

EU perspectives

# EU and Western Balkan states (WB6)

EU i zemlje Zapadnog Balkana (WB6) - europska gledišta



Institut za istraživanje hibridnih sukoba  
Zaklada Konrad Adenauer

# EU i ZEMLJE ZAPADNOG BALKANA (WB6) – EUROPSKA GLEDIŠTA

Posljedice Ruske agresije na Ukrajinu na WB6 države

Godina 3, br. 1.-2.  
Zagreb 2022.

Hybrid Warfare Research Institute  
Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

# EU AND WESTERN BALKAN STATES (WB6) – EU PERSPECTIVES

New regional developments in the Croatian  
neighborhood after the Russian invasion of Ukraine

Year 3, No. 1-2  
Zagreb, 2022

## Impresum

Izdavači:

Institut za istraživanje hibridnih sukoba

Teslina 10, Zagreb

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Banjavčičeva ul. 5, Zagreb

Izlazi dva puta godišnje

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Dizajn naslovnice: Davor Maričić, institut.hr

ISSN: 2757-1157



godina 3, broj 1.-2.

Zagreb, srpanj 2022.

Edition Notice

Publishers:

Hybrid Warfare Research Institute  
Teslina 10, Zagreb

Konrad Adenauer Foundation  
Banjavčičeva 5, Zagreb

Published twice a year

Editor-in-Chief: Gordan Akrap, PhD  
Editors: assoc.prof.dr. Polona Sprajc, Holger Haibach

Organization: Marko Prusina

Cover design: Davor Maričić, institut.hr

ISSN: 2757-1157



Year 3, number: 1-2

Zagreb, July 2022

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## INTRODUCTION



Russia's second armed aggression against Ukraine<sup>1</sup> (February 24, 2022) had a strong and negative impact on numerous human activities at different levels. In a strategic sense, it

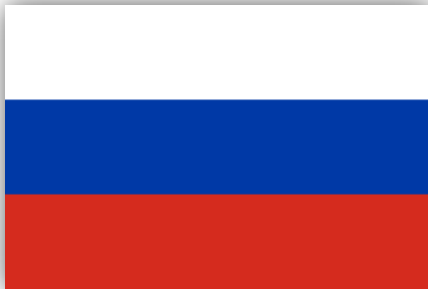
led to the need to redefine the existing supranational (primarily at the level of Euro-Asia) security infrastructure and architecture, reorganize and optimize existing energy supply routes and create new ones that enable their real diversification, in-depth analysis of the capabilities of modern democratic societies and states for effective (primarily preventive) measures for dealing with future crises. The EU should make a detailed and complete objective analysis of the development of Russia's aggressive activities and potential from the 2000s until today. The signals pointing to radicalization and the growth of aggressiveness can be recognized in time with the aim of preventing and dissuading future crisis instigators from their aggressive intentions. The process is known as LI-LL (Lessons Identified – Lessons Learned).

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<sup>1</sup> Source: <https://nsf-journal.hr/online-issues/focus/id/1373>, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37458/nstf.23.2.2>

This process must be applied to other geopolitical areas that a potential attacker(s) can use with the aim of causing crises and destabilizing that area in order to divert attention and direct the preventive capacities of defense systems to secondary and/or even tertiary targets, inserting information noise (disinformation, misinformation) into communication channels, disrupt (canceled or slowed down) the decision-making process and gained time to carry out the fulfillment of its primary strategic goals. One of the key instruments that such an attacker must develop is the ability to acquire a state of information supremacy in the target area to fulfill the set goals and tasks by planning and conducting information operations of influence. In this context, it is necessary to analyze in detail the malicious activities that Russia has been planning and carrying out on the territory of the countries known as WB6 for a long time, and which were especially intensified before and after the second Russian armed aggression against Ukraine in February 2022.

## Instruments of Russian influence in WB6



Russia, as a result of long-term planning, and later implementation, of numerous activities in the area of WB6, but also at the level of the European continent, has created the conditions for the use of

various vectors that can be used as an instrument in offensive malicious operations. The identification of these vectors is the first prerequisite that must be done to create the conditions for planning primarily defensive activities, and later preventive and deterrent measures with the aim of preventing future malignant actions. Considering the organization, history, composition,



functionality, role, and capabilities of the WB6 states, Russia is trying to achieve several goals simultaneously with its actions:

1. To achieve control over political processes (such as elections, referendums) at the national and supranational (Euro-Atlantic integration) level within the framework of the countries included under the name WB6 (encouraging the creation and helping the development of primarily populist and radical political groups, regardless of whether they are on the political left and/or right).
2. Take over supervision and control (to the greatest extent possible) over the information and communication processes of those countries with the aim of creating information supremacy (infodemic<sup>2</sup> and infoxication<sup>3</sup> are just the means he uses in that process).
3. Taking control and supervision over business processes (with an emphasis on the energy and financial sectors and all other sectors connected with them, which can help Russia achieve its goals and tasks).
4. Strengthening influence in social activities that have a high level of acceptability and connection (with regard to the impact on the population) among the target audience with a special emphasis on the Serbian Orthodox Church and on sports activities that are characterized by very high viewership and impact on the population.
5. Creating conditions for control and supervision of the process of causing social crises, unrest, protests,

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<sup>2</sup> Information overload of the existing information environment with numerous information contents of different levels of importance and meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Poisoning of the existing information environment with information of damaged integrity, with numerous disinformation contents that are more difficult to recognize in the state of the infodemic.

violence, extremism in targeted areas and among targeted audiences, either directly or indirectly.

6. The transfer and attempt to realize its goals and tasks at the level, primarily NATO and EU, through indirect action with the help of realized instruments of power from the WB6 states.
7. Engaging persons who are in some possible way (business and/or private) connected with the Russian Federation and are within the reach of the Russian intelligence community (either directly or indirectly) in order to use them (some openly, some covertly) to articulate their interests towards different target audiences (public, media, politics, professional, business, academic, social, security, military).

The methods used by Russia are also known from numerous examples, especially hybrid ones, of conflicts and wars:

- By undermining trust in existing state and social institutions and organizations, their direct and indirect dissolution and by offering other models of action that are under their control.
- By introducing divisions (polarization processes within society and the state) to manage the same societies more easily and to control and manage the crisis that it itself created.
- Strong action in the field of redefining existing and creating new national/local identities, which introduces an additional element on which it bases its activities (primarily encouraging and strengthening inter-ethnic conflicts) which tries to divide and destabilize the target society and the state.

- By calling and encouraging the organization of premature/extraordinary political processes such as elections or statements on issues that divide societies.
- By spreading media influence through a network of first local and then national media (electronic, TV, radio) which help in various ways and which, in return, non-objectively and without restraint spread the information content that Russia creates with the aim of deceiving the public; in connection with this, it is necessary to emphasize the attempt to influence the legislative framework, which enables non-sanctioning of those activities in the public media space that are punishable in modern democratic states).
- Through the media activities of the local diplomatic and consular missions of the Russian Federation, the engagement of a large number of active trolls and bots who, acting on social networks and spreading messages on mobile applications for communication, distribute numerous contents of a (dis)informational nature in the languages of different nations.
- Encouraging the entry into institutions and organizations (companies, states, business systems) of persons loyal to Russia, regardless of their (in)experience, due to which the development and reputation capacities of that society and state bear negative consequences both on the national and international level.
- Taking over control and supervision over the intelligence and security systems of a country that is either indirectly or directly attacked and placed under its control in order to control processes within that country but also at the international level, especially if it is a NATO allied country;
- Encouraging corruption and organized crime (OK), strong association of leading fan groups (in Serbia) with OK,

while at the same time bringing accusations about the "criminal state" and its connection with OK into the public media space.

Russia has successfully branched out a network of people and organizations close to it in the territory of Serbia and achieved significant influence on decision-making processes in domicile/national institutions and organizations of society and the state that are ready to expand and protect Russian national interests. People who support Russia do so for several different reasons:

1. Material,
2. Political,
3. Worldview/religious,
4. Ideological, and
5. A combination of two or more of the above.

In the following, we will briefly describe the processes (social, political, informational, security) that determine the reality and future of WB6 countries.

## Republic of Serbia



The Republic of Serbia has very developed and intensive relations in numerous areas with the Russian Federation. However, these relationships are demanding and complex at the same time. At the institutional level as well as at the level

of persons holding numerous different positions in Serbia (at the level of the state, local and regional administration and self-government, business, energy and financial sectors, political organizations, media, Serbian Orthodox Church...). One of the reasons for such a connection is certainly the issue of Kosovo's membership in UN (and recognition by wider international community), which Russia blocks as a permanent member of the UN Security Council. On the other hand, it is an issue that Serbia does not want to articulate the case of recognition of the Russian annexation of Crimea, which would lead to consequences on the possible status of Kosovo. Therefore, Serbia has been trying to sit on several chairs at the same time for many years. On the one hand, it has a very low level of acceptance of the common European foreign and security policy (about 6-7%), especially in relation to Russia, it participates in joint military exercises with Russia and Belarus, while on the other hand it has numerous activities with the NATO alliance in the military domain, sells ammunition needed by the Ukrainian armed forces to fight against Russia (through a third party). This is just one example of Janusism<sup>4</sup> of today's leadership of the Republic of Serbia. Namely, President Vučić uses the politics of the 90s to strengthen his position in Serbia and secure the favor of the international community (IC) and the Serbian population. By radicalizing the political and social scene in Serbia, Vučić positions himself as a moderate political option that is "a guarantor of a stable Serbia" and can be a factor of future stability in WB6. On the other hand, through the Serbian media scene, which he almost completely controls, he dictates the topics and their narrative, through which he further radicalizes society by constantly dramatizing and scaring the public with "the evil West that wants to take Kosovo away from us."

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<sup>4</sup> Janus is one of the Roman deities known as the "God with two faces", a symbol of duplicity.

