture related to the EU 2020 Strategy. It was estimated that globally 80% of food was produced and marketed at the local level, however, in the European Union, this figure was only about 20%.

The opinion of the Committee of the Regions on 'Local food systems' (2011) back then, therefore, considers that:

(a) local food systems support the local and regional economy and are of the utmost importance in less-favored regions where they stimulate the exploitation of local potential and help to improve the image of often neglected regions,

(b) local food system's short distribution channels lead to greater interaction between consumers and producers where they create relationships based on trust and make products easily traceable by consumers and

(c) local food systems bring environmental benefits through more sustainable production systems.

Slovenia, as a member of the European Union (EU), was implementing some of the top-down approaches designed to address these issues. In the domain of local food systems, Slovenia has established a long term plan for promotions of agricultural and food products in 2013-2018. This plan addressed some of the above-mentioned strengths of locally produced food in the area with a classic top-down approach, which uses massive marketing channels to address the citizens. However, it was shown, that these top-down approaches were not sufficient instruments to be successful in today's information society paradigm.

Already Gelb et al (2008) outlined sustainable agricultural development as a worldwide strategic concern where Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) have a potential to contribute to achieving significant economic, social, and environmental benefits on the workshop sponsored by the Global Forum on Agricultural Research (GFAR) organized by Asian Federation of Information Technology in Agriculture (AFITA), World Congress of the International Association of Agricultural Information Specialists (IAALD) and World Congress on Computers in Agriculture (WCCA).

With Web 2.0, mobile web development, and social media new possibilities raised up to facilitate opportunities also in sustainable development moving from the global environment to local networking and local production. In this sense, a pilot program of the local food marketplace on mobile services was designed as an alternative and complementary bottom-up approach to the governmental top-down strategies for strengthening the local food production.

3. Top-Down Policies And European Agriculture Model

When addressing top-down policies in the European sense we should address some of the key issues of local food systems that have many positive effects on the environment. They have been mentioned already by The European Committee of the Regions (2011). Some additional recommendations followed by the European Committee to the member states, which should be considering these facts in their national strategies such as a) to define targets for developing local food systems in their Rural Development Strategy with support from the EU and national authorities; b) to adopt definitions of 'Local Food Products' and 'Local Food Systems', and introduce a new logo and identify a common symbol and scheme identity for local products; c) to make 'locally produced' as a standard selection criterion in tenders for the supply of food too, for instance, schools, nursing homes, and public facilities.

Also here Slovenia as a member state has adopted some of the recommendations mentioned above. The Ministry of Agriculture (2013) established a strategic plan for the promotion of agricultural and food products for the period of 2013-2018 with the program "Green table of regional flavors" focused on agricultural and food products. These products were part of the image of Slovenia showing a clean, natural, healthy, diverse, and sustainable country. Yet the general name of the program not recognized within the goals of the recommendations "Green table of regional flavors" was defined due to some of the European regulations which - controversial - restrict the promotion of national/local food as such promotion is allowed only in exceptional cases of special characteristics of products which should be supervised from the European quality system level.

Later additional recommendations were implemented such as Quality schemes and protected agricultural products and foodstuffs, Integrated production, Organic production, The importance of local food and the principle of short chains in the food supply, and Promotion of local food. Additionally followed Short chains and ordering food for public institutions and a new portal for the promotion of local food Our superfood (Ministrstvo za kmetijstvo, gozdarstvo in prehrano, 2020).

The European Committee of the Regions also selected observation and challenges for facilitating the European agriculture model such as a) there is no single European model in agriculture, the model is multifaceted and its diversity is a major asset; b) links between farming and consumer's expectations are low and must be strengthened; c) the local food system is a key issue that has so far not been sufficiently addressed in European agriculture model and Common Agriculture Policy (CAP, 2013).

These observations were not addressed successfully enough with top-down approaches and have recently gained a new perspective in the COVID crisis that facilitates digitalization and bottom-up. In this sense, we are describing some of the the key concept of LOKeT project in short in the sense before the crisis and are representing some of the challenges and facts gained by the project implementation back then and after the current situation.

4.0. What is LOKeT

Social and mobile technologies based on Web 2.0 enabled the so-called read/write phenomena of internet services. We are facing new digital literacy and strong user participation in modern e-governance and policies (Lessing, 2004). Many of the challenges of the local food system in the European agriculture model can be successfully addressed with those technological possibilities, we can hear also about the term agricultural digitalization. LOKeT (Local e-market) is an example of one of the open-source mobile platforms that address mentioned issues from a bottom-up approach and easily connect producers and consumers of local/regional food through new web and mobile services.

LOKeT was the first mobile service named and based on LOKeT open-source platform. The service offered basic functionalities for consumers: such as a) a location-based insight into locally produced products (vegetables, fruits, dairy products, wine...) in an area; b) opening hours of local producers in the area; c) planning of the countryside route for pick up the products.

Consumers could easily and effectively combine trips to the countryside together with the purchase of the area's locally grown food as the service provides insight into the current visited area and the producer's opening hours. The consumer's role has no account in the application and is available free.

Producers (touristic farms, family farms, processors) on the other hand need to create an account to easily generate and maintain their own local market (a list of their products with a detailed description, prices, photos etc...) such as easy entry of farmer's products, creating and editing producer's local market (list of products), easy entry of opening hours for the weekend period of time etc...

