

PRAVNO TUMAČENJE SAVREMENIH BEZBEDNOSNIH RIZIKA

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Apstrakt

Kod globalizacije imamo izraženu paradigmu rizičnog društva. Ta paradigma nastaje zbog nekontrolisane produkcije socioekonomskih, ekoloških i vojnih rizika. Ako ka tome dodamo i relativizovanje društvenih razlika i granica onda kao rezultat imamo porast nebezbednosti i nesigurnosti. Zemlja i teritorije koje su „pojedene“ globalizacijom postaju nepouzđano mesto za život.

Sve gore navedeno ima za posledicu da transnacionalni procesi, globalno tržište i demokratije ne znače nužno mir već suprotno veoma često nesigurnost, nemire, sukobe i krvave ratove.

Iako se ne mogu osporiti vrednosti aktuelnih procesa koji su zasnovani na integrativnim teorijama i naglašavanju zajedničkih interesa paradigma jednog harmoničnog sveta isuviše je daleko od stvarnosti. Nesporno je da su se u svetu s procesom globalizacije povećali nebezbednost i nesigurnost.

Ključne reči: menadžment bezbednosti, pravno tumačenje, međunarodni odnosi.

JEL: K29, K49.

Uvod

Paradigma rizičnog društva koja relativizuje sve razlike i granice, sve češći je okvir za definisanje bezbednosti savremenog sveta. Nekontrolisana produkcija rizika kontinuirano vodi ka politici koja Zemlju čini nepouzđanim mestom za život. Nada da će mir i demokratija zavladati svetom kroz globalizaciju nije se ostvarila. Teza teoretičara neoliberalne koncepcije da će svet ući u period miroljubivih odnosa kroz transnacionalnu saradnju pokazala se kao neosnovana.

Jedno je sasvim izvesno, a to je da tržište i demokratija traže veliko ulaganje u pravno regulisanje bezbednost kako na nivou države tako i na globalnom nivou. Maksimalna koju su isticali najistaknutiji filozofi i političari globalizacije da će globalizacija doneti blagostanje kroz rečenicu "Globalnim trijumfom mira,

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demokratije i slobodnog tržišta" upućivalo se na potrebe novog načina pravnog regulisanja međunarodnog sistema bezbednosti kako se ne bi jedni problemi zamenili drugim problemima, ili se doprinelo intenziviranju problema koji su već postojali.

Funkcionisanje slobodnog tržišta neizbežno donosi nepoželjne prateće pojave, pri čemu razdvaja, dislocira i narušava prirodno okruženje i stvara materijalnu nejednakost, čime doprinosi da nepoverenje, animozitet i mržnja budu snažno obeležje savremenog svetskog poretka. Globalizacija uveliko narušava i uvećava socio-ekonomske rizike kroz: tržišni fundamentalizam i ekonomsku nejednakost, demografsku eksploziju i nepovoljno globalno okruženje, univerzalizaciju vrednosti i etnički, nacionalni i verski ekstremizam i denacionalizacija i transnacionalizovanje društvene patologije.

Naglašavajući primarni značaj ekonomskog faktora, neoliberalizam marginalizuje i potiskuje sve druge principe socijalne organizacije, što za posledicu ima svojevrsnu destrukciju i dehumanizaciju društvenih odnosa i porast socijalne patologije. Takva tendencija redukovanja društvenih odnosa na tržišni model i dopuštanje da tržište bude jedini činilac u oblikovanju društvenog života nosi mnoge neizvesnosti.

U želji za uspehom, postavke tržišnog fundamentalizma suštinski su lišene bilo kakvih moralnih obzira. Time neoliberalni program globalno teži da potpomogne i ubrza raskid između ekonomije i društvene stvarnosti, izazivajući mnoštvo socioekonomskih, ekoloških i vojnih rizika.

Savremeni međunarodni odnosi i strategijsko okruženje

Kroz savremene međunarodne odnose suštinski se kreira strategijsko okruženje koje neposredno i veoma značajno utiču na organizaciju i razvoj sektora bezbednosti i sistema bezbednosti. Međunarodni odnosi se u kontekstu stanja i međuzavisnosti mogu sagledati kroz analizu sadržaja i obima osnovnih kategorijalnih pojmova, kao što su novi svetski poredak, globalizacija, integracija, dezintegracija i drugi značajni niže kategorijalni pojmovi.

Da bi se sagledali osnovni elementi sadržaja tih pojmova u analizama se najčešće polazi od nestanka bipolarne podele sveta. Takav pristup jeste korektan, ali on u sebi treba da nosi i istorijsko komparativnu dimenziju promene sadržaja i obima osnovnih kategorijalnih pojmova. Eliminisanjem bipolarne ravnoteže 1989. godine pala je i poslednja prepreka za dalju ekspanziju megakapitala u aktuelnim ekonomskim i geopolitičkim procesima. (Životić I, 2022) Tu tendenciju Džordž Herbert Voker Buš je na Univerzitetu u Teksasu 1989. godine izrazio kao pravac izgradnje novog svetskog poretka. Samir Amin u studiji "Odbrana od mondijalizma" (1998) analizira kako "SAD svoju neoimperijalnu ulogu ostvaruju putem monopola svetskih razmera u pet oblasti: monopola u oblasti novih

tehnologija; kontrolom svetskih finansijskih tokova, kontrolom prirodnih resursa, monopolom u OUN i njenim glavnim institucijama (MMF, OECD itd.), monopola vojne sile".