Duplicity is visible in numerous state institutions and companies. Let's take the example of the intelligence community of Serbia. From time-to-time, very strong media treatment was given to the arrest of persons that relate to the Russian intelligence community (as well as the American one). On the other hand, president Vučić appointed Aleksandar Vulin as the head of the main intelligence agency, who is proven to be very close to Russia and Russian political views. Russia has created important strongholds in Serbia: in the intelligence community, the media, the economic system, through the presence of paramilitary and paraintelligence structures such as the Humanitarian Center in Niš, numerous non-governmental organizations, in political life with an emphasis on radical groups that are ready to initiate and conduct street protests and riots (which was particularly evident by organizing riots in Serbia in July 2020). Russia and the pro-Russian media, which are still loyal to Vučić, were particularly involved in the wave of protests in Serbia under the name "Serbia without violence", manipulating with information on the number of protesters, their goals and demands. It was precisely the concept of the "Serbian world" (which is a euphemism for the creation of Greater Serbia, which was one of the ideologies that started the wars that caused Yugoslavia to fall apart in blood) that arose and was modeled after the concept of the Russian world.

After the aggression against Ukraine, Russia is intensifying its overt and covert activities in Serbia. They also use Serbia as a source for spreading a lot of disinformation to neighboring countries. They use almost the same communication channels as they did during the COVID-19 pandemic, when they actively worked to reduce the vaccination of the population (especially with vaccines that do not come from Russia), relentlessly spreading numerous conspiracy theories, strengthening divisions in society, and encouraging the population to protest in the

streets. Even today, the public media space of Serbia is mostly dominated by narrative<sup>5</sup> which justifies the Russian aggression, exaggerates Russian capabilities, denies Russian crimes and aggression, and accuses Ukraine of being a neo-Nazi creation. They go so far as to be one medium<sup>6</sup> on the day of the Russian aggression against Ukraine, published the text on the front page: "Ukraine attacked Russia". They use very similar vocabulary and symbols as they used, when they communicated with the newly elected democratic Croatian government in the 90s of the last centuries, justifying the aggression against Croatia. It is especially necessary to emphasize that the Sputnik and RT media systems continue to function unhindered in Serbia, spreading numerous cases of disinformation. Which is then taken over and spread by the media network at the national and local level in Serbia, Montenegro and BiH, and in this way tries to maliciously influence the target audiences in those areas. The messages they send are dominated by strong anti-Western narratives, the Slavic and Orthodox brotherhood of Russians and Serbs is constantly encouraged, and support is given to the realization of the concept of a Russian and Serbian world.

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<sup>5</sup> The messages being sent are: *Russia, alone, is at war against the entire NATO alliance and not against Ukraine; Russia had to act preemptively because NATO and the USA were preparing an attack on the Russian Federation; Russia cannot lose the war against Ukraine, because Russia is also a nuclear power; The Russians have not yet activated all their capacities, and when they do, they will reach the Danube; Russia is not using its best troops and most powerful weapons, because it is protecting the people in Ukraine; Ukraine should be denazified; Ukraine did not exist as a country until the collapse of the Soviet Union; More than 50% of Russians live in Ukraine; The war in Ukraine is a war between two fraternal Slavic peoples; Zelensky and his government are only Western puppets; The Ukrainian people needlessly suffer huge human sacrifices; By sending weapons to Ukraine, NATO is fighting Russia to the last Ukrainian; Ukrainian troops are on the brink of destruction, so foreign western mercenaries and soldiers from the NATO alliance are now at war; Poland wants to attack and occupy western Ukraine and Belarus.* From the above examples, it is clearly visible that this is disinformation of Russian origin, the aim of which is to demonize Ukraine and glorify Russia.

<sup>6</sup> Informer, 24.2.2022.

Regarding the economic and financial capacity and stability of Serbia, it must be said that Serbia is facing numerous challenges. Without foreign direct investments, without financial assistance from EU funds, Serbia would have a very difficult time maintaining the current level of (in)stability of its own state finances.

The Republic of Croatia has a consistent policy towards Serbia. As per other WB6 states. Croatia is extremely interested in democratization, stabilization, de-radicalization and the positive democratic development of these societies and states. If such a situation is achieved in the southern and eastern neighborhood of Croatia, that area will cease to be a source of numerous security challenges that can negatively affect the stability, security, and democratic order not only in Croatia but also in the EU. The example of the migrant crisis of 2015, as well as later, admittedly smaller but equally intense migrant waves, has shown us, how sensitive and vulnerable the area is regarding numerous security challenges (in this case, in conjunction with state policy and organized crime).<sup>7</sup>.

Croatia has many open issues with Serbia. From the issue of the missing (during the Homeland war for Independence) persons (data on which are in special funds and collections of military documents in Belgrade), territorial disputes on the Danube, compensation for captured, tortured and murdered Croatian citizens who ended up in Serbian concentration camps, democratization, deradicalization of society and the state, freedom of the media and judiciary, respect for human and

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<sup>7</sup> Serbia lobbied in numerous countries, especially the so-called of the Third World, which recognized Kosovo's independence, to withdraw that recognition. In return, they abolished the visa regime with those countries. In this way, the number of migrants who arrived in Serbia on their way to the EU increased.



minority rights, acceptance and adherence to the EU's foreign and common policy, respect for the principles, beliefs and value system around which the EU was built. Serbia is also requested to recognize independence of Kosovo and stop malicious and harmful actions against other countries: Kosovo, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbia needs to work hard to reduce tensions (primarily between different ethnic groups) that have been persistently created in the Serbian media space for decades.

The political games<sup>8</sup> that President Vučić organizes with political election processes in Serbia with the aim of delaying and refusing to make decisions related to the imposition of sanctions on Russia are certainly not in favor of Serbia's European path or its stabilization. Russia has visibly stepped up its activities in Serbia (where it has important strongholds in the Serbian Orthodox Church, part of the academic community gathered around the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the media, and in the military system and the Serbian intelligence community).

Russia has no intention to stop simultaneously holding Serbia in a "fraternal embrace", by which it tries to be of help to Serbia (given its membership in the UN Security Council) but also to bind the current political elite by threatening it with radical measures that Russian supporters from different spheres of society can carry out on the street. Thus, Serbia is at the same time a partner and a victim of Russia and its malicious actions towards the societies and states of the countries covered by the name WB6.

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<sup>8</sup> Organizing early elections from time to time, often public appearances and official statements describing „extremely difficult and challenging situation for Serbs like never before in history“, are just a fuel to already quite hard political, social, financial, economical and insecurity of Serbian society.

Croatia is aware of the importance that Serbia has in WB6. But it should be said that Serbia does not have as much importance as Serbia attributes to itself. Numerous stabilization and democratic processes within WB6 can take place without Serbia. However, the intentions that Serbia projects in that area, which it shows through the concept of the Open Balkans, do not inspire confidence. In Croatia, the prevailing opinion between experts is that the Open Balkans was designed as a concept that tries to replace the Berlin process and position Serbia and Albania as key actors in WB6. The Open Balkans is not an inclusive and integrating concept, which is why it cannot bring sustainable and stabilizing activities that should help the democratization and stabilization of societies and states on their way to the EU. The concept of the Serbian world has more and more problems and challenges faced by its creators. The key challenge for Serbia lies in the fact that its role model, the Russian world, is disintegrating before Serbian eyes, which inevitably leads to the disintegration of the concept of the Serbian world. And thus, the importance and role that Serbia assigns to itself. Aware of this fact, the planners of Russian and pro-Russian information influence operations by spreading numerous half-truths (essentially disinformation) in the media space of Serbia to maintain "Orthodox ties" and maintain influence in WB6 by acting through the institutions of the Serbian state, the SPC, the non-governmental sector and the media.

It should be noted that the European integration processes of the WB6 countries has to be evaluated on an individual level with regard to the fulfillment, compliance and sustainability of the defined criteria, i.e. benchmarks determined by certain negotiation chapters. Possible concessions and the creation of exceptions will have a strong negative impact on the negotiation processes of other countries that truly want to enter the EU and are ready for this democratic step forward. Any relativization of

negotiation and open issues and possible giving of easy promises will have a negative impact on the negotiation process itself, which will not result in the expected positive results. Serbia faces serious challenges that it should have already solved, if it wanted to be able to build a free, democratic, deradicalized and liberal society and a state that does not pose a threat to neighboring or other countries.

## Republic of Kosovo



The political and security situation in Kosovo changed significantly, in a negative sense, after the Kosovo government did not respond to Serbian political provocations in a timely or effective manner.

Namely, the invitation sent by Serbia to the Serbs in Kosovo not to participate in the local elections in Kosovo (April 2023) was one of the turning points to which the Government of Kosovo did not react in a timely manner or properly. Instead of showing patience and prudence, they accepted Vučić's bait, held elections, announced the results, and tried to impose them by force (although the elections were according to the turnout results legal, they are not legitimate). Serbia took the risk of boycotting the elections, expecting exactly this kind of action by the Kosovo Government. Thus, Serbia, from a defensive role and the culprit for numerous attempts to destabilize Kosovo, became (as a perception) a victim of the reckless policy of the Government of Kosovo. That the Government of Kosovo gave up holding the elections and postponed them until the conditions for that were met, initiated the process of implementing the

Brussels Agreements regarding the then existing political groupings in the municipalities in the north of Kosovo.

The efforts of the EU and the US with the aim of stabilizing Kosovo and achieving wide international recognition of Kosovo, primarily within the EU, would most likely yield positive results for Kosovo. On the other hand, they would lead to the fact that Serbia is facing a pre-emptive action in view of the signed Brussels agreements and the negotiated frameworks, which would most certainly lead to additional negative social and political processes in Serbia.

It was an illusion to expect that the international community would accept the completely illegitimate results of the election process. On the other hand, the strong negative influence that the Serbian Orthodox Church, the intelligence community of Serbia and official Belgrade has among Kosovo Serbs, is ignored. Especially considering the expected loss of Russia in Ukraine, the strong weakening of Russia's position and role in international relations (regardless of its permanent membership in the UN Security Council) and the negative consequences for the development of the concept of the Serbian world.

It is noticeable that neither Russia nor Serbia are trying to exert a strong negative informational influence on the representatives of the international community (IC) in Kosovo (both civilian and military structures). Russian malicious media activities in the Albanian language do not significantly differ from those in other languages. They are neither as frequent nor as intense as those in the Serbian language. Given the fact that the Albanian language is the official and most used language in Kosovo, Albania, and the parts of northern Macedonia, which are mostly inhabited by citizens of Albanian nationality, disinformation in the Albanian language is also distributed to those areas through various media. Most of such information of damaged integrity

(or disinformation) is distributed through the media network from the territory of Albania<sup>9</sup>. The messages, that are sent do not deviate from the messages listed in the chapter on the Republic of Serbia<sup>10</sup>.