4.1 Direct-to-Consumer Market model

LOKeT mobile platform addresses the so-called Direct-to-Consumer Market model. This refers to promoting a product or a service straight from the producer to the consumer without intermediary facilities (there are different methods of direct marketing today as face to face, door to door, telemarketing, direct mail advertising). A Direct-to-Consumer Market model significantly diverges from a Direct-to-Retail model. Here we knew various approaches like Farmers' Markets, Community Supported Agriculture, and different Direct to Consumer Programs. These Direct-to-Retail approaches however usually require an intermediate entity that connects consumers with producers. Now technologies like social networks and mobile applications enabled self-organization of communities with minimal requirement of middle entities.

Gupta et al. (2009) discuss and present mobile social computing applications (MSCAs) that promise to improve social connectivity in physical communities by leveraging information about people, social relationships, and places. Narrowing this with a focus on sustainable development led to the model of supporting local food production with the LOKeT platform, an MSCA focused on Direct-to-Consumer Market model. Following were the goal of the LOKeT platform:

- building a network of farmers for LOKeT mobile application introduction;
- educating the network about new technologies and possibilities for direct consumer access;
- developing a pilot model for local food based on the estimation of the model in the real environment.

4.2 First Observation and Further Open Source Innovation

With the LOKeT model, the strategy for its use was developed at every stage. This strategy had important value for searching for business model opportunities (yellow colors) and also to look back on the evolved things. With the introduction of the LOKeT first some of the early hypothesis testings were provided under the pilot program of the local food market that we have evaluated in the selected Slovenian region.

The output is presented in Figure 1 below:



Figure 1: Stages of platform development; yellow color - implemented task, green color - an important task in phase 2 and phase 3 by developing the model

4.3 Data are the energy of application

The following questions of the local food market mobile service were posed by introduction: Has the LOKeT business model service at this stage enough added value for producers to adopt it for serious use? What is better to have first, a large network of interested farmers or a bulletproof mobile application?

As we have estimated there were enough end-users for such a service between people/consumers that are aware of the quality of local food and are searching for the origin of products. However, more importantly, the vital importance of successfully introducing the service lies on the site of the consumers. Farmers as we might expect have classical pathways and services in the Direct-to-Retail model, so they need to be aware of the strengths of the Direct-to-Consumer model. This brings new dimensions to the producers such as education, awareness, and different type of businesses. The mentioned facts present a challenge to the farmers especially as they are already limited with time. Consequently, the young generation and schools were therefore introduced. In this sense, the platform was only the starting point and additional networking with supporting organization and feeds were to be integrated as we have been identified by the example. However, this is not so easy to achieve and requires a much bigger effort than the introduction of the application.

With the new COVID 19 situation, a new awareness of these kinds of solutions gains attention again. Many things are changing. We can see a rise in the importance of digitalization to face the crisis as also new solutions and models that are generated by the people and technology. Only in a few months, many more new platforms for the Direct-to-Consumer model were implemented in Slovenia, this time because of the COVID-19 reasons in the first place as with sustainable development reasons posed by LOKeT. However, they are facing similar challenges with one important key. This time external forces are leading those approaches towards better use. In this sense, bottom-up approaches are getting a new rise to shape a sustainable economy of the future, hopefully resulting in more serious adoption as they were achieved within sustainable development goals till now.

5. Global to Local Shift

Till 2020 the challenges of Food and Agriculture related to the EU 2020 Strategy were implemented mostly in the top-down approach paradigm. Slovenia as an EU member state introduced many acts in this manner.

As we have shown these strategies were mainly top-down oriented having their own drawbacks and very low satisfaction of the defined goals. On the other hand, bottom-up approaches following open source phenomena (leading to open knowledge, open environment, etc...) within the social media and digitalization technologies introduced bottom-up approaches. These are well known in the open-source communities and bring new strengths to the consumers, producers as for the environment.

LOKeT project was one example of such an approach to support a local market before today's new perspectives. We have shown the main characteristics of this approach and the challenges that approach has addressed then. We have also presented the strategies of the state that follows directions for local food systems where we can observe the lack of Direct-to-Consumer models, a bottom-up approach that can bring the society toward a more sustainable and green solution. The current situation of COVID showed the fragility of classical single market directions and needs to facilitate these new technologies and concepts.

To successfully overcome the crisis following COVID, these new opportunities will need to be addressed as only the distribution of the whole retails solution closer to the local communities - in this sense the agricultural sector - will bring better sustainable development and adaptability to the ecological threads and changes such as climate changes that need to be treated with similar urgency to Covid-19. For this, the right use of technologies in the local sense (the same technologies that bring us into the global village) needs to be supported and addressed on all levels. In this sense, Covid-19 and climate change share a lot together.

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INTEGRATED STUDY OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN TOURISM AND FLEXIBLE CAREER NETWORKS



By Refik Secibovic, Ph.D.

Abstract

Flexible education represents a new breakthrough in higher education systems. Although initially distrustful, today's universities are beginning to deal intensively with forms of flexibility. The Konjic College of Tourism and Management and Vitez University have launched integrated studies linking tourism and hospitality with entrepreneurship education. In addition to these integrated studies, they want to examine the experiment of flexible networks for careers, ie the application of new technologies in career guidance for students of integrated studies. Flexible career networks with the application of artificial intelligence can connect personal learning with flexible integrated curriculum pathways.