Kroz uspostavu novog svetskog poretka realizuje se globalna dominacija i posebno monopolisana eksploatacija svetskih prirodnih resursa od strane megakapitala megakorporacija. (Brajković B. et al, 2022) Ti strategijski mehanizmi globalne dominacije ostvaruju se: preko nametanja neoliberalnog modela razvoja i tranzicije u formi zavisne modernizacije i neokolonijalizma; smanjenjem teritorijalnog suvereniteta nacionalnih država; preko oblika kulturnog imperijalizma; kroz izazivanje unutrašnjih sukoba i njihovu instrumentalizaciju u funkciji dostizanja definisanih ciljeva; putem primene vojne sile u cilju ostvarivanja definisanih političkih interesa.

Engleski naučnik Arnold Tojnbi (Tojnbee A, 1970) u knjizi "Istraživanje istorije" prikazao je podatke koji argumentuju tezu da je u istoriji društva postojao i postoji pluralizam civilizacija. Razmatrajući uzroke i proces nestajanja civilizacija Tojnbi ističe da jedno od "najupadljivijih obeležja raspadanja, jeste pojava pretposlednjeg stepena u opadanju i padu, kad civilizacija u raspadanju odlaže svoju smrt predajući se nasilnom političkom ujedinjenju u okviru univerzalne države." U procesu globalizacije izražava se moć multinacionalnih megakorporacija, koja je podržana od strane mnogih međunarodnih organizacija.

Mnogi teoretičari danas u svetu ciljno iznose samo pozitivne efekte globalizacije koji nisu sporni, ali se ne bave analizom i posledica koje ona sa sobom nosi. Globalizacija je i nastala kao izraz sve veće međuzavisnosti država i naroda, u skoro svim oblastima društvenog života. Ta međuzavisnost se povećava sa razvojem tehnološke osnove i sredstava komunikacije. Najveća borba u savremenom svetu je borba za znanje jer je ono nosilac progresa i novih vrednosti. (Milanović N, 2023)

Iako se globalizacija odigrava vekovima, njen savremeni oblik ima specifične karakteristike. Ukratko, ona je „deblja i brža“. Globalizacija danas razlikuje se od one u 19. veku, kada je evropski imperijalizam obezbedio većinu svoje političke strukture, a visoki troškovi transporta i komunikacija značili su da je manje ljudi bilo direktno povezano sa ljudima i idejama iz drugih kultura. (Chassang G. et al 2017) Ali, mnoge od najznačajnijih razlika blisko su povezane sa informatičkom revolucijom. Kao što tvrdi Tomas Fridman, savremena globalizacija ide „dalje, brže, jeftinije i dublje“.

Svet je danas suočen sa globalizacijom, kao svetskim procesom. Treba razlikovati tehnološku i ideološku dimenziju globalizacije. (Custers B, 2018) Tehnološka dimenzija jeste izraz progresa i razvoja čovečanstva, a ideološka dimenzija nastala je kao izraz težnji vladanja svetom. Većinom se globalizacija predstavlja kao pozitivan proces koji je prirodan i u funkciji je eliminisanja protivrečnosti koje

izazivaju sukobe, ratove i za posledicu donose siromaštvo, glad, bedu i nerazvijenost. Bžežinski u svojoj knjizi: "Velika šahovska tabla", između ostalog, opisuje i način ostvarivanja procesa globalizacije na putu za Istok: "Umešno igrajući na kartu etničkih i verskih konflikata, na prostorima tzv. etničkog koktela, tj. u državama sa etnički mešovitim stanovništvom, SAD izazivaju i upravljaju krizama i konfliktima, instrumentalizujući ih za svoje strateške ciljeve. U tom smislu njihov je geostrateški cilj da Evropu drže u šah poziciji, a da Rusiju i Evroaziju osvajaju u 21. veku. U tom kontekstu geostrateških igri i Balkan predstavlja svojevrsni prag i vrata za dalji prodor NATO snaga na Istok".

Posle nestanka bipolarne podele sveta, pored ostalih misija, NATO-u je definisana suštinska misija zaštite globalne ekonomske moći megakorporacija u pogledu prostora za resurse i plasman roba. Zbog toga, NATO mnogi teoretičari smatraju predhodnicom u procesu stvaranja uslova za pristup multinacionalnih kompanija novim prirodnim resursima i tržištu. Multinacionalne korporacije uspevaju da utiču na odluke država i nadnacionalnih regionalnih i međunarodnih institucija.

Globalizacija je krenula stranputicom u odnosu na poželjni pravac integracionih procesa u svetu. Pobjednici u hladnom ratu su rešeni da brzo eksploatišu tu pobjedu tako što će uvećati svoju ekonomsku i vojnu moć do stepena da postanu apsolutni gospodari sveta. Zato im ne odgovara normalan i postupan proces integracije jer u tom vremenu mogu izrasti i nove sile na svetskoj pozornici, koje će tražiti da utiču na globalne procese.