Lately, after the Government of Kosovo has been exposed to criticism from the West regarding its activities (previously described), the Russian Sputnik in the Serbian language is intensifying the publication of (dis)information and its tendentious interpretation emphasizing the beginning of the political and economic isolation of the Government of Kosovo by its partners<sup>11</sup>. In the process of stabilization of Kosovo, the authorities will have to make strong efforts to effectively deal with the organized crime (OC) operating in Kosovo or having their origins in Kosovo. As with the processes of religious radicalization of parts of the population.

Croatia is one of the EU member states that recognized Kosovo's independence. Also, Croatia is aware that Kosovo needs to solve numerous internal challenges in future. It is necessary to reorganise local elections at north Kosovo unconditionally. If the Serbs refuse to go to the elections again, it is necessary to start the process of applying the Brussels Agreement with the existing representatives. If necessary, adaptation of the Kosovo legislative framework to the realities of the Brussels Agreements should be undertaken. The mere initiation of the process of applying the Brussels Agreements by the Kosovo authorities will affect the processes of stabilization of Kosovo, reduce the potential malicious influences within information environment

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<sup>9</sup> <https://birn.eu.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Russian-state-sponsored-disinformation-narratives-in-Albania.pdf>,  
<https://euronews.al/en/studies-disinformation-remains-a-problem-in-albanian-language-media/>

<sup>10</sup> See footnote 5

<sup>11</sup> [https://lat.sputnikportal.rs/common\\_kosovo-i-metohija/](https://lat.sputnikportal.rs/common_kosovo-i-metohija/)

(current situation opens for the spread of pro-Serbian and pro-Russian and anti-Western narratives).

Serbia will conditionally accept political reality based on the existing agreements. If Serbia accepts Kosovo's independence, in return Serbia should be helped in the economic and financial sense for the expected confrontation with strong pro-Russian and radical Serbian narratives and activities. Croatia has repeatedly and publicly expressed its interest, as a country, that has gone through a difficult path towards EU membership, it is willing and able to help other countries from the WB6 area on their way to the EU. Croatia emphasizes the necessity of an individual approach to solving issues related to the possible enlargement of the EU based on the fulfillment of clearly and transparently set negotiation frameworks.

## Republic of Montenegro



Montenegro is in an extremely unenviable situation. Partly due to the weakness of the previous administration, which was personalized in the form of former president Milo Đukanović, partly due to some decisions, that were made without information preparation activities<sup>12</sup> (the proposal for the Law on Freedom of Religion from 2019, which gave the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Republic of Serbia a strong reason to organize anti-government, that is, anti-

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<sup>12</sup> A whole series of activities that needed to clearly, unambiguously and completely explain to the resident population, as well as to the interested international community, the goals and reasons for passing such and such a law with an emphasis on a step-by-step approach.

Montenegrin, demonstrations that ultimately led to a change of government in Montenegro). Regardless of the recent results of the presidential and parliamentary elections, Montenegro is currently in the status of a "trapped state". Influence on state and government decisions, and on social and political processes are made outside of Montenegro. Primarily in Serbia. This is a significant problem that Montenegrin society is still not able to face, fully openly. Public knowledge and the prevailing narrative in the public still boils down to the fight "for and against Milo Đukanović".

An additional problem is the fact that, in the case of non-kinetic aggression against Montenegro, Serbia and the Russia are strongly connected and complementary with their activities. Numerous pro-Serbian and pro-Russian circles-of-influence operating in the territory of Montenegro do not deny this at all. If there will be a change in the legislative framework which will allow Serbs, who have lived in the territory of Montenegro for some time, to easily acquire Montenegrin citizenship, it is easy to imagine a situation in which Montenegrins, the bearers of state sovereignty, will be a minority in Montenegro compared to the number of Serbs who deny that sovereignty. Of course, Serbs will not deny it completely, but will insist on the introduction of dual sovereignty. That is, highlighting the Serbs as one of the two sovereign peoples of Montenegro and their numerical increase, which will guarantee the permanent victories of the Serbian-Russian bloc in the elections, and, if necessary, making decisions in referendums.

Because of the strong Serbian-Russian influence operations, full and open involvement of the Serbian Orthodox Church as a political actor, denial of the right to existence of a national autocephalous Montenegrin Orthodox Church, Montenegrin society became seriously and deeply divided. In addition to other

problems, that the society faces (the influence of organized crime political and financial corruption, financial instability, economic crisis), Montenegro has become a country in which there is a need for the rapid normalization of social and political processes. De-radicalization (primarily religious and political) and strengthening integration processes is a necessity. The media scene of Montenegro is almost entirely based on pro-Serbian and pro-Russian propaganda machinery. Both in the ownership and in the editorial activity.

The social and political instability of Montenegro, its radicalization, especially in the Greater Serbian direction (supervised and managed by Russia), represents a challenge not only for the Republic of Croatia, but also for the NATO alliance, considering Montenegro's membership in that alliance. Some of the messages used to overthrow the previous government (led by DPS) could not have been well received in Croatia. Namely, the messages "Montenegro is the Serbian Sparta" (which often appear in the Montenegrin and Serbian media) and "Dubrovnik is the Serbian Athens" (which the Serbian academia and part of the social community consider as a part of Serbia) remind us of 1991, when these messages dominated in the public media space and when the aggression against southern Croatia was carried out from the direction of Montenegro.

Russia and Serbia are in the process of capturing the institutions of Montenegro for their own needs. This process is both a goal and a means at the same time. The goal is to take long-term control over all processes in Montenegro (education at all levels, sports, religious activities, civil society, identity questions, the media scene), and the means to try to influence processes at the international level through this control (it should be taken into account that Montenegro has gone the furthest of all the WB6



countries in the process of EU membership negotiations, it has opened all negotiation chapters).

Montenegro must continue its path of building relations with Croatia on the principles that were established until recently. Denial of Montenegro's negative role in the aggression against Croatia, repetition of Greater Serbian rhetoric that is often heard from Belgrade, possible ignoring and non-prosecution of war crimes against Croats, attitude towards the Croat minority in Montenegro, open territorial issues on Prevlaka as well as ownership of a former military training ship "Jadran" will be the focus of Croatia and future relations with Montenegro. In addition to the fact that these issues will mostly be tried to be resolved on a bilateral level, there is a possibility, in the event of a negative impact of Serbian-Russian influences on their resolution, that Croatia will protect its own interests, but also the principles on which the European community, defined in the EU Treaty, is based, through EU institutions. Also, it is quite likely that Croatia does not support the Open Balkans process, which is exclusionary. In contrast to the Berlin process as well as the European political community, which in turn needs to continue to be built and developed.

## Bosnia and Herzegovina



Bosnia and Herzegovina is a complex social and political entity defined by a whole series of agreements known as the Dayton-Paris Peace Accords (signed at the end of 1995). These documents successfully stopped the war

and imposed peace on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the last two decades, BiH has shown numerous weaknesses and dysfunctionalities. All the time, it was faced with a lot of and serious challenges that distanced it from any meaningful and sustainable form of political, social, national, ethnic, and economic stability. Bosnia and Herzegovina's plural society, and its leading political elites, did not share a common vision of political unity, which made it impossible to establish a sustainable political community that was supposed to contribute to the stability of society. A special problem was (as it continues to be) the question of the legitimacy of individual election results at the state and cantonal level, which made any stabilization processes difficult, as well as finding constitutional solutions created with the patronage of the international community.

The political elites have not been able to reach an agreement on any significant issue, while in the intellectual scene nationalist, national, civic, and "civilian" worldviews are constantly clashing. It was precisely under the label of "civic" organization of the state that the process of majorization of one nation over others and the unconstitutional assumption of control and supervision over state institutions (and thus also at the level of society, public business sector) was hidden. The results of political processes carried out in countries, which have many open questions regarding ethnic and religious positions must simultaneously have electoral and political legality and legitimacy. Without full legitimacy, it is difficult to build a sustainable society and build state institutions at all decision-making levels.

Thanks to the activities of the current High Representative of the International Community (OHR), Bosnia and Herzegovina is on the way out of the political, social, economic and security crisis.

It ceased to be the most vulnerable country in the WB6 area<sup>13</sup>. Already at the beginning of his mandate, the new High Representative (OHR) was faced with serious challenges, especially in the context of the decisions made by his predecessor shortly before leaving office.<sup>14</sup> With those decisions, the room for maneuver for the new OHR was significantly narrowed for negotiation and decision-making. However, the decisions, that the new OHR bravely made, with the support of key Western countries, indicate that it is possible to reach political solutions for the constitution of government at all levels in BiH. That process, in turn, represents the foundation for the sustainable functioning of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a very complex society and state. Due to the numerous open issues that arose from the war in BiH, and the impossibility of their effective and sustainable solution, it is necessary to make strong efforts to stabilize, de-radicalize and lead inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic relations to the goal: the development of a democratic society and a state with three constitutive and equal nations with all other communities living in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The consequences of the decisions of the OHR, which return the electoral process to the fundamental, Dayton-Pariz peace accords, show that the new/old political elites at the level of the Parliamentary Assembly of the State and the Republic of Srpska and the Federation of BiH, which have both legality and legitimacy, are aware of their responsibility for the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As soon as the SDA<sup>15</sup> (which slightly overshadowed the positive results with its threatening and

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<sup>13</sup> [https://stratcomcoe.org/cuploads/pfiles/russias\\_footprint\\_in\\_wb\\_executive\\_summary\\_30-04\\_v2-2.pdf](https://stratcomcoe.org/cuploads/pfiles/russias_footprint_in_wb_executive_summary_30-04_v2-2.pdf)

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/bih-ohr-valentin-inzko/31366972.html>

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.sda.ba/>

radical rhetoric) was thrown out of the post-election coalitions<sup>16</sup>, the conditions for building institutions were created. Government institutions at all levels were established very quickly and positive processes were initiated. The authorities organized at the level of the state of BiH and at the level of the Federation of BiH show their pro-Western face, ready to carry out the necessary activities.