Key words: Integrated, Study, Tourism, Flexible, Career

Introduction

Flexibility in higher education has become a kind of formula that is beginning to provide solutions to problems, which today there are more and more universities with a heterogeneous composition of students and their preparation for a flexible and unpredictable labor market.

The main challenge here is how to unleash the knowledge capital embedded in our universities through the content of “our higher education programs, the expertise of our academic staff, and the innovations of our students” (Purser 2020).

Flexibility becomes the answer to all the weaknesses, which have persisted in modern times through linear progress in the development of students as future professionals. The classical system of studies (and according to the Bologna process) has become too long in relation to the needs of individuals, employers and state communities. Modern needs (especially now, after the COVID 19 pandemic) have shown that young people have an increasing need to start working at an early age, but also that they are aware that they need training to progress and get the opportunity or to open their own jobs or to occupy important management positions in their firms.

Today's educational institutions have become too rigid to connect the educational process with the work process in modern conditions, so that individuals, interested in their training and career development, collided with the demands of employers to spend more time at work. However, at the same time, it is these employers who are looking for a knowledge worker, with very high competencies for performing increasingly complex jobs. This paradox can only be solved by flexible studies.

That is why the European Union is committed to modernizing learning and teaching with the aim of introducing broad and significant changes at European universities, when it comes to teaching through new technologies and encouraging innovations that will enable different categories of students to be successful.

All of this has made flexible learning an important research topic in the last three years at many universities. Especially when the interest of students to work and study in parallel has grown, using new technologies to support the harmonization of both processes. The bearers of these changes were initially Anglo-Saxon universities by introducing flexible studies and then combining them with platforms and MOOCs.

However, in the last two years, this trend has been transferred to European universities, and quality assurance agencies are starting to deal with this issue. For example, the November issue of the journal of higher education at the University of Vienna (*Zeitschrift für Hochschulentwicklung*, 14 (3). Pp. 41-53. ISSN 22196994) was entirely devoted to the issue of flexibilization.

Flexibility completely changes the relations between students, teachers and institutions, because they now become partners in the adoption of certain competencies, respecting the position that the student has in his workplace and his commitment to advancement.

This changes requirements of all actors:

- The student almost completely takes responsibility for his own learning related to professional development;
- Teachers must identify opportunities for flexible learning, manage the process of knowledge and skills transfer differently;
- Institutions that must build a flexible system structure for those students who have opted for this type of learning;
- Quality Assurance Agency on a new assessment of the quality of flexible studies, which includes different ways of acquiring knowledge, and evaluated on the basis of educational outcomes and competencies.

On the other hand, flexibility is revealed as an excellent opportunity for integrated forms of study with a multidisciplinary concept. The transformation of universities under the influence of new technologies enables greater variability in the approach to the teaching process. It is these processes that show how complex adaptive systems (CAS) universities are, which are forced to react to changes in technological terms, but also in the environment.

Education is becoming more complex and requires different approaches to achieving educational outcomes, so today it is almost impossible to control all the results that can be achieved within educational institutions.

„In school environments full of uncertainty caused by numerous connections and various options, administrators cannot diagnose potential problems and opportunities by using traditional methods. It is almost impossible to have control over a vast variety of results of organizational activities in an ocean of complex relationships. Therefore, it is a more proper approach to define schools as natural complex systems dominated by uncertainty, rather than as predictable ordered machines (Mennin, 2010; Daft, 2016)“. [10]

Flexibility as a new process, within the university, brings a new complexity based on personal learning, related to professional development, all within the framework of strengthening new processes that are valued at the university: Adaptability, Flexibility, Elasticity.

When we look at universities as complex adaptive systems (CAS) then we come to the basic principles of complexity within higher education:

- Networks
- Emergence
- Self Organization and Social Coordination
- Feedback Sensitivity
- Agility [7]

Since universities are a diverse community, which are also designed to create new ideas, they must also engage in experiments in their work. Today, this was imposed on them especially by applying new technologies (we had such a situation with the application of distance learning during the COVID 19 pandemic), creating entrepreneurial forms and units, and connecting with future users in the process of applying knowledge (startup companies).

It is, in fact, a way of opening the university to its environment, but not only through the process of applying knowledge, but through the process of achieving the careers of its students.

Integrated study as a basis for flexibility

The idea of forming an integrated study (and connecting entrepreneurial education and tourism and catering) abruptly opened the possibility of introducing a new approach within institutions, but also connecting more institutions. Since the structure of students has changed significantly, so that today students who work and study are also important, there is a serious need for institutions to adapt to this category as well. In that sense, many universities have been looking for a way to connect the practical acquisition of knowledge acquired in the workplace with studies in these categories of students. The introduction of new technologies in the teaching process has created the conditions for these students to be able to study at a distance and to become more actively involved in the teaching process after their working hours. At the same time, opportunities were given to prove to teachers the knowledge of practical knowledge and skills from the workplace through independent work. Thus, in the College of Tourism and Management Konjic, which largely educates staff who are already employed in tourism, through the curriculum opened the possibility that each student can create their own way of acquiring knowledge based on performing certain jobs in tourism and hospitality.

The completely changed environment of the College of Tourism and Management Konjic [13] connects the daily work of employed students with the acquisition of knowledge, which automatically led to increased interest of employers to use these young staff and improve their business approach. This is mostly reflected in the study program Tourism Management, which has its four modules based on the needs of tourism and hotel workers:

- Communication skills module,
- Management and Entrepreneurship Module,
- Module of geography and tourism,
- Catering and hotel management module.