Stvaranje jedne globalne civilizacije koja bi bila harmonična, prihvatljiva za većinu moguće je samo ako ona ne nastaje uništavanjem drugih i u kojoj privilegovana manjina neće silom potčinjavati druge narode i države u funkciji ostvarenja interesa multinacionalnog kapitala.

Sve je, dakle, podređeno ostvarenju monopolskog položaja najjačih kompanija, a to ne može da zameni poželjne procesa ravnopravne saradnje i kooperacije nacionalnih preduzeća na regionalnom ili svetskom tržištu. (Jestrović, V. et al, 2022)

Proces globalizacije, zbog preterane žurbe nestrpljivog megakapitala, sve više se provodi nasilno naročito kad je u pitanju osvajanje tržišnog prostora. Sudeći po događajima na svetskoj sceni prevagnulo je mišljenje da se globalizacija treba ostvarivati putem stvaranja novog svetskog poretka tako što će odlučujuću ulogu u tome imati ekonomski najrazvijenije i politički najmoćnije države. Opredeljenje je, dakle, da se globalni svetski poredak radi brže realizacije tog procesa, stvara primetnim ekonomskim i vojnim snagama, a ne snagom kulture i prava.

To dovodi u pitanje očuvanje nacionalnog i kulturnog identiteta naroda koji su zahvaćeni procesom globalizacije pa i suvereniteta njihovih država, čime se direktno ugrožava kulturni i lični suverenitet i integritet pojedinca. (Flynn M, 2015)

Globalizacija kao proces integracija i objedinjavanja sveta u svim oblastima društvenog života, uprkos njegovoj materijalnoj, duhovnoj egzistencijalnoj raznovrsnosti i raznolikosti predstavlja zakonitost koja ima svoje korene i svoj razvojni put. Ona se počela prvo realizovati kroz integracione procese u oblasti ekonomije. Ti procesi su doveli do nastanka velikih multinacionalnih sistema, a potom su ubrzali kulturnu pa i političku komunikaciju i prožimanje među narodima, državama, regijama, pa i kontinentima. (Zendulková D, 2017)

U procesu globalizacije očekuje se da će se sa dovoljno pažnje uvažavati pluralizam kultura uz prirodnu evoluciju kulturnih posebnosti naroda. Odnos prema nacionalnim kulturama bitno je uslovljen generalnim opredeljenjem ostvarivanja procesa globalizacije. (Avakumović J. et al, 2021)

Ako se proces globalizacije bude ostvarivao povezivanjem i saradnjom nacionalnih država a ne njihovim ukidanjem i degradacijom onda je izvesno da će za rezultat imati zaista nove vrednosti koje će biti opšteprihvaćene.

Bezbednosne perspektive savremenog sveta

Bezbednosne perspektive savremenog sveta nisu nimalo svetle. Njih kreira i vodi globalizacija. To se može videti iz sledećih stavova: globalizacija kreira podeljen, uznemiren, nesiguran, nepredvidiv i rizičan svet, sve je manje slobode, sve je više straha i egzistencijalne nesigurnosti, sve je više globalnih raskola - Sever-Jug, Centar-Periferija, Zona mira - Zona nemira, sukob civilizacija, kreiranje geografije nepotrebnog sveta - moć haosa Juga, globalni mir i bezbednost su veoma teško ostvarivi, globalizacija je osnova jačanja multilateralizma i partnerstva u rešavanju bezbednosnih problema.

Ako sagledamo celinu možemo reći da je potencijalno moguće globalizaciju humanizovati ali sa velikim promenama koje bi se ogledale kroz: stvaranje globalizacije sa ljudskim likom, moralni obzir, odgovornost i solidarnost, demokratizacija međunarodnih odnosa i pravednija ekonomska raspodela, pomirljivo socijalno i ekološko upravljanje globalnom zajednicom i odustajanje od univerzalizacije samo jednog političkog modela. (Ivanova B. et al, 2020)

Ne dovodeći u pitanje ogroman doprinos globalizacije ostvarenju ideje o jednom svetu kao domovini svih ljudi, potencijalne opasnosti, kao prateći elementi tog procesa, veoma su aktuelne i opravdano privlače pažnju. Činjenica da taj proces sadrži nepoznanice koje mogu da poprime apokaliptičan karakter i da značajno promene početne namere, kao i presudan uticaj njegovih glavnih subjekata i promotera na svet budućnosti, razlog su za drugačije vrednovanje prirode i krajnjih efekata globalnog procesa. (Greene A, 2020)

Danas je sve jasnije da tehnološka racionalnost i ekonomska efikasnost, ako su lišeni moralnog obzira i osećanja odgovornosti, ne mogu da budu osnov stabilnosti i prosperiteta savremenih društava. Otuda su solidarnost i odgovornost

uslov bez kojeg moderno društvo ne može uspešno da funkcioniše. Prvi preduslov za to je demokratizacija međunarodnih odnosa i uspostavljanje nove raspodele odgovornosti. (Żywiołek J, 2019) U suprotnom, nije moguće potisnuti neoimperijalna svojstva globalizacije.