A special challenge for the functioning of BiH is currently found in two political groups: the SDA and Milorad Dodik. The SDA is having a hard time coming to terms with the fact that it is not part of the state government, that it does not have its own representative in the state presidency, and that it no longer has the strength it had until recently. At the same time, the leading figures of the SDA are facing numerous accusations of illegality, crime, and corruption activities. The consequence of such actions may be further stratification of SDA.

Milorad Dodik, the president of Republika Srpska, with his statements, decisions made by the bodies of Republika Srpska according to his dictation, continues to cause concern among the representatives of the international community. These activities are against the short-term and long-term interests of both Republika Srpska and BiH as a state. Despite many public statements in which Dodik said that Republika Srpska will organize the secession from BiH, that will not happen. He himself is aware of that. However, his public expression, his behavior, especially now in relation to Russian officials after the Russian aggression against Ukraine, is sometimes difficult to explain with publicly available data. Dodik, who is characterized as a person, for whom economic-financial issues are more important than ethnic-national-religious ones, sometimes

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<sup>16</sup> Based on election results

becomes more radical in his speech than his political opponents in Republika Srpska.

The representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church in BiH have a special place and role in the radicalization of the public narrative in the Republika Srpska. Bishop Jefrem of Banja Luka stands out as a person, who tries to exert a strong influence on Dodik and his circle of people in order to protect the interests of the Serbian Orthodox Church (and thus also indirectly of the Russian Orthodox Church).

Dragan Čović, the current president of the Croatian National Assembly, understood the transience of time and the current situation. He initiated processes that should soon lead to his full withdrawal from politics. This is evident from his performances and the candidacy of other persons for different positions at the level of the state and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although he is often accused for that, Čović's actual ties to Russia are irrelevant. Especially after the Russian aggression against Ukraine.

However, Russian influence on BiH is not negligible. Using the structure of the Serbian Orthodox Church, numerous media, civil society organizations, individuals and organizations, Russia is trying to destabilize Bosnia and Herzegovina. One of the directions was an attempt to stop and/or slow down the process of establishment of government at various levels after the elections. Given that BiH already has numerous open issues related to ethnic-religious issues, strong Russian disinformation is trying to add "fuel to the fire" and further destabilize BiH. In this context, it is necessary to look at Dodik's soloing in the media. In this way, Russia is trying to undermine the OHR institution and prevent further stabilization of BiH. It is trying to bring the BiH processes in the UN Security Council, where it

would use its position as a permanent member of the UN Security Council to show itself (primarily to its public) as a global political force, that can impose its own views on others (primarily the USA and the UK). Namely, the long-term goal of Russian (and pro-Russian) malicious activities in BiH was to maintain the status quo. That is, failure to solve numerous issues that prevented the stabilization of society and the state. What has now been prevented by the decisions of the OHR, which began to return the election principles and rules to the original settings of Dayton and annul the decisions of some former OHR, that, by interfering in the election processes, made them non-transparent and illegitimate.

Russia intensified its malicious information and influence operations, after it invaded Ukraine. These activities are led by certain media, which indiscriminately redistribute Russian disinformation content originating from Russian and pro-Russian media. As well as the announcements of Russian political officials and representatives (of various embassies). Interesting analysis<sup>17</sup> of methods, models, numbers, and effectiveness of the distribution of numerous disinformation content in, primarily online media, was created in 2019. Although it was written before the Russian aggression against Ukraine, it can serve as an interesting analytical template for a comparative presentation of the results of Russian disinformation activities after February 2022.

Currently, a serious process is taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Russian-Serbian-Turkish efforts are trying to permanently tie Bosnia and Herzegovina to Russian energy sources. In same time Croatia is trying to reduce malicious consequences in cas that this project is going to be realized.

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<sup>17</sup>[https://zastone.ba/app/uploads/2019/05/Disinformation\\_in\\_the\\_online\\_sp\\_here\\_The\\_case\\_of\\_BiH\\_ENG.pdf](https://zastone.ba/app/uploads/2019/05/Disinformation_in_the_online_sp_here_The_case_of_BiH_ENG.pdf)

Croatia is aware of the importance of the real diversity of energy supply routes that can guarantee permanent approach to the different energy resources, and thus economic, social, and political sovereignty.

Croatian position is clear. Croatia is particularly interested in the stability, security, sustainability, territorial integrity, functionality and self-sustainability of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Relations between Croatia and BiH have had numerous challenges. A certain number of questions are still open as a consequence of not defining common policies in BiH towards abroad. Croatia hopes that in the foreseeable future these open issues will be resolved to the mutual satisfaction of the two neighboring countries that share a common border of just over 1,000 km. Croatia will also continue to support the ethnic Croats living in Bosnia and Herzegovina in activities to protect their constitutional rights as a constitutional and equal people with an emphasis on their remaining on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Croatia will also continue to support the work of OHR and the international community in BiH. While advocating for the de-radicalization of society and the state, finding minimal common points between different ethnic communities in order to build a sustainable state and social structure. Croatia can also be a constructive factor in talks with individual representatives of Republika Srpska with the aim of stabilizing and de-radicalizing public expression and creating sustainable base for future stability of BiH.

## Republik of North Macedonia



North Macedonia, after successfully overcoming the internal crisis instigated by Russia, by accepting the Prespa Agreement, de-escalated internal tensions and somewhat stabilized its internal conditions. However, North Macedonia is still an area where Russia carries out numerous disinformation activities trying to exploit the aforementioned goals. This is shown by the results of a study that was recently published in North Macedonia<sup>18</sup>. The study shows that it is difficult for Russia to change its modus operandi (e.g. the use of different profiles on social networks and online media) regardless of the diversity of target groups, the diversity of countries and societies, and the diversity of cultural heritage. The topic that is particularly emphasized, as in other countries with similar national-religious determination, is the creation and maintenance of "Slavic-Orthodox brotherhood". They use the challenges with which Sj. Macedonia faces on its way to the EU to bring additional, especially inter-ethnic, divisions into society and destabilize the country. A special challenge for the stability and integrity of the Macedonian public media space is Russian and pro-Russian malicious activities in the Bulgarian and Serbian media space, through which the Russians spread a lot of disinformation.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> <https://mia.mk/en/story/presentation-of-study-on-russian-propaganda-influence-and-disinformation-in-north-macedonia>,  
<https://euronews.al/en/study-reveals-russian-influence-through-propaganda-in-north-macedonia/>

<sup>19</sup> <https://meta.mk/en/the-social-media-as-a-lever-for-spreading-authoritarian-propaganda/>



Croatia has the same position towards North Macedonia as it does towards Montenegro and Albania. Those countries are members of the NATO alliance. The attitude does not differ from the attitude towards Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo on their possible path towards Euro-Atlantic integration. Croatia is supporting the road of N. Macedonia towards EU membership. The European route of N. Macedonia should not have been slowed down, or even stopped because of individual position of some countries that are backed by Russian malicious influence. N. Macedonia is an important country for the stability of the WB6 area due to the complex Macedonian-Albanian relations, the border with Kosovo, Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece (countries that each have their own special relationship to North Macedonia and to its territorial integrity and sovereignty as well as to national historical and cultural heritage). That is why the engagement, mostly by the US and partly by the EU, is in stabilizing that situation and prevention by deterring attacks on N. Macedonia achieved good results so far.

## Republic of Albania



Albania is the most stable country and society of all the countries covered by the name WB6. Perhaps this fact arose from another fact: Albania is the most ethnically homogeneous country of all WB6 countries. Therefore, the question of the existence of internal tensions caused by ethnic and religious differences is significantly smaller, almost non-existent. Because of that, there is no tension that calls into question its state, legal and political

legitimacy. However, Albania is still faced with a threat to its democratic functionality caused by OC, both national and transnational. Albania was the other key foundation of the Open Balkans project, which it launched together with Serbia. That project was supposed to replace the Berlin Process. Conceived as a non-inclusive process, which hides various policies and pretensions in the background, it was supposed to prevent the realization of the inclusive Berlin process. Therefore, the international community, realizing its background, especially in the context of strengthening the idea of creating a Serbian world modeled on the Russian world, launched initiatives to stop that negative project. However, Albania realized this and announced its withdrawal from the project<sup>20</sup> which surprised Serbian President Vučić<sup>21</sup> (thereby he lost one of the rare trump cards in international relations that he could have used in his performances before his own public).

As already written in the section on Kosovo, the Albanian media environment is also a target of Russian disinformation activities related to Russian aggression against Ukraine. The largest amount of information of damaged integrity written in the Albanian language was published in the Albanian media space. However, objective analyzes indicate that Russian disinformation policies do not have a strong foothold in Albania because the Albanian population is oriented towards the USA and the EU more than towards the "fraternal Slavic and Orthodox states". This, in turn, should not prevent the undertaking of preventive and deterrent defensive activities, which also include the media space in the Albanian language<sup>22</sup> can and should protect against

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<sup>20</sup> <https://euronews.al/en/did-pm-edi-rama-unilaterally-decide-to-end-open-balkan-initiative/>

<sup>21</sup> <https://balkans.aljazeera.net teme/2023/7/15/pocetak-kraja-otvorenog-balkana>

<sup>22</sup> Given that the Albanian language is also spoken in Kosovo and Sj. Macedonia which are, especially Sj. Macedonia is a more fragile state, it is

numerous malicious influence operations that can try to destabilize the country on its way to the EU. But also, as NATO ally.

Croatia and Albania have very well-developed relations in all spheres of cooperation in accordance with common interests. Croatia and Albania jointly became members of the NATO alliance on April 1, 2009. The Republic of Croatia and Albania offered their help and cooperation on its way to the EU.

## EU and WB6 – challenges and prospects

The EU does not have a unified position toward WB6. Even the name WB6 itself is not accepted by all EU member states because it deviates significantly from their policy. Cyprus, Greece, Romania, Slovakia, and Spain did not recognize Kosovo's independence. That is why the abbreviation WB5 is closer to these countries than WB6. In any case, we will continue to use the abbreviation WB6 in this paper. Although there is general agreement at the EU level that the countries covered by the name WB6 should be integrated into the EU<sup>23</sup>, there are differences in the approach towards each country. They are caused by different individual interests of the existing EU member states. The interests are of such a nature that they practically encroach on the identity and sovereignty issues of individual states (as in the case of North Macedonia and Kosovo). These are differences that are difficult to bridge with

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possible for a malicious hybrid attacker to use the Albanian media space to create and distribute misinformation towards other areas, i.e. countries where ethnic Albanians live.