This concept of studies connected this organization with the University of Vitez [12], which are known for the development of entrepreneurship and application of practical knowledge, so that these two higher education institutions have created an integrated undergraduate and graduate study that ends with a master's course in business economics. This time intended for tourist and hotel workers. At the same time, integrated study is not the only project of these two institutions, it becomes the basis for the application of innovation in Bosnia and Herzegovina by forming a flexible career network as an opportunity to develop flexible and personal learning.

The purpose of building the Integrated Studio is to actively connect practical knowledge and new technologies in the realization of different paths in the development of staff in the field of tourism and hospitality, because Bosnia and Herzegovina is a very interesting tourist destination, which attracts more and more foreign tourists. Tourist season from neighboring coastal destinations (combination of winter and summer tourism). That is why a large part of tourism and hotel workers decide to start working early (after high school) and in this way they are enabled to work and study actively, connecting work with the curriculum.

This integrated study represents a reform of these institutions, similar to the process being developed at The Hague-Helia University. It is an approach to the curriculum that is perceived as an organic entity [4], and not as a list of subjects and tasks that need to be completed. This holistic approach that both institutions have opens a special relationship between students and teachers, who do not only deal with the evaluation of students' knowledge, but also monitor their overall development in relation to the work they perform.

New important elements of the curriculum are related to monitoring the development of students on the basis of their own abilities and the pace of knowledge acquisition, and take place through continuous consultative work, which allows to achieve a high level of knowledge through practical work (Work & Study).

That is why these institutions decide to introduce flexible career networks as part of the entire research, which are based on the application of new technologies in monitoring the career of an individual. The ultimate goal of this approach is to connect personalized learning with a hybrid teaching system through practical work-teaching in the classroom-online teaching depending on the capabilities of the individual.

Therefore, the realization of such a study requires the formation of a multidisciplinary project team that must consider the advantages and barriers that students have in achieving the acquisition of knowledge in different learning conditions. This is usually a problem related to the danger that the curriculum system does not demotivate individuals in the process of acquiring knowledge. It is in this context that the very important role of associates working in parts of the Flexible Career Network (career center and study studio) to motivate students to overcome difficulties and to feel the importance of acquiring knowledge in future work appears.

Flexible career network in support of an integrated study program

Establishing a network of flexible education would enable an integrated model of studies to actively monitor the development of individuals who are in different places, and all together have the same conditions and professional support. Thus, integrated study transitions into an open system connected with several institutions. Creating an open system of studies means personalization of knowledge transfer through the career center of the network, as an expert advisor to each student of integrated studies.

In the formation of models of integrated studies in many countries resorted to the formation of flexible forms, training, education, employment, but also career guidance. A flexible career network is precisely this model of working with individuals, only adapted to the European space, with the aim of education and employment related to the development of an individual's career.

Why does this matter? The career of an individual in Europe has become so dynamic that it is necessary to include more development options, because harmonization with the labor market is no longer local. That is why these career networks are more important as open flexible systems. Open flexible systems in education and employment can be defined as multifunctional forms of acquiring and applying knowledge in personality development.

Therefore, a flexible career network aims to build different competencies in individuals in the process of acquiring knowledge, which contradicts some of the basic postulates of today's movement in education and training in our country (linear principle). Such a system of work and education would suit many people nowadays, so that they could perform other life obligations in a quality way (family, health, research, humanitarian, etc.).

What adorns open flexible systems is the ability to help an individual build a personality throughout a career, but also to help him realize his plans and desires. Every man in the course of his life has to prove himself in front of himself and others, often the overall circumstances make it impossible for him to decide in his youth for those jobs and way of life that would be most dear to him. That is why open flexible systems deal with the goals of careers and lives of individuals, enabling them to realize their desires and needs in the best way and in a later period and connect them with their current job and environment.

Open flexible education should basically deal with the career and life goals of an individual, enabling him to realize his needs and desires in the best way. Since open and flexible education helps an individual with a combination of non-formal and formal education, it means that all the commitment to work with students is on the outcomes. In that sense, solutions are being opened that will refer to the tools of outcome valorization, for us in this case, first of all, the framework for competencies.

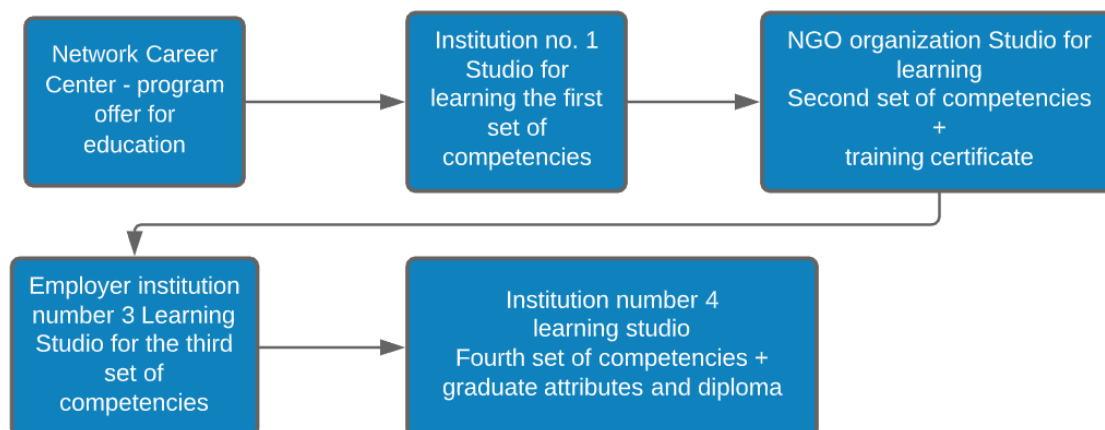


Chart 1: The movement of an individual through an Integrated Program with the Help of a Flexible career Network