U razmišljanjima o globalnoj bezbednosti savremenog sveta u budućnosti, kao jednom od najvažnijih pitanja savremene socijalne i političke moći, pod kojom se podrazumeva preraspodela moći, moraju se uzeti u obzir nastojanja da se kompleksnim i demokratskim upravljanjem prevazilaze ispoljeni nedostaci globalnog procesa. Nesumnjivo, objektivno sagledavanje uzročno-posledičnih relacija izazova i rizika koji prate globalizaciju prvi je korak u stvaranju uslova da se umanjí ili izbegne mogućnost njihove potpune aktuelizacije. (Kostić R, 2020)

U vezi s tim, svakako je najvažnija pretpostavka pomirljivo socijalno i ekološko upravljanje globalnom zajednicom, kao i odustajanje od obrazaca legitimisanja na osnovu kojih se insistira na univerzalizovanju samo jednog političkog modela. (Lindley A, 2022) Ona donosi i uslovno rečeno neke pozitivne stvari kao što su: povećana ekonomska međuzavisnost kao osnov saradnje između država, neograničenost da se rad i kapital ulažu na bilo kojem mestu u svetu, jačanje svetske ekonomije (Zekić, Brajković, 2022), i jedno porast svetskog bogastva, u trgovini veća mogućnost izbora, kao i mogućnost prodaje i kupovine u bilo kom kraju sveta, širenje demokratskih formi političkog organizovanja, jačanje svesti o nedeljivoj budućnosti, veći pozitivni uticaj nevladinih međunarodnih subjekata i tržišni obrazac socijalne organizacije. Sa druge strane i negativne i to: globalizacija privileguje bogate i razvijene, katastrofalni su učinci međunarodnih institucija, socijalno ekonomske posledice globalizacije daju veoma sumorna predviđanja za budućnost, mračne su perspektive nerazvijenog sveta, globalni procesi nisu spontani, a vođenje procesa je vanserijski negativno, raste i razvija se kriza međunarodno poretka i globalizacija kao poredak trajno institucionalizuje neravnopravnost.

Globalno bezbednosno okruženje

Nacionalna bezbednost je uslovljena bezbednošću okruženja. Danas je bezbednost okruženja jedna od glavnih karakteristika nebezbednosti. U ovom, savremenom, dobu bezbednosno okruženje čini jedno od osnovnih uslova i karakteristika bezbednosti koje karakteriše: turbulentna dinamika i izmenjeno globalno okruženje, porast povezanosti i međuzavisnosti između država i naroda, netradicionalni izazovi, rizici i pretnje postaju dominantni, novi pristupi bezbednosti kroz globalne asocijacije, model partnerstva i bezbednosne zajednice i neprevaziđenost relevantnosti vojne moći. (Miletić N. et al, 2021)

Pri ovome vojna misija se kreće u granicama u istorijske perspektive i poprima sledeće karakteristike: globalna perspektiva jer rat nije više preovlađujući oblik sukoba; regionalni sukobi, građanski ratovi, terorizam i etničko nasilje čine

postmoderni modus oružanog sukoba; moderne konvencionalne vojske nedovoljno su pripremljene za nove vrste sukoba; koncept kooperativne bezbednosti se vidi kao osnova za udruživanje nacionalnih i međunarodnih nastojanja u sprečavanju sukoba i njihovim upravljanjem; izmena svrhe, zadataka i načina upotrebe oružanih snaga; razvoj novih oružja i vojne opreme; standardizacije i specijalizacije oružanih snaga; svetski trend demobilizacije i ubrzane profesionalizacije oružanih snaga; bezbednosne integracije i preplitanje nacionalne i regionalno - globalne funkcije oružanih snaga. (Tešić R. et al, 2021)

Na ovaj način nastaje nova bezbednosna paradigma, sa sledećim karakteristikama: savremeni međunarodni odnosi se razvijaju i postoje na temelju kategorija zasnovanih na vrednostima, a ne moći i odnosa snaga; globalni procesi dovode do sve veće međuzavisnosti koja dovodi do sve veće osetljivosti i ranjivosti država na krize; sve ovo dovodi do nekih pretpostavki i stavova o bezbednosnom okruženju, tako da je mišljenje da je: rat širokih razmera malo verovatan, jer je i legitimitet masovnih vojski sporan, tranzicija od modela masovne vojske ka modelu bročano manje i profesionalne vojske, povećanje zastupljenosti visokorazvijenih i složenih vojno - tehnoloških sistema i visoko osposobljenog osoblja, nove netradicionalne misije i nevojni aspekti bezbednosti kao i neophodnost revizije klasične vojne misije.

Savremeni izazovi, rizici i pretnje

Savremeni izazovi, rizici i pretnje kao svoje sastavne delove i eksponente imaju sledeće izazove, rizike i pretnje: netradicionalne koje vidimo kroz aktere, forme i sredstva, asimetrične koji se pojavljuju kroz veličinu i transnacionalne. (Avakumović J. et al 2021)

Netradicionalni rizici imaju globalni kontekst i reflektuju se kroz: socijalne raskole, globalnu nejednakosti i siromaštvo, terorizam, etnički i verski ekstremizam, ekološke probleme i deficit resursa, demografske trendove, proliferaciju oružje za masovno uništavanje, organizovani kriminal, globalnu finasijsku krizu, migracije, kršenje međunarodnog poretka, vojni intervencionizam, pandemije zaraznih bolesti. (Schöpfel J. et al, 2020)

Da bi smo bolje razumeli ovakvo kategorisanje napravićemo kratak pregled kroz dokumenta kojima određene zemlje, vojne i ekonomske integracije trenutno ili su do skoro definisali izazove, rizike i pretnje.