<sup>23</sup> „At the EU-Western Balkans Summit held in 2003 in Thessaloniki, the EU reaffirmed that the future of the Western Balkans is within the EU. In June 2022, EU leaders expressed their full and unequivocal commitment to the EU membership perspective of the Western Balkans and called for acceleration of the accession process“<sup>23</sup>. Izvor:

<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/enlargement/#Balkans>

(quick) diplomatic activities. They need to be solved at the level of the entire EU and integrated with other instruments available to the EU (but also to the NATO alliance, given that most EU countries and several from WB6 are members of the NATO alliance).

The countries covered by the name WB6, although neighboring, are very different. They differ in numerous elements that hold a society and state together. These are countries where many different peoples and nations live mixed and together. Different ideologies, religions, cultures, and customs meet each other in these countries. These are countries with different political arrangements. They have different economic potentials, or shortcomings that prevent their further development. Almost all of them are dependent on international financial aid (primarily Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina). They have numerous mutual, as well as internal, open issues for which the existing political and social elites are unable to offer sustainable solutions. It should be taken into account that two countries (Kosovo and Montenegro) unilaterally introduced the euro as their national currency. It is precisely this strong dependence on the financial aid that the WB6 countries receive from the EU (at the EU level as well as at the level of individual EU members), direct investments in their economy, intensive trade relations with the EU member states (but also between them) that represents a large negotiating capital which EU should be willing and able to use in the processes of stabilization, democratization and de-radicalization of WB6 states and societies.

The enlargement of the EU is a very complex and demanding process in which the candidate countries for EU membership as well as the already existing EU members simultaneously participate. Namely, the EU itself must be ready for enlargement (in the political, economic, institutional sense; just like the

candidate country). The first step should be the desire of that country to enter the candidacy process and that it is ready to accept and fulfill the numerous criteria necessary for future EU membership<sup>24</sup>. Regarding the WB6 countries, public opinion polls, as well as the attitudes of social and political elites that influence decision-making processes in individual countries, give us interesting results.

According to the published results of public opinion research in the WB6 countries in relation to the tendency to join the EU, different results were obtained. At least 73.3% of the population of BiH supports the accession of BiH to the EU<sup>25</sup> (the majority of those who do not support the accession to the EU live in the territory of Republika Srpska and are ethnic Serbs). The survey of public opinion in Serbia, in a similar period of time, obtained slightly different results: about 44% of Serbia's citizens support membership in the EU, while about 42% oppose EU membership<sup>26</sup>. In Montenegro, almost 78% of the population voted for joining the EU<sup>27</sup>. According to data from 2021, about 97% of Albanian citizens support Albania's membership in the EU. In N. Macedonia, about 49% of the population supports EU membership, while 34% of them expressed skepticism towards EU membership<sup>28</sup>. The vast majority of Kosovo residents support the Euro-Atlantic integration of Kosovo (in November 2021, 91%

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<sup>24</sup> <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/glossary/accession-criteria-copenhagen-criteria.html>, <https://www.clingendael.org/pub/2020/china-and-the-eu-in-the-western-balkans/3-china-and-the-eu-in-the-western-balkans-different-strings-attached/>

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.aa.com.tr/ba/balkan/istra%C5%BEivanje-dei-ja-73-3-posto-ispitanika-podr%C5%BEava-ulazak-bih-u-eu/2945206>

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/svijet/velika-anketa-u-srbiji-pitali-ljude-jesu-li-za-eu-ili-priblizavanje-moskvi-rezultati-su-malo-koga-iznenadili-15320992>

<sup>27</sup> <https://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/montenegro/istra%C5%BEivanje-javnog-mnjenja-gra%C4%91ani-jo%C5%A1-sna%C5%BEnije-podr%C5%BEavaju-pristupanje-eu-0-me>

<sup>28</sup> <https://balkans.aljazeera.net/news/balkan/2023/2/9/u-sjevernoj-makedoniji-raste-skepticizam-prema-eu>

of the population supported membership in the EU, while 89% of them supported membership in the NATO alliance<sup>29</sup>).

Although in-depth analyzes of the opinion polls were not carried out, based on the existing data, it can be reasonably assumed that the Serbs, as an ethnic community, are significantly less inclined to EU membership (and show greater skepticism in relation to it) compared to other peoples living in the WB6 area. This kind of public opinion research is one of the essential tools that can be helpful to decision makers about which, when and how to use the vectors of action toward WB6 target audiences. Namely, the numerous differences of the WB6 societies and countries, point to the necessity to design and implement adapted processes that will guide the affected societies on their way to the EU (of course, those that express a desire for it, because no one should be forced to enter the EU, or any another association if they don't want it).

Surveys must offer credible, reliable and complete answers to key questions: does the population want to be part of the EU; are they ready to adapt their own societies and countries and accept the European system of values, principles and beliefs; what are the reasons for which EU membership is an advantage for them and for which they are not inclined to support EU membership; what disinformation policies have an impact on decision-making process regarding these issues? The results of public opinion polls carried out in this way simultaneously recognize the areas of vulnerability of the respondents and their exposure to disinformation policies aimed at creating divisions and stopping (or slowing down) the process of joining these countries to the EU.

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<sup>29</sup> <https://www.iri.org/news/kosovo-citizens-show-strong-support-for-western-institutions-despite-kosovos-slow-progress-towards-eu-integration/>

The aforementioned data can also explain the significantly different attitude that individual countries have towards the sanctions imposed by the EU on Russia after its aggression against Ukraine in February 2022. States where Serbs have decision-making possibility as well as co-decision-making have not declared sanctions against Russia. These same countries (that is, the population that nationally identifies as Serbs) have a strong negative feeling towards their possible membership in the NATO alliance. Serbs are, for the most part of them, one of the key vectors of influence that Russia uses in creating, promoting, and maintaining its own interests in WB6.

On the other hand, we should not forget the existence of interests that some other countries have in this area. Turkey, as the Ottoman Empire, ruled this area for several centuries, either as a whole or in some part of it. Turkish influence is still significant in the area of WB6 today. It manifests itself through the activities of the population of the Islamic religion, which arose/remained in this area precisely as a result of the Ottoman conquests. The fact that Turkey decided to give its consent to Sweden's entry into the NATO alliance tells us how important EU membership is to Turkey. Especially in the situation it is in now (serious challenges in the economy and the financial situation of the country) emphasizing one condition: Sweden has undertaken to support the entry of Turkey in the EU. Today, the Turkish influence is followed by the influences of other countries where Islam has the status of state religion. Saudi Arabia, Qatar, UAE invest considerable resources in various social activities related to the expansion of their influence (both economic, financial, political, cultural and religious).

China's strong economic-financial-information activity should not be ignored either. In this area<sup>30</sup>, but at the level of individual relations with countries, China continues its activities with which it has successfully organized its presence and influence in Africa (primarily East and Central). China does not directly intervene in the political (except when it comes to Taiwan and the relationship of the domicile state towards Taiwan) and religious life of the population. However, with their financial-economic-informational activities, which in countries where there are no clear rules of business processes, as is the case in the EU, encourage corruption at all levels. Such activities gradually lead to the creation of debt slavery of these countries. The affected countries must get out of it with the help of the EU<sup>31</sup>.

As already mentioned, in WB6, numerous, and sometimes sharply opposed, interests of various actors on the international scene meet and clash each other. From individual countries to communities such as the EU, NATO, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. Very simple questions are often asked in the public that are not easy to answer: do the WB6 countries have a European future? Should these countries be offered a European perspective? If the answer is positive, should we talk about the dates of possible accession, or should the dates be conditional on fulfilling all established criteria? Should the criteria be adapted to individual candidate countries? Are we ready to ignore (or give way in the negotiation process) the fulfillment of criteria and the process of democratization and de-radicalization of society and the state, insisting on respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, independence and freedom of the media and the judiciary, respect for the rights of minorities,

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<sup>30</sup> <https://www.clingendael.org/pub/2020/china-and-the-eu-in-the-western-balkans/3-china-and-the-eu-in-the-western-balkans-different-strings-attached/>

<sup>31</sup> [https://www.bilten.org/?p=37687,https://www.eca.europa.eu/Lists/ECADocuments/RW20\\_03/RW\\_EU\\_response\\_to\\_China\\_HR.pdf](https://www.bilten.org/?p=37687,https://www.eca.europa.eu/Lists/ECADocuments/RW20_03/RW_EU_response_to_China_HR.pdf)



honest and full confrontation with ideas and ideologies that led to conflicts, violence, and wars? Should we ignore all of it, or certain parts in the negotiation process? And all under the pretext that certain (malicious) states, such as primarily Russia, do not gain significant influence on the affected societies and states? Do we want to sacrifice quality for the sake of quantity, and by accepting unprepared states and societies, and in the short and long term bring the EU into a possibly demanding and challenging situation of facing again the issues we did not resolve in the accession negotiation process? And which risks will turn into serious threats to the stability, functionality and security of the EU?

The challenges that WB6 societies and countries are facing with are extremely demanding. Solving these challenges requires total commitment and determination. Primarily by decision makers. Avoiding facing those challenges, ignoring them, and in some cases even encouraging them (by candidate countries) must be clearly recognized by the EU. It must not be ignored and neglected before and during the negotiation process. There should be no doubt at all that the challenges these countries are now facing (in the negotiation process) will come to light again and have a strong negative impact on the EU. If they are not resolved during the negotiation process. There may be an additional imbalance that already exists in the EU due to the actions of individual states in accordance with their own interests, which negate the content of the treaty on the functioning of the EU.

In addition, a possible waiver of the already agreed principles of the negotiation processes would certainly have a negative impact on the negotiation processes with Turkey<sup>32</sup>, Ukraine,

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<sup>32</sup> How important EU membership is to Turkey, especially in the current very demanding economic and financial crisis, is shown by the fact that one of the

Moldova, and Georgia. The selective application of different principles and their change during the negotiation process to different states has a negative impact on the EU's reception. So that such changes, which would benefit to some of them, could be sought by other countries. That is, the application of different standards, which would be specially adapted to them in accordance with their requests. This puts the EU in a situation of possible additional strong internal destabilization, and the loss of its influence and importance in the international community, which the EU has been persistently and painstakingly building for decades. We are of the opinion that there are currently no reasons why the established negotiation criteria would be diluted for the needs of the WB6 countries, all to reduce the maneuver space for Russia and its malicious actions on and towards the WB6.