The main goals of flexible career networks are:

- Training for a flexible labor market;
- Linking non-formal and formal education;
- Building a society of educated and competent individuals;
- Additions and corrections in education (general and vocational);
- Preservation of human resources through career guidance;
- Political and national - participation in strengthening communities in full working and educational capacities, which can develop the ability to respond to all global challenges;
- Economic - because we get a flexible worker who allows competitiveness;
- Technological - because we get better use of modern technologies in education.

The flexible career network brings together students who work in an informal community that needs help, so that they can study well during their work, in this case in one integrated study at several institutions and organizations.

That is why a flexible career network is composed of different forms of education and training that are linked to one or more institutions, or civil society organizations and employers. The essence is that with that network, different students and individuals can be educated according to their gradual development. In that way, programs are opened for different levels of acquiring competencies and collecting loans.

How a flexible career network works

Integrated study has a step-by-step curriculum, which is important in designing a flexible career network is the realization of a special system of connecting education and the world of work. This system aims to help the individual to work and educate and improve at the same time, and to adapt to a flexible and demanding labor market through these networks. Each participant of education within the network registers in the Career Center of the network (which can be located at one of the institutions of the network) and expresses a desire for education in a particular program and obtaining an education program. They are educated at the pace and opportunities allowed by their workplace. That is why each organization has its own learning studio that mentors candidates and advises them on how to harmonize their work with education. During the education process, forms of formal and non-formal education and training can be combined here. So that someone who is educated for one program, in the end, can have, in addition to a diploma, special certificates for performing other jobs that are related to the profession for which the candidate is being educated.

What forms of civil society and employers can be associated with higher education institutions:

- Learning studio (as a basic form of flexible learning)
- Competence centers with several founders
- Education centers
- Informal schools
- Training centers
- Associations for the development of education

Through various forms of teaching, civil society organizations and employers can be tied (through special forms of work - the so-called learning study) to universities and colleges, but also to professional organizations, the Chamber of Commerce, agencies and professional training centers, and perform the following forms of work:

- Short studies
- Vocational studies
- Trainings and additional training
- Summer schools,
- Research seminars
- Courses
- Online classes
- Research
- Practice [9]



Chart 2: Integrated studies and flexible career network [9]

The flexible career network forms its own program team in the career center (in this case at the Center for Adult Education at Vitez University) which evaluates the competencies (through monitoring the work of the Study for Learning) that are acquired and enables each individual to plan their development through the educational process. which is not limited by time and space.

Flexible career network make their own plan for collecting credits and competencies and finance their own process which can last longer than the legally regulated teaching process and even take place through online study contents, but they can also acquire knowledge and diplomas and universities through the network and high schools that are online and that can test the knowledge of participants in flexible programs in a special way. By gathering competencies, online institutions can enable great mobility of teachers and content, research and business projects that can help the development of individuals regardless of where they study.

Flexible career networks (as ancillary or additional support systems) have the potential to greatly improve the work of educational institutions and to connect them directly with the NGO sector and employers. There are two basic forms to develop in such networks - career network centers and a learning studio. By introducing these forms with flexible education, educational institutions gain a new quality, but also increase the number of participants in the educational process. Because these participants are not related to the school calendar, but to the collection of competencies, and what their process is related to the work they do, but also to the plans for their career development.

Online studies are also taking on a new form, where they can become mentors and advisors in an individual's career development. Cooperation with the career center of the one who is being educated does not stop with his graduation, but with the fulfillment of the career goal. That is why the role of the career center as a new form of connecting several factors in the development of an individual (family, employer, educational institutions, local community) is very important. And this allows an individual to be educated and perform more jobs in the labor market during their career, but also to use different knowledge and skills from different employers.

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Learning studio and individual

A learning studio is a part of a Network unit that accepts an individual who has decided (paid) to master a certain part of the material that is otherwise provided by the curriculum.

The material that includes one unit in realization through learning studies can be:

- 1 subject
- 1 module (2 to 3 subjects)
- Multiple subjects (at different levels and at different times)
- 1 semester.

The learning studio fulfills the most important part of the Network's work - the organization of teaching and communication with the individual and other subjects in creating a competent career. Because when clear rules of work are established, it is easy to apply the online system itself, which enables the study to be constantly in touch with the individual who is learning.

On-line system as a basic support to the Learning Study when it comes to monitoring an individual, so it easily adapts to the content and adoption of materials through modern technologies.

Effective communication within the Network is not only important for learning, but as a need to be able to support the student to better manage time. Each student is given the opportunity to supplement the learning goal itself, so that employees in the Learning Studio must be constantly engaged so that by monitoring the individual they can supplement and innovate the content.