Evropska strategija bezbednosti: terorizam, proliferacija oružja za masovno uništavanje, regionalni sukobi, neuspele države, organizovani kriminal i migrantska kriza.

Strategija nacionalne bezbednosti – SAD: terorizam, oružje za masovno uništavanje, neuspele države, deficit resursa, demografski trendovi, klimatske

promene, kriminalne mreže i migracije. Posebno se napominju direktni protivnici i to Ruska federacija i NR Kina.

Strategija nacionalne bezbednosti – Ruska Federacija (Bardžić, 2023): neravnomeran razvoj sveta, slabost globalne bezbednosne arhitekture, korišćenje vojne moći i sile u međunarodnim odnosima, oružje za masovno uništavanje, terorizam i visoka tehnologija, ultranacionalizam, ksenofobija, separatizam, narkobiznis kriminal, demografski trendovi i nasilne migracije, degradacija životne sredine.

Imajući u vidu da se neki izazovi, rizici i pretnje pojavljuju skoro u svim dokumentima koji se bave bezbednošću probaćemo ukratko da damo karakteristike najčešćih.

Terorizam

Globalna međuzavisnost, razvoj tehnologije i komunikacija čine fundamentalno nove mogućnosti terorizma kroz stvaranje globalne mreže, najveće teškoće nastaju kod njegovog ograničavanja, kontrole i eliminisanja jer su zastupljeni neravnopravni učesnici, privatizacija rata i softiciranost taktike, ekonomska i politička frustracija i globalizacija terorizma, taktika slabih protiv jakih i zanemarivanje socijalnih i političkih uzroka terorizma, kazneni pristup terorizmu i militarizacija međunarodnih odnosa.

Oružje za masovno uništavanje

Porast broja država koje poseduju nuklearno oružje i porast rizika od njegove upotrebe, legalni posednici nuklearnih bojevih glava (preko 32.000 komada), porast broja nedržavnih aktera koji poseduju ili mogu da dođu u posed oružja za masovno uništenje, kriza države, tehnološki dinamizam, razvoj komunikacija, propustljivost granica i porast mogućnosti ilegalne nabavke oružja za masovno uništenje, korak do katastrofalnog terorizma – raskršće radikalizma i tehnologije.

Ekološki problemi

Ekološki poremećaji kao kritični aspekt globalne bezbednosti, destruktivnost prirode – zemljotresi, ekstremne vremenske prilike (uragani, tornada, dugotrajne suše, nezabeležen nivo padavina...), cunami, poplave...ekološka degradacija koja se javlja kao kumulativni efekat modernog načina proizvodnje i transnacionalnih tendencija potrošnje, nadmetanje za resurse i novi antagonizmi u međunarodnim odnosima.

Zaključak

Savremene međunarodne odnose sačinjava sveukupnost relativno stabilnih bilateralnih i multilateralnih odnosa između teritorijalno razgraničenih društava organizovanih u države kao osnovne subjekte međunarodnih odnosa, saveza država i drugih oblika međudržavnih integracija. Svaka država, kao teritorijalna,

politička, ekonomska i kulturna celina, ne može da egzistira i da se razvija samostalno, već je upućena na povezivanje sa drugim državama, na regionalnom i globalnom – svetskom nivou.

Odnosi između država, iskazani u obliku spoljno-političke aktivnosti, određeni su definisanim vrednostima, nacionalnim i državnim interesima i ciljevima koje je potrebno ostvariti ili zaštititi na dostignutom nivou. Suštinu sukobljavanja u međunarodnim odnosima predstavlja težnja da se ostvare sopstveni interesi i ciljevi uz istovremeno nametanje svoje volje i prisiljavanje drugog subjekta da izmeni ili potpuno odustane od realizacije svojih ciljeva.

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LEGAL INTERPRETATION OF MODERN SECURITY RISKS

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Original scientific paper

Abstract

With globalization, we have a pronounced paradigm of a risky society. That paradigm arises due to the uncontrolled production of socioeconomic, environmental and military risks. If we add to that the relativization of social differences and boundaries, then as a result we have an increase in insecurity and insecurity. The land and territories that have been "eaten" by globalization become an unreliable place to live.

All of the above has the effect that transnational processes, the global market and democracies do not necessarily mean peace, but on the contrary very often insecurity, riots, conflicts and bloody wars.

Although the value of current processes based on integrative theories and emphasizing common interests cannot be disputed, the paradigm of a harmonious world is too far from reality. It is undeniable that insecurity and insecurity have increased in the world with the process of globalization.

Keywords: security management, legal interpretation, international relations.

JEL: K29, K49.

Introduction

A relativizing risk society paradigm all differences and borders, is an increasingly common framework for defining the security of the modern world. The uncontrolled production of risk continuously leads to policies that make the Earth an unreliable place to live. The hope that peace and democracy will rule the world through globalization has not come true. The thesis of neoliberal theorists that the world will enter a period of peaceful relations through transnational cooperation has been shown to be unfounded.