We have to face these threats to the stability and security of WB6 in another way. By strengthening pro-European feelings in the population of WB6, truthful and complete information pointing out all the advantages, but openly also the bad consequences of accession to the EU such as the migration of highly educated staff and part of the population to "older" EU member states. There are numerous positive examples of countries that have become EU members on a short-term, and especially on a long-term basis. It is necessary to work clearly and transparently to strengthen the role of civil society, taking care to ensure that these activities are not used for the malicious and interests of certain political factors at the local and regional level.

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conditions that Sweden had to promise in the context of obtaining Turkey's consent for Swedish membership in the NATO alliance is a public expression of support that Sweden will give to Turkey in its accession to the EU.

We should not be enslaved by prejudices. All advantages as well as challenges should be clearly communicated. One should avoid, in constructive communication, the language of political correctness that avoids identifying challenges, analyzing cause-and-effect relationships, and fully searching for solutions of the challenges. The population should not be offered dates on possible access, because access should be linked to the dependence of the transformation of society and the state in accordance with the accession criteria. Action should be taken to stop negative projects such as the Open Balkans and encourage the Berlin and Brdo-Brijuni processes.

At the same time, numerous open bilateral issues between the WB6 countries should be persistently resolved, as well as the resolution of open issues that these countries have with existing EU members. With the fact that open issues with EU members should not go in the direction of abuse of the accession process with the aim of achieving unacceptable political solutions.

The EU participates in several processes that the WB6 countries want to be encouraged to make faster changes and meet the set criteria for accession to the EU. The Berlin process, the Brdo-Brijuni process, the Open Balkans (which was practically extinguished because it was understood as a process by which Serbia and Albania wanted to dominate that area, (dis)integrate it in accordance with their interests, ignoring the interests of other countries from that position) and the European political community is the most important. Special emphasis should be placed on the latest initiative of French President Macron on the launch of the European Political Community (EPC). It must not replace or take over the role of institutions that already exist (such as the Council of Europe). It should also not be an excuse or reason to deny the right of WB6 countries (as well as other countries that are in the negotiation process with the EU) to join

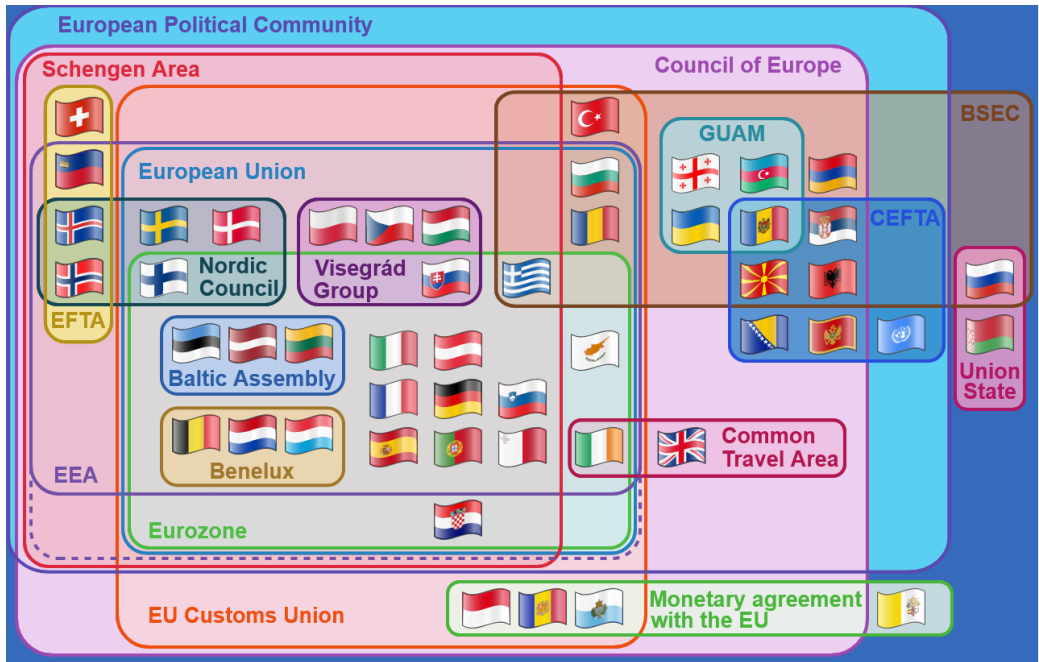
the EU. This community should be a forum where EU member countries, candidate countries, as well as those that do not want to be EU members but have deserved to be EU members through their democratic system (eg EFTA members), can openly communicate all the advantages and disadvantages of EU membership. EPC should show candidate countries how to behave and consume EU membership, how to communicate challenges, how to cooperate and how to build common capabilities and opportunities, how to build democracy, a safe and stable society, and state institutions that will serve their citizens.

China's "One Belt One Road" initiative has completely different goals and is built on completely different foundations. Which are not necessarily useful for all stakeholders of the process.

An additional reason why Ukraine should be given all the necessary help in defense against Russian aggression lies in the fact that the victory of Ukraine will affect the realization of the concept of the Russian world. Ukraine's victory will reduce its negative potential and possibly lead to its collapse. In such a way, the concept of the Serbian world, which Serbia designed based on the concept of the Russian world, will be affected. Serbia's negative potential in "creating internal and exporting" instability to its environment will be reduced. Serbia will be forced to really face itself with the challenges it has been suppressing for decades. This process should not be guided by short-term but long-term solutions. If Serbia (and this also applies to other countries that want to become a member of the EU, but are unable to honestly and completely face numerous challenges) does not identify and recognize all its vulnerabilities and weaknesses that prevent its democratization and deradicalization, and as such enters the EU, these vulnerabilities and weaknesses will continue to be the target of malicious

attackers. Who will be able to successfully use them to promote their own goals and further destabilize society and the state. But this time, societies and countries that are members of the EU. This is not something that the EU should allow itself.

The following picture<sup>33</sup> shows us all the complexity of relations and various integration actions on the European continent:



In facing the numerous challenges that burden and slow down the European future, the WB6 should use the key strategic determinants that Croatian politics recognized and articulated with the aim of creating, becoming independent, winning and democratizing the Republic of Croatia in the period from 1990-

<sup>33</sup> [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6a/Supranational European Bodies.svg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6a/Supranational_European_Bodies.svg)

1998. There are three key determinants (stratagems) of this strategy<sup>34</sup>:

1. The rule of continuous interaction and communicative openness.
  - a. Advocating, explaining, making available to the general public (at the national and international level) one's own positions, decisions, actions, consequences related to the negotiation process.
  - b. Acquaint the target audience with all the consequences of the negotiation process and possible accession to the EU.
  - c. Creating communication strongholds in business, social, and media circles with the aim of providing objective information about the access process and its development with all the consequences.
  - d. Pointing out the necessity of harmonizing the policies of the candidate country with EU policies, pointing out the fact that it is not about "some administration over there that makes decisions against the will of the member states" but about a process where all member states have an essential role in the process of making them.
  - e. Recognizing and identifying actors who will try to negatively influence the negotiation process through their actions.
  - f. Identifying individuals, groups, organizations, legal entities that are aware of the reality and that can serve in the fight against disinformation that the stakeholders of this process will face.

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<sup>34</sup> Miroslav Tuđman, Gordan Akrap: Strategijske odrednice dr. Franje Tuđmana 1990.-1998. (u procesima stvaranja, obrane i oslobođanja Hrvatske); ppt prezentacija, IPA Split, 3.8.2023.

2. Strategic problem solving, i.e. recognition and prioritization.
  - a. Recognition of priorities that all parties should effectively face in the negotiation process; identifying the real bearers of negative activities both on the national and international scene is of key importance in the realization of this stratagem.
  - b. Recognition of priorities affects the determination of the sequence of activities as well as cause-and-effect relationships in the realization of other stratagems.
  - c. Recognition and engagement of all those who can help in the processes of democratization and de-radicalization of society and the state that is in the negotiation process.
  
3. Neutralizing the opponent by isolation<sup>35</sup>
  - a. Recognizing and identifying the real opponents of the negotiation process both at the national and international level.
  - b. The ultimate goal is not to underestimate or force an individual pretender to membership, but to identify the opponents (and their vectors of attack) of that process, which with their destructive action can negatively affect not only

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<sup>35</sup> When we talk about the opponent (or opponents) of the enlargement and accession negotiation processes, we are talking about a situation where the majority of the population of a particular country has expressed a preference for joining the EU. While a minority of the population, especially guided and manipulated by certain malicious interests, uses different methods and means (including and violent) in order to slow down or stop that process. We repeat that no one should be forced to enter the EU. The EU is a community of states that have voluntarily decided to share part of their sovereignty with other member states, connect, integrate their knowledge, abilities and opportunities with other EU states, and gather around the same system of values, beliefs and principles of living in a free democratic world.

the accession process but also numerous other democratic processes in that country. But also at the EU level.

- c. Define, and organize the implementation of strategies that should be used in the fight against the opponent's strategies.
- d. Only democratic methods and means may be used in these and other activities.
- e. Isolate the adversary/adversaries at the national and international level, clearly and publicly describe them, connect them with their malicious and harmful actions as well as the vectors, means and methods they use in this malicious action.

The following fact should be clearly and unequivocally communicated to all target audiences in order to avoid making a strategic mistake and replacing these:

- Membership in the EU is not and should not be a goal. Membership must be understood as a means to achieve the ultimate goal that society and state are facing with: democratization, de-radicalization, freedom of movement of people, goods and services, gathering with the aim of integrating knowledge, abilities and opportunities both on an individual and collective level, at the level of physical and legal persons, strengthening one's own resistance and resilience to future/emerging risks and threats by acting through established mechanisms of assistance, cooperation and recovery, and numerous other advantages that EU membership entails.