Therefore, the studio is obliged to provide the individual with:

- Mentoring guidance through the program,
- Learning objectives for online lectures,
- Providing a wide range of educational dispositions, mediation and cultural characteristics in order to succeed in acquiring competencies.

Conclusion

The need for such an approach to the formation of integrated studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina, gives a chance to form the principle of flexible study. The approach chosen by the College of Tourism and Management and Vitez University is quite similar to the reform planned by The Haag Helia University of Applied Sciences. The whole concept is based on the formation of programs that allow an individual different scenarios for progress.

This is an attempt to remove ambiguities in the evaluation of knowledge, not only on the basis of ECTS, but on the basis of building competencies. So far, this approach has been accompanied by inaccuracies in the evaluation of the acquisition of competencies through various forms of teaching and professional practice, which has led to the system of competencies being completely neglected in relation to the ECTS system. This leads to the rigidity of study programs and their inability for students to cope more easily in a flexible labor market.

The rigidity of university (but also non-formal education) did not enable the acquisition of certificates for performing various jobs in addition to basic qualifications. Which is especially important in entrepreneurship education in tourism. And that especially limited the sector of services and catering, to develop in a planned and systematic way. The lack of staff that can cover more jobs in the hotel and catering industry has been reflected in the application of new technologies and the installation of innovations, which would affect the satisfaction of tourists staying in Bosnia and Hercegowina.

On the other hand, there is a chronic lack of quality small businesses that would complement the services of individual tourist destinations. There is simply a lack of serious and quality entrepreneurial education. Especially today with the application of new technologies and the opening of startup companies.

Therefore, this experiment is of great importance, because tourism and hospitality in the first cycle of studies are connected with entrepreneurial management at the second level of studies, with the forcing of practical knowledge and through a career network the creation of innovative and creative staff.

(Translated by Ms. Aludina Boskalo, M.A.)

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THE DIPLOMATIC ERA IN HITTITES CIVILIZATION



By Kemal Yildirim, Ph.D.

Abstract

This article will describe the Diplomacy and diplomatic practices during the Hittite dynasty especially during the conflict between the Egyptians and the Hittites. In the Hebrew Bible there's a group of people identified as "the Hittites". They could easily just be a local Canaanite tribe. (King David stole a wife from a Hittite named Uriah, for example. Uriah served in King David's army and was away at war at the time, and eventually King David had him killed and kept the wife.) Anyway, 19th century archaeologists, believing bible stories to be history, finding ruins of a previously unnamed group, attached the name of the biblical group to what they found.

Key words: Diplomacy, Hittite dynasty, Civilization

Introduction

Modern archaeological excavations in Turkey indicate that the Hittites today. Were all able to keep the peace treaty for a century, and became good friends. The peace treaty lasted the rest of Hittite Empire, until the Assyrians destroyed it a century later.

The Hittites were an ancient group of Indo-Europeans who moved into Asian Minor and formed an empire at Hattusa in Anatolia (modern Turkey) around 1600 BCE. The Hittites were an ancient Anatolian (modern-day Turkey) people who formed an empire between 1600-1180 BCE. The Hittites manufactured advanced iron goods, ruled over their kingdom through government officials with independent authority over various branches of government, and worshipped storm gods. The Hittites' ongoing conflicts with Egypt produced the world's first known peace treaty.

The Battle of Kadesh

One military engagement the Hittites are famous for is the Battle of Kadesh against the Egyptian pharaoh Ramesses II's army in 1274 BCE. This battle is especially important because both sides claimed victory, which led to the first known peace treaty in the history of the world, in 1258 BCE. The Egyptian and Hittite armies were pretty evenly matched, which is probably why both were able to claim victory. The Egyptian chariots were faster because they only had two people aboard them, while the Hittite chariots accommodated an extra person, allowing more spears to be thrown from each chariot. The combination of chariots and iron tools, which were stronger than bronze ones, meant that the Egyptian and Hittite military technology was some of the most sophisticated of its time. Both civilizations boasted strong state power and the ability to send troops to war in order to fight for control over their empires.

The battle of Kadesh from a military point of view was an Egyptian victory, as they displayed for future readers Egypt's new military technology (a new type of chariot) but one can also find the personal bravery of Ramses II. If Ramses had a "Go to Hell Plan to Survive the Next Crises", he used it that day at Kadesh. While Muwatalli and his force were defeated, he did win in the game of "go" by using the fewest number of pieces to acquire the most amount of territory at Egypt's expense. However one looks at it, Kadesh provided the first detailed account of a battle in recorded history. Because of this, one can learn much from this battle and compare the tactics, strategies, logistics, and international relations.

Conflict between Hittites and Egyptians

The Hittites had been making headway into the Egyptian empire and had caused trouble for the Pharaoh Tutmoses III. Pharaoh Ramesses II resolved to drive the Hittites from his borders. He hoped to gain an advantage by capturing of the city of Kadesh, a center of commerce which the Hittites held. Ramesses marched from Egypt at the head of over 20,000 soldiers in four divisions to fight against the troops of Muwatalli, the king of the Hittites.

The peace treaty was so well respected by both cultures and the two kings were completely dedicated to it, how did the circumstances change so that they two areas started fighting each other again? Was it the break up of the Hittites, which caused a complete overthrow of all previous relationships?

We are also not really aware How could Ramesses claim victory if the Hittites could keep Kadesh? Hittites simply were unable to destroy Egyptians at this time Did the Egyptians win in some other aspects (if there are).