One thing is quite certain, and that is that the market and democracy require a large investment in the legal regulation of security, both at the state level and at the global level. The maxim emphasized by the most prominent philosophers and politicians of globalization is that globalization will bring prosperity through the

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phrase " Global through the triumph of peace, democracy and the free market ". it referred to the need for a new way of legal regulation of the international security system in order not to substitute one problem for another, or to contribute to the intensification of problems that already existed.

The functioning of the free market inevitably brings undesirable side effects, whereby it separates, dislocates and disrupts the natural environment and creates material inequality, thereby contributing to mistrust, animosity and hatred being a strong feature of the modern world order. Globalization greatly disrupts and increases socio-economic risks through: market fundamentalism and economic inequality, demographic explosion and unfavorable global environment, universalization of values and ethnic, national and religious extremism and denationalization and transnationalization of social pathology.

Emphasizing the primary importance of the economic factor, neoliberalism marginalizes and suppresses all other principles of social organization, which results in a kind of destruction and dehumanization of social relations and an increase in social pathology. Such a tendency to reduce social relations to a market model and allow the market to be the only factor in shaping social life carries many uncertainties.

In the desire for success, the propositions of market fundamentalism are essentially devoid of any moral considerations. Thus, the neoliberal program globally tends to facilitate and accelerate the rupture between the economy and social reality, causing a multitude of socioeconomic, environmental, and military risks.

Contemporary international relations and strategic environment

Through contemporary international relations, a strategic environment is fundamentally created that directly and significantly influences the organization and development of the security sector and security system . International relations in the context of the state and interdependence can be seen through the analysis of the content and scope of basic categorical terms, such as the new world order , globalization, integration, disintegration and other important lower categorical terms.

In order to look at the basic elements of the content of those concepts, analyzes are usually based on the disappearance of the bipolar division of the world. Such an approach is correct, but it should also include the historical comparative dimension of changes in the content and scope of basic categorical terms. By eliminating the bipolar balance in 1989, the last obstacle to the further expansion of mega-capital in the current economic and geopolitical processes fell. (Životić I, 2022) This tendency was expressed by George Herbert Walker Bush at the University of Texas in 1989 as the direction of building a new world order. Samir

Amin in the study "Defense from Globalism" (1998) analyzes how "the US achieves its neo-imperial role through world-scale monopoly in five areas: monopoly in the field of new technologies; control of world financial flows, control of natural resources, monopoly in the OUN and its main institutions (IMF, OECD, etc.) , the monopoly of military power".

Through the establishment of the new world order, global domination and especially monopolized exploitation of the world's natural resources by megacapital megacorporations is realized. (Brajković B. et al, 2022) Those strategic mechanisms of global domination are realized: through the imposition of a neoliberal model of development and transition in the form of dependent modernization and neocolonialism; by reducing the territorial sovereignty of national states; through the form of cultural imperialism; through causing internal conflicts and their instrumentalization in the function of reaching defined goals; through the application of military force in order to achieve defined political interests.

The English scientist Arnold Toynbee (Toynbee A, 1970) in the book "Research of History" presented data that argue the thesis that in the history of society there was and is a pluralism of civilizations. Discussing the causes and process of the disappearance of civilizations, Toynbee points out that one of the "most striking features of disintegration is the appearance of the penultimate stage in decline and fall, when a disintegrating civilization postpones its death by surrendering to violent political unification within the framework of a universal state ." In the process of globalization, the power of multinational megacorporations is expressed, which is supported by many international organizations .

Many theoreticians in the world today aim to present only the positive effects of globalization, which are not disputed, but do not deal with the analysis and consequences that it brings with it. Globalization arose as an expression of the increasing interdependence of states and peoples, in almost all areas of social life. This interdependence increases with the development of the technological base and means of communication. The biggest struggle in the modern world is the struggle for knowledge because it is the bearer of progress and new values. (Milanović N, 2023)

Although globalization has been taking place for centuries, its modern form has specific characteristics. in short, she is "fatter and faster". Globalization today is different from that of the 19th century, when European imperialism provided most of its political structure and the high costs of transport and communication meant that fewer people were directly connected to people and ideas from other cultures. (Chassang, G. 2017) But many of the most significant differences are closely related to the information revolution. As Thomas Friedman argues, contemporary globalization goes "further, faster, cheaper and deeper."

Today, the world is faced with globalization, as a world process. The technological and ideological dimensions of globalization should be distinguished. (Custers B. et al, 2018) The technological dimension is an expression of the progress and development of humanity, and the ideological dimension was created as an expression of the desire to rule the world. For the most part, globalization is presented as a positive process that is natural and serves the purpose of eliminating contradictions that cause conflicts, wars, and result in poverty, hunger, misery and underdevelopment. Brzezinski in his book: "The Big Chess Board", among other things, describes the way of achieving the process of globalization on the way to the East: "Skillfully playing the card of ethnic and religious conflicts, in the areas of the so-called ethnic cocktail, i.e. in countries with an ethnically mixed population, the USA provokes and manages crises and conflicts, instrumentalizing them for its own strategic goals. In this sense, their geostrategic goal is to keep Europe in check, and to conquer Russia and Eurasia in the 21st century. In this context of geostrategic games, the Balkans also represent a kind of threshold and door for further penetration of NATO forces in the East".