## Conclusion



In May 2019<sup>36</sup> We published "Analysis - European Union and the Western Balkans: opportunities, challenges, solutions". Even today, we stand behind the claims that describe all the complexity and demandingness of the numerous challenges that WB6 is burdened with:

*Currently, the ability to design relevant policies and consistently implement the necessary social transformations is questionable. This is crucial if one wants to really consolidate the democratic order and develop a market economy. However, the dynamics of the transformation are burdened by the problems of the historical legacy - the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia in the whirlwind of war and military operations initiated by Milošević's nationalist regime, which decisively determined the relations between the newly formed neighboring states (except Albania). Economic stagnation, as one of the most significant problems in the countries of the Western Balkans, is mostly not solved, or it is done in the wrong way or with the wrong, professionally, and morally immature people. By abusing and manipulating feelings of national identity, political actors have been in power for decades, consolidating the partitocratic way of governance.*

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<sup>36</sup> <https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/1077>

*Because of all this, it can be said that the countries of the Western Balkans are an example of underdeveloped democracies, devastated and divided societies, weak economies, oases of organized crime, which is why, and what is completely visible from the political and economic processes in the last year, they represent an easy target for Russia, China and Turkey, which increasingly aggressively want to expand their influence in that area.*



WB6<sup>37</sup> is an area, that should be high on the list of international (but at the same time internal) issues that the EU institutions must effectively deal with. The EU, with its

various instruments at its disposal (primarily financial assistance instruments, business and other investments, support programs, knowledge exchanges, cooperation with other institutions at the EU level as well as at the level of the member states, cross-border development projects) can significantly influence stabilization of the WB6 area. Returning to the settings of the Berlin Process<sup>38</sup>, giving support to the European political community is a necessity.

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<sup>37</sup> Source of picture: <https://eng.cepsmn.org/a-new-momentum-for-progress-in-the-western-balkans/wb6-3/>

<sup>38</sup> Source of picture: <https://www.dw.com/hr/zapadni-balkan-ima-koristi-od-berlinskog-procesa/a-58147352>



This is not just about the possibility that someone else (Russia, China, Turkey, Arab countries) will "enter" that area and slowly but surely take control over it. It is about the

fact that the WB6 area (that is, the narrower areas of the Balkans) is known to be politically and security very unstable, because it is exposed to numerous different and mutually opposing political forces. This is one of the reasons why it is difficult to find a universally acceptable solution that can be applied to all WB6 countries at the same time. Through gradual integration (on an individual level after meeting the set criteria), the WB6 member states can and should become EU members in order to reduce the long-term crisis potential, which is high if the WB6 states do not accept the European system of values, beliefs and principles. In this way, the level of external and security threats that exist within the EU will decrease. Future migrant crisis (and there will be even more of them as climate change worsens, especially in the area of Africa and Central Asia and the Middle East) will be easier to manage if that area is connected by institutional ties with the EU. The level of internal conflicts will decrease and space will be created for the economic progress of the more developed EU member states: and then we can expect a repetition of the process of moving highly skilled workforce from the new EU member states to those in which the standard is higher. The issue of security and stability of Southern and Southeast Europe is directly related to issues of stability and security of the WB6.

In this sense, it is necessary to encourage the adaptation of public change towards EU integration, strengthening the

influence of the non-governmental sector and civil society, encouraging sustainable investments, clearly showing all the many benefits that the new EU members have gained through their membership, depoliticization and building an educational system that will be inclusive, true, relevant and integrative, encouraging media freedom, human rights, independence of the repressive and judicial system. It is necessary to constantly work on the de-radicalization of societies and states, and especially on preventing media discourse that can be used in political activities to gain certain political points but which divides society and the state. And thus makes it an easier target for various malicious disinformation activities of the adversary.

In this way, it will simultaneously be easier and simpler to face the numerous security challenges that the WB6 is already facing today, as well as those that this area will face, which will have their origin in malicious actors such as Russia today. And tomorrow someone third.



The issue of a safe, stable and sustainable future of this area is directly related to educating

and creating responsible political elites who must face their own problems, honestly and decisively, and solve them in direct cooperation with their neighbors, partners, friends and multinational organizations such as, primarily, the EU. Building stable societies, honestly and completely solving the accumulated ethnic problems, confronting the real reasons for the violent breakup of Yugoslavia, creating a culture of dialogue and cooperation, by strengthening the awareness of belonging to the EU regardless of religious and ethnic differences, is a

model that should be followed when facing all the challenges that have shaped this area for several centuries.

Russia primarily creates disinformation in the Serbian media space and mercilessly spreads it to other media spaces, both in the area of WB6 and beyond. There are numerous examples that point to this Russian-Serbian connection<sup>39</sup>. The fight against this form of malicious influence operations must be carried out on an integrated level by strengthening the capabilities of the entire society, by creating and strengthening society's trust in state institutions at the national and international level, by permanent education, by developing one's own capabilities to protect (established and clearly defined) value systems, principles and beliefs on which a particular community is based. A key role in this process can be played by civil society together with the media, which should return to responsible quality journalism. It is also necessary to undertake a number of institutional and development activities that will bring large technology companies under control and supervision in that segment where they can appear as negative multipliers of malicious information operations of influence (because the primary thing for technology companies is the creation of material wealth in relation to the truth and long-term sustainable society) due to the different priorities of the state and technology companies<sup>40</sup>.

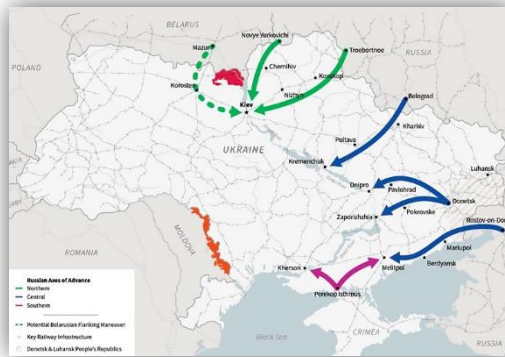
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<sup>39</sup> <https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/2089>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/2091>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/2090>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/3098>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/3099>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/3103>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/3106>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/3107>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/4183>

<sup>40</sup> The priority of the state should be the common good of all residents, while the priority, especially of large technology companies, is the creation of monopoly status and increase of profit.



## UVOD



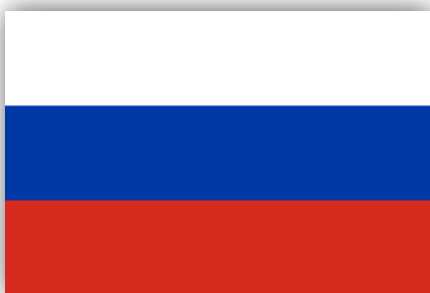
Druga oružana agresija Rusije na Ukrajinu<sup>41</sup> od 24.2.2022. snažno je i negativno utjecala na brojne aktivnosti na različitim razinama. U strateškom smislu dovela je do

potrebe za redefiniranjem postojeće nadnacionalne (prvenstveno na razini Euro-Azije) sigurnosne infrastrukture, reorganiziranjem i optimiziranjem postojećih energetske opskrbenih pravaca te kreiranjem novih kojima se omogućava njihova stvarna diversifikacija, dubinska analiza sposobnosti modernih demokratskih društava i država za učinkovitim (prvenstveno preventivnim) suočavanjem s budućim krizama. EU treba detaljno i potpuno napraviti objektivne raščlambe razvoja Ruskih agresivnih aktivnosti i potencijala od 2000.-ih do danas kako bi se signali koji upućuju na radikalizaciju i rast agresivnosti pojedinog aktera na međunarodnoj sceni mogli na vrijeme prepoznati s ciljem prevencije i odvratanja budućih izazivača kriza od njihovih agresivnih nauma. Proces poznat pod kraticom LI-LL (Lessons Identified – Lessons Learned).

<sup>41</sup> Izvor slike: <https://nsf-journal.hr/online-issues/focus/id/1373>, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37458/nstf.23.2.2>

Taj je proces nužno primijeniti na druga geopolitička područja koja potencijalni napadač može iskoristiti s ciljem izazivanja kriza i destabiliziranjem tog područja kako bi odvuкао pažnju te usmjerio preventivne kapacitete obrambenih sustava na sekundarne i/ili čak tercijarne ciljeve, unio informacijski šum u komunikacijske kanale, omeo (poništio ili usporio) proces donošenja odluka te dobio vrijeme za izvođenje i ispunjavanje svojih primarnih strategijskih ciljeva. Jedan od ključnih instrumenata koji takav napadač mora razviti je sposobnost stjecanja stanja informacijske nadmoći na ciljanom području kako bi se planiranjem i provođenjem informacijskih operacija utjecaja ispunili postavljeni ciljevi i zadaće. U tom je kontekstu potrebno posebno analizirati zlonamjerne aktivnosti koje Rusija, već dulje vrijeme, planira i provodi na području država poznatih pod nazivom WB6, a koje su posebno intenzivirane prije te posebno nakon druge Ruske oružane agresije na Ukrajinu u veljači 2022.