Hattuša was a king of Ahhiyawa: see the independent arguments of Gurney (2002: 135), citing already Kammenhuber (1981, pers. comm.), and of Starke cited by Latacz (2004: 243-4) and set forth in detail in this volume. As per Starke, we may also be sure that this letter is not isolated, but forms part of an extended correspondence.

KUB 26.91 is written in the standard Boğazköy ductus of the Neo-Hittite period: the tablet was thus inscribed by a scribe of Hattuša or trained in Hattuša. The Hittite chancellery did not typically make multiple copies of letters (see van den Hout 2002: 864 and also 872-3 for a notable exception). The extant tablet is thus a contemporary copy, either sent from elsewhere and received in Hattuša or written there based on a message sent in some other form. For arguments dating the letter more specifically to the reign of Hattušili II/III see Starke in this volume.

KUB 26.91 argues that the author (i.e, the composer of the text) was a Hittite native speaker (whose language contained Luvianisms, expected in Neo-Hittite).

The “Arzawa” letters in Hittite exchanged between the pharaoh Amenophis III and Tarhuntaradu, king of Arzawa, show the presence of such scribes in Egypt. I would argue, however, that the situations here are quite different.

The well established international use of Akkadian as an Ancient Near Eastern diplomatic language and the implication of accommodation by the pharaoh in a matter of national prestige make such a practice vis-à-vis the Hittite king very unlikely.¹

Letters received from Egypt in Akkadian as usual were translated by Hittite scribes for purposes of drafting replies. This hypothesis is consistent with the remark of Edel (1994: 2.320) that all such extant letters are closely tied in content with letters sent to Egypt. It is unlikely that outgoing letters on such affairs of state were drafted without careful review of the previous correspondence in both directions, which would have been kept together as a sort of dossier. The frequent backward references in the extant letters confirm such consultation. Hittite versions of incoming letters would have facilitated discussion of appropriate replies with the king, queen and advisors not fluent in Akkadian.

All current evidence argues that KUB 26.91 is a Hittite translation. Where then was the translation made? One possibility is that messages were conveyed in writing to the respective frontier outposts of each kingdom in its own language and script (an accompanying oral version conveyed by messenger is not excluded). Messages were then conveyed to other side orally under conditions of mutual security,

Accounts on clay tablets describe the region's conquest by one of the Bronze Age's superpowers, the Hittite Empire, in 1340BC. This helped to reduce Egyptian power in neighbouring Palestine and played a key part in creating biblical-era Israel. The invasion also led, in effect, to the invention of the concept of the international treaty.

¹ Mycenaean and Hittite Diplomatic Correspondence: Fact and Fiction H. Craig Melchert University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Key Points from the Treaty

The treaty itself contains more than 20 principles and obligations for both sides. However, some of the key points are the following. The third obligation is that neither side will attack the other, and is in force till the end of time. Neither the Egyptians, nor the Hittite should and could pass the land of the other nation: *“There shall be no hostilities between them, forever. The great chief of Kheta shall not pass over into the land of Egypt, forever, to take anything therefrom. Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not pass over into the land of Kheta, to take anything] therefrom, forever”*

Aside from ending the war between the two empires, the treaty also forged an alliance between the two sides in future wars with a third enemy. Obligation No.5 from the treaty states *“If another enemy come against the lands of Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II), the great ruler of Egypt, and he shall send to the great chief of Kheta, saying; "Come with me as reinforcement against him," the great chief of Kheta shall [come], and the great chief of Kheta shall slay his enemy. But if it be not the desire of the great chief of Kheta to come, he shall send his infantry and his chariotry, and shall slay his enemy”*

The treaty also regulates whether prisoners from the one country could ask for exile in the other country. According to the treaty, no man could flee from Egypt to the land of the Kheta (Hittite territory) and vice versa. This obligation is No.11 and it states *“Or if any great man shall flee from the land of Kheta, [and he shall come to] Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, (from) either a town or a district, or [any region of] those belonging to the land of Kheta, and they shall come to Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, then Usermare-Setepnere, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not receive them, (but) Ramses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall cause them to be brought to the great chief of Kheta. They shall not be settled”.*

Interesting Facts

While the treaty has huge historic value, there are many interesting facts that make the treaty special.

- The treaty is often referred as the Treaty of Kadesh. However, the word Kadesh and the battle of Kadesh is never mentioned in the treaty. One assumption for the reference is that the battle was the turning point after which the parties started negotiating

- The two emperors, Ramses II and Hattusilis III never met in person. The whole treaty was negotiated between intermediaries

- The treaty was in force for just eight years. Eight years after the treaty was signed, the Hittite Empire collapsed, thus ending the treaty

- The negotiations started after the battle of Kadesh, but the conflict lasted for 15 more years. The treaty was finally ratified by both sides in 1258 BC.

Conclusion

In Hattuša a Hittite-language version of a letter from a king of Ahhiyawa to the Hittite king, responding to a letter sent to him by the latter, written in standard Boğazköy ductus and so far as the extant text is concerned in quite idiomatic Hittite of the Neo-Hittite period. How are we to imagine that this correspondence was carried out? The Battle of Kadesh is the last direct and official military confrontation between the two empires. After the battle, which was considered a draw for both sides, since both suffered enormous amount of casualties, the two sides started negotiating. The conflict lasted for 15 more years, and the period is nowadays considered as “cold war between the Hittite and the Egyptian empire”.