After the disappearance of the bipolar division of the world, in addition to other missions, NATO was defined as the essential mission of protecting the global economic power of megacorporations in terms of space for resources and placement of goods. Because of this, many theoreticians consider NATO to be a forerunner in the process of creating conditions for the access of multinational companies to new natural resources and markets. Multinational corporations manage to influence the decisions of states and supranational regional and international institutions.

Globalization has gone astray in relation to the desired direction of integration processes in the world. The victors in the Cold War were determined to quickly exploit that victory by increasing their economic and military power to the point of becoming absolute masters of the world. That is why the normal and gradual process of integration does not suit them, because in that time new forces can grow on the world stage, which will seek to influence global processes.

The creation of a global civilization that would be harmonious and acceptable to the majority is possible only if it is not created by destroying others and in which a privileged minority will not subjugate other peoples and states by force in order to achieve the interests of multinational capital.

Therefore, everything is subordinated to the realization of the monopoly position of the strongest companies, and this cannot replace the desirable processes of equal cooperation and cooperation of national companies on the regional or world market. (Jestrović, V. et al, 2022)

The process of globalization, due to the excessive haste of impatient mega-capital, is increasingly carried out violently, especially when it comes to conquering the

market space. Judging by the events on the world scene, the prevailing opinion is that globalization should be achieved through the creation of a new world order, in which the most economically developed and politically powerful countries will play a decisive role. The determination is, therefore, that the global world order, for the sake of faster realization of that process, is created by noticeable economic and military forces, and not by the force of culture and law.

This calls into question the preservation of the national and cultural identity of peoples who are affected by the process of globalization and the sovereignty of their countries, which directly threatens the cultural and personal sovereignty and integrity of the individual. (Flynn M, 2015)

Globalization as a process of integration and unification of the world in all areas of social life, despite its material, spiritual existential variety and diversity, represents a legality that has its own roots and its own development path. It started to be realized first through integration processes in the field of economy. Those processes led to the creation of large multinational systems, and then they accelerated cultural and political communication and permeation between peoples, states, regions, and even continents. (Zendulková D, 2017)

In the process of globalization, it is expected that pluralism of cultures will be respected with sufficient attention along with the natural evolution of cultural peculiarities of peoples. The attitude towards national cultures is essentially determined by the general commitment to the realization of the globalization process. (Avakumović J. et al 2021)

If the process of globalization is realized through the connection and cooperation of national states and not through their abolition and degradation, then it is certain that the result will be truly new values that will be generally accepted.

Security perspectives of the modern world

The security prospects of the modern world are not bright at all. They are created and led by globalization. This can be seen from the following points: globalization creates a divided, troubled, insecure, unpredictable and risky world, there is less and less freedom, more and more fear and existential insecurity, there are more and more global divisions - North-South, Center-Periphery, Zone of peace - Zone of unrest, clash of civilizations, creation of the geography of an unnecessary world - the chaos power of the South, global peace and security are very difficult to achieve, globalization is the basis of strengthening multilateralism and partnership in solving security problems.

If we look at the whole, we can say that it is potentially possible to humanize globalization, but with major changes that would be reflected through: creation of globalization with a human face, moral consideration, responsibility and solidarity, democratization of international relations and fairer economic

distribution, conciliatory social and ecological management of the global community. and giving up the universalization of only one political model. (Ivanova B. et al, 2020)

Without questioning the enormous contribution of globalization to the realization of the idea of one world as the homeland of all people, potential dangers, as accompanying elements of that process, are very current and justifiably attract attention. The fact that this process contains unknowns that can take on an apocalyptic character and significantly change the initial intentions, as well as the decisive influence of its main subjects and promoters on the world of the future, are the reason for a different evaluation of the nature and final effects of the global process. (Greene A, 2020)

Today, it is increasingly clear that technological rationality and economic efficiency, if they are deprived of moral consideration and sense of responsibility, cannot be the basis of stability and prosperity of modern societies. Hence, solidarity and responsibility are conditions without which modern society cannot function successfully. The first prerequisite for this is the democratization of international relations and the establishment of a new distribution of responsibilities. (Żywiołek J, 2019) Otherwise, it is not possible to suppress the neo-imperial properties of globalization.

In thinking about the global security of the modern world in the future, as one of the most important issues of contemporary social and political power, under which is meant the redistribution of power, efforts to overcome the manifested shortcomings of the global process must be taken into account. Undoubtedly, an objective assessment of the cause-and-effect relationships of the challenges and risks accompanying globalization is the first step in creating the conditions to reduce or avoid the possibility of their complete actualization. (Kostić R, 2020)

In this regard, the most important assumption is certainly the reconciling social and ecological management of the global community, as well as the abandonment of patterns of legitimization based on which one insists on the universalization of only one political model. (Lindley A, 2022) It brings some positive things, conditionally speaking, such as: increased economic interdependence as a basis for cooperation between countries, unlimited investment of labor and capital anywhere in the world, the strengthening of the world economy (Zekić, Brajković, 2022), and an increase in world wealth, greater choice in trade, as well as the possibility of selling and buying in any part of the world, spread of democratic forms of political organization, strengthening awareness of the indivisible future, greater positive influence of non-governmental international entities and the market pattern of social organization. On the other hand, there are also negative ones: globalization privileges the rich and developed, the effects of international institutions are catastrophic, the socio-economic consequences of globalization give very gloomy predictions for the future, the prospects of the underdeveloped

world are dark, global processes are not spontaneous, and the management of the process is unusually negative, the crisis of the international order is growing and developing, and globalization as an order permanently institutionalizes inequality.