## Instrumenti Ruskog utjecaja na području WB6



Ruska Federacija je, kao posljedicu dugoročnog planiranja i realiziranja brojnih aktivnosti na području WB6, ali i na razini Europskog kontinenta, stvorila uvjete uporabe različitih vektora koja može koristiti kao

instrument u napadnim djelovanjima. Identifikacija tih vektora je prvi preduvjet koji se mora napraviti kako bi se stvorili uvjeti za planiranje prvenstveno obrambenih aktivnosti, a kasnije i preventivnih i odvrćajućih mjera s ciljem sprječavanja budućih malignih djelovanja. S obzirom na organiziranost, povijest, sastav, funkcionalnost, ulogu i mogućnosti država WB6, Rusija



svojim djelovanjima pokušava ostvariti nekoliko ciljeva istovremeno:

1. Ostvariti kontrolu nad političkim procesima na nacionalnoj i nadnacionalnoj (euro-atlantske integracije) razini unutar okvira država obuhvaćenih nazivom WB6 (potičući stvaranje te pomažući razvoj prvenstveno populističkih i radikalnih političkih grupacija bez obzira nalaze li se na političkoj ljevici i/ili desnici).
2. Preuzeti nadzor i kontrolu (u što većoj mjeri) nad informacijsko-komunikacijskim kanalima i procesima tih država s ciljem stvaranja informacijske nadmoći (infodemija<sup>42</sup> i infoksikacija<sup>43</sup> su tek sredstva koja koristi u tom procesu).
3. Preuzimanje kontrole i nadzora nad poslovnim procesima (s naglaskom na energetski i finansijski sektor te sve druge sektore koji su s njima povezani, a koji Rusiji mogu pomoći u ostvarivanju postavljenih ciljeva i zadaća).
4. Jačanje utjecaja u društvenim aktivnostima koja imaju visoku razinu prihvatljivosti i povezanosti (s obzirom na utjecaj na stanovništvo) među ciljanom publikom s posebnim naglaskom na Srpsku pravoslavnu crkvu te na športske aktivnosti koje karakterizira vrlo visoka gledanost i (posredni) utjecaj na stanovništvo.
5. Stvaranje uvjeta za kontrolu i nadzor procesa izazivanja društvenih kriza, nemira, prosvjeda, nasilja, ekstremizma u ciljanim područjima i među ciljanom publikom, bilo izravno, bilo posredno.
6. Prijenos i pokušaj realizacije svojih ciljeva i zadaća na razini, prvenstveno NATO i EU, posrednim djelovanjem uz pomoć ostvarenih instrumenata moći iz WB6 država.
7. Angažiranje osoba koje su na neki od mogućih načina (poslovni i/ili privatni) povezani s Ruskom Federacijom te

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<sup>42</sup> Informacijska prezasićenost medijskog prostora brojnim informacijskim sadržajima različite razine važnosti i značenja.

<sup>43</sup> Trovanje javnog prostora informacijama narušenog integriteta, odnosno brojnim neistinitim sadržajima koje je teže prepoznati u stanju infodemije.

su u dometu djelovanja Ruske obavještajne zajednice (bilo izravno bilo posredno) kako bi ih koristila (neke otvoreno neke prikriveno) za artikuliranje Ruskih interesa prema različitim ciljanim publikama (javnost, mediji, politika, stručna, poslovna, akademska, društvena, sigurnosna, vojna).

Metode kojima se Rusija koristi također su poznate iz brojnih primjera, posebno hibridnih, sukoba i ratova:

1. Podrivanjem povjerenja u postojeće državne i društvene institucije i organizacije, njihovom izravnim i posrednim rastakanjem te nuđenjem drugih modela djelovanja koja se nalaze pod njihovom kontrolom.
2. Unošenjem podjela (polarizacijskih procesa unutar društva i države) kako bi s istim društvima lakše upravljala te kontrolirala i upravljala krizom koju je sama stvorila.
3. Snažno djelovanje na području redefiniranja postojećih te stvaranja novih nacionalnih/lokalnih identiteta kojima unosi dodatni element na kojima temelji aktivnosti (prvenstveno poticanje i jačanje međuetničkih sukoba) kojima pokušava dijeliti i destabilizirati ciljano društvo i državu.
4. Zazivanjem te poticanjem na organiziranje prijevremenih/izvanrednih političkih procesa kao što su izbori ili očitovanje po pitanjima koja dijele društva.
5. Širenjem medijskog utjecaja kroz mrežu prvo lokalnih a potom i nacionalnih medija (elektronskih, tv, radio) koje na različite načine pomažu a koji, za uzvrat, neobjektivno i bez suzdržavanja šire informacijske sadržaje koje Rusija stvara s ciljem obmanjivanja javnosti; u vezi s ovim potrebno je naglasiti pokušaj utjecaja na zakonodavni okvir kojim se omogućava nesankcioniranje onih aktivnosti u javnom medijskom prostoru koja su u modernim demokratskim državama kažnjiva.
6. Medijskim djelovanjima lokalnih diplomatsko-konzularnih predstavništava Ruske Federacije, angažiranje velikog

broja aktivnih trolova i botova koji djelovanjem na društvenim mrežama, širenjem poruka na mobilnim aplikacijama za komuniciranje distribuiraju brojne protuobavijesti na jezicima različitih naroda s područja WB6.

7. Poticanjem ulaska u institucije i organizacije (društva, države, poslovne sustave) Rusiji odanih osoba bez obzira na njihovu (ne)stručnost zbog čega razvojni i reputacijski kapaciteti tog društva i države snose negativne posljedice kako na nacionalnom tako i međunarodnom planu.
8. Preuzimanje kontrole i nadzora nad izvještajno-sigurnosnim sustavima države koju, bilo posredno, bilo izravno, napada i stavlja pod svoju kontrolu kako bi kontrolirala procese unutar te države ali i na međunarodnoj razini posebno ukoliko se radi o državi članici NATO saveza.
9. Poticanje korupcije i organiziranog kriminaliteta (OK), snažno povezivanje vodećih navijačkih skupina (u Srbiji) s OK uz istovremeno unošene u javni medijski prostor optužbi o „kriminalnoj državi“ i njenoj sprezi s OK.

Rusija je uspješno razgranala mrežu sebi bliskih osoba i organizacija na području Srbije, te ostvarila bitan utjecaj na procese odlučivanja u domicilnim/nacionalnim institucijama i organizacijama društva i države koje su spremne na širenje i zaštitu Ruskih nacionalnih interesa. Osobe koje podržavaju Rusiju rade to iz nekoliko različitih pobuda:

1. Materijalnih,
2. Političkih,
3. Svjetonazorskih/vjerskih,
4. Idejnih/ideoloških te
5. Kombinacija dviju ili više prethodno navedenih.

U nastavku ćemo ukratko opisati procese (društvene, političke, informacijske) koji određuju stvarnost i moguću budućnost država WB6.

## Republika Srbija



Republika Srbija ima vrlo razvijene i intenzivne odnose (u brojnim područjima) s Ruskom Federacijom. Ti su odnosi istovremeno i zahtjevni i složeni. Na institucionalnoj razini kao i na razini osoba

koje obnašaju brojne različite dužnosti u Srbiji (na razini države, lokalne i regionalne uprave i samouprave, poslovnom, energetskom i finansijskom sektoru, političkim organizacijama, medijima, Srpskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi....). Jedan od razloga takve povezanosti je svakako pitanje neovisnosti Kosova koje Rusija blokira kao stalna članica Vijeća sigurnosti UN. S druge strane to je pitanje koje Srbija ne želi artikulirati u slučaju priznavanja Ruske aneksije Krima što bi dovelo do posljedica i na mogući status Kosova. Stoga Srbija već dugi niz godina pokušava sjediti na više stolica istovremeno. S jedne strane ima vrlo nisku razinu prihvaćanja zajedničke europske vanjske i sigurnosne politike (oko 6-7%) posebno u odnosu na Rusiju, sudjeluje u zajedničkim vojnim vježbama s Rusijom i Bjelorusijom, dok su druge strane ima brojnije aktivnosti s NATO savezom u vojnoj domeni, prodaje streljivo potrebno ukrajinskim oružanim snagama za borbu protiv Rusije (preko treće strane). To je samo jedan od primjera Janusovštine<sup>44</sup> današnjeg vodstva Republike Srbije.

Srbijanski predsjednik Vučić koristi se politikom iz 90ih godina kako bi ojačao svoj položaj u Srbiji i osigurao si naklonost međunarodne zajednice (MZ) te domicilnog stanovništva. Radikalizacijom političke i društvene scene u Srbiji, Vučić se prema MZ postavlja kao umjerena politička opcija koja je „jamac stabilne Srbije“ koja može biti čimbenik buduće stabilnosti na

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<sup>44</sup> Janus je jedno od rimskih božanstava poznat kao „Bog sa dva lica“, simbol dvoličnosti.

području WB6. S druge strane pak putem medijske scene Srbije, koju gotovo u potpunosti kontrolira, diktira teme i njihov narativ putem kojeg dodatno radikalizira društvo neprestanim dramtiziranjem i plašenjem javnosti „zločestim Zapadom koji nam želi oduzeti Kosovo.“

Dvoličnost je vidljiva u brojnim državnim institucijama i tvrtkama. Uzmimo primjer obavještajne zajednice Srbije. Povremeno su znali dati vrlo jaki medijski tretman o uhićenju osoba koje su povezivali s ruskom obavještajnom zajednicom (ali i američkom) dok je s druge strane na čelo iste te obavještajne zajednice imenovan Aleksandar Vulin koji je dokazano vrlo blizak Rusiji i ruskim političkim stavovima. Rusija je stvorila snažna uporišta u Srbiji: u obavještajnoj zajednici, medijima, gospodarskom sustavu, kroz nazočnost paravojnih/paraizvještajnih struktura kao što je Humanitarni centar u Nišu, kroz djelovanje brojnih nevladinih organizacije, u političkom životu s naglaskom na radikalne i populističke grupacije koje su spremne na ulične prosvjede i nereda (što je bilo posebno vidljivo organiziranjem nereda u Srbiji u srpnju 2020.). Upravo je koncept „Srpskog svijeta“ (koji je eufemizam za stvaranje Velike Srbije koja je bila jedna od ideologija pokretanja ratova zbog kojih se Jugoslavija raspala u krvi) nastao i stvoren po uzoru na koncept Ruskog svijeta.

Nakon agresije na Ukrajinu, Rusija intenzivira svoje javne i nejavne aktivnosti u Srbiji. Srbiju koriste i kao izvor za širenje brojnih protuobavijesti u susjedne zemlje. Koriste gotovo iste komunikacijske kanale kao što su to radili za vrijeme pandemije COVID-19 kad su aktivno radili na smanjivanju procijepljenosti stanovništva (posebno cjepivima koja ne dolaze iz Rusije), nesmiljenim širenjem brojnih teorija zavjera, jačanjem podjela u društvu te poticanjem stanovništva na ulične prosvjede. I danas u javnom medijskom prostoru Srbije uglavnom dominira narativ<sup>45</sup> kojim se opravdava Ruska agresija, preuveličavaju

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<sup>45</sup> Poruke koje se šalju su: *Rusija, i to sama, ratuje protiv cijelog NATO saveza a ne protiv Ukrajine; Rusija je morala preventivno djelovati pokretanjem*

Ruske sposobnosti, negiraju ruske zločine i agresiju te optužuju Ukrajinu kao neonacističku tvorevinu