The closest available model we have in trying to address this question is that of the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence (for which see globally Edel 1994). This exchange generally employed Akkadian, but there are some letters attested in Hittite (Edel 1994: 1.214-233 and 2.320-355). The ductus and language again match those of Hattuša. As per Edel (1994: 2.320), Hittite versions of letters sent to Egypt may be copies of drafts translated and sent in Akkadian. Hittite versions of letters from Egypt must have some other source and motivation.

The Treaty

The treaty was ratified in Year 21 of Ramses II ruling, and therefore, the Egyptian version starts with the words *“Year 21, first month of the second season, twenty-first day, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Usermare-Setepnere, Son of Re: Ramses-Meriamon, given life, forever and ever, beloved of Amon-Re-Harakhte, Ptah-South-of-His-Wall, lord of “Life-of-the-Two-Lands,” Mut, mistress of Ishru, and Khonsu-Neferhotep; shining upon the Horus-throne of the living, like his father, Harakhte, forever and ever”*.

The next paragraph shows how Ramses II pleased everyone with the signing of the treaty, stating *“On this day, lo, his majesty was at the city (called): “House-of-Ramses-Meriamon,” performing the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amon-Re-Harakhte-Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis; Amon of Ramses-Meriamon, Ptah of Ramses-Meriamon, “/// great in strength, son of Mut,” according as they gave to him eternity in jubilees, everlastingness in peaceful years, all lands, and all countries being prostrate beneath his sandals forever. There came the king's messenger, the deputy and butler, together with the king's messenger[bringing to the king] Ramses of [Kheta, Ter]teseb and the [second messenger (?)] of Kheta [bearing (?) a silver tablet] which the great chief of the Kheta, Khetasar (xtAsrA) [caused] to be brought to Pharaoh, L. P. H., to crave peace [fro]m [the majesty] of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramses II, given life, forever and ever, like his father, Re, every day. “*

The clay tablets – discovered at the site of the ancient city of Qatna, 200km north of Damascus – appear to tell the whole story of the Hittite conquest of the region. What seems to be one of the first letters in the sequence – probably from a diplomatic or intelligence officer in northern Syria – describes how the Hittites invaded with a large army and great numbers of chariots and destroyed many towns, including one 100km north of Qatna. The diplomat implores the King of Qatna – a ruler called Idanda – to reinforce his defences.

Another letter – from a fellow king, also somewhere in northern Syria – described to Idanda how the Hittite general was on the march again, laden with war booty, presumably from the sacked cities.

The clay tablets then go on to record Idanda's reaction. One text is an instruction to make 40,000 mud bricks, perhaps to strengthen the city wall. Another orders workshops to make 18,600 swords, while yet another names the 25 military captains who are to receive the weapons.

Apparently the Hittite army arrived and captured Qatna, despite the defenders' new weapons. The palace, and probably the town too, were destroyed. But the destruction, ironically, preserved the library. For when the Hittites set fire to the palace, the wooden floors collapsed and the library's clay tablets fell four metres into a basement corridor and were buried in rubble.

As well as diplomatic letters and intelligence documents, the library included reports and instructions on economic and legal matters. One tablet reveals, for instance, that a lady of the palace, called Napshi-Abi, was very rich and owned 200 gold-hilted knives, ebony chairs and knives inlaid with lapis lazuli.

The letters and reports are unique, not only for their subject matter but also because they are written in a previously unknown language, a mixture of Akkadian (the Semitic lingua franca of the ancient world) and Hurrian (which originated in what is now eastern Turkey and the Caucasus).

Also buried for 33 centuries were the tombs of Qatna's royal family, containing ivory, royal insignia, alabaster vases, gold and silver bowls and gold rosettes. So far archaeologists have found a funerary complex (complete with entrance statues) that served up to 15 generations of royalty.

Hittites also had to deal with chronic manpower shortages during some of their strategic grand campaigns. Part of this had to do with the population and logistics not keeping up with the territorial extent of the rising Hittite empire. The situation was further exacerbated when the Hittite army had to fight in different frontiers and campaigns. This is when diplomacy came to the fore, a course of action that was rather favored by the Hittite royals, possibly due to the limitations of their military logistics. Simply put, war was seen as the last resort, after all the other 'peaceful' options (ranging from diplomatic maneuvers, bribes to marriage alliances) had been spent. But once the scenario demanded a military action, the kings were expected to try their best to bolster the engaging army with strategic decisions, logistical supplies and of course personal bravery.

Kadesh seems to be one of the significant as the first recorded battle in history. But the two superpowers wisely decided to return to diplomacy rather than prolong a futile war. A formal written agreement was exchanged between the two parties and the agreement was sealed by a marriage between Ramses and a Hittite princess, who became his great chief wife.

I think , early diplomatic texts indicate us concern to relate new diplomatic ‘transactions’ back to the history of the ledger. This is most evident in the nearly three dozen Hittite treaties with Hittite vassal states that survive. For instance, A preamble lists the name, title and genealogy of reigning Hittite king. Then, before the details of the diplomatic agreement, the treaty provides an often-lengthy historical prologue; that is, an accounting of the previous relationships between the Hittite king and the vassal state²

Hittite historical prologue was “designed to present a legal argument or a set of such arguments, justifying the imposition of obligations on the second party, and depriving that party of the ability to contest the validity or legality of the treat³

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