Global security environment

National security is conditioned by the security of the environment. Today, environmental security is one of the main characteristics of insecurity. In this modern age, the security environment constitutes one of the basic conditions and characteristics of security, which is characterized by: turbulent dynamics and a changed global environment, increasing connectivity and interdependence between states and peoples, non-traditional challenges, risks and threats becoming dominant, new approaches to security through global associations, the model of partnership and security community and the unsurpassed relevance of military power. (Miletić N. et al, 2021)

In doing so, the military mission moves within the boundaries of historical perspectives and takes on the following characteristics: global perspective because war is no longer the predominant form of conflict; regional conflicts, civil wars, terrorism and ethnic violence constitute the postmodern mode of armed conflict; modern conventional armies are insufficiently prepared for new types of conflicts; the concept of cooperative security is seen as the basis for joining national and international efforts in conflict prevention and management; changing the purpose, tasks and way of using the armed forces; development of new weapons and military equipment; standardization and specialization of the armed forces; the world trend of demobilization and accelerated professionalization of the armed forces; security integration and interweaving of national and regional - global functions of the armed forces. (Tešić R. et al, 2021)

In this way, a new security paradigm is emerging, with the following characteristics: contemporary international relations develop and exist on the basis of categories based on values, not on power and the balance of forces; global processes lead to increasing interdependence, which leads to increasing sensitivity and vulnerability of states to crises; All this leads to some assumptions and attitudes about the security environment, so the opinion is that: a large-scale war is unlikely, because the legitimacy of mass armies is also disputed, transition from the mass army model to the numerically smaller and professional army model, increasing the representation of highly developed and complex military-technological systems and highly trained personnel, new non-traditional missions and non-military aspects of security as well as the necessity of reviewing the classic military mission.

Contemporary challenges, risks and threats

Contemporary challenges, risks and threats have the following challenges, risks and threats as their constituent parts and exponents: non-traditional ones that we see through actors, forms and means, and symmetrical ones that appear through size and transnational ones. (Avakumović J. et al 2021)

Non-traditional risks have a global context and are reflected through: social divisions, global inequalities and poverty, terrorism, ethnic and religious extremism, environmental problems and resource deficits, demographic trends, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, organized crime, global financial crisis, migration, violation of the international order, military interventionism, pandemics of infectious diseases. (Schöpfel J. et al, 2020)

In order to better understand this categorization, we will make a brief overview through the documents by which certain countries, military and economic integrations currently or recently defined challenges, risks and threats.

European security strategy: terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, failed states, organized crime and the migrant crisis.

National security strategy - USA: terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, failed states, resource deficit, demographic trends, climate changes, criminal networks and migration. Special mention should be made of the direct opponents, namely the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China.

National security strategy - Russian Federation (Bardžić, 2023): uneven development of the world, weakness of the global security architecture, use of military power and force in international relations, weapons of mass destruction, terrorism and high technology, ultra-nationalism, xenophobia, separatism, drug business crime, demographic trends and forced migration, environmental degradation.

Bearing in mind that some challenges, risks and threats appear in almost all documents dealing with security, we will briefly try to give the characteristics of the most common ones.

Terrorism

Global interdependence, the development of technology and communication create fundamentally new opportunities for terrorism through the creation of a global network, the greatest difficulties arise in its limitation, control and elimination because unequal participants are represented, the privatization of war and the softening of tactics, economic and political frustration and the globalization of terrorism, the tactics of the weak against the strong and the

neglect of the social and political causes of terrorism, the punitive approach to terrorism and the militarization of international relations.

Weapons of mass destruction

The increase in the number of states possessing nuclear weapons and the increase in the risk of their use, legal owners of nuclear warheads (over 32,000 pieces), the increase in the number of non-state actors who possess or can acquire weapons of mass destruction, the crisis of the state, technological dynamism, the development of communications, the permeability of borders and the increase in the possibility of illegal acquisition of weapons of mass destruction, a step towards catastrophic terrorism - the intersection of radicalism and technology.

Environmental problems

Environmental disturbances as a critical aspect of global security, the destructiveness of nature - earthquakes, extreme weather conditions (hurricanes, tornadoes, long-term droughts, unprecedented levels of precipitation...), tsunamis, floods... environmental degradation that occurs as a cumulative effect of modern production methods and transnational consumption tendencies, competition for resources and new antagonisms in international relations.

Conclusion

Modern international relations consist of the totality of relatively stable bilateral and multilateral relations between territorially demarcated societies organized into states as the basic subjects of international relations, alliances of states and other forms of interstate integration. Each country, as a territorial, political, economic and cultural entity, cannot exist and develop independently, but is directed to connect with other countries, at the regional and global - world level.

Relations between states, expressed in the form of foreign political activity, are determined by defined values, national and state interests and goals that need to be achieved or protected at the level reached. The essence of conflict in international relations is the desire to realize one's own interests and goals while at the same time imposing one's will and forcing another entity to change or completely abandon the realization of its goals.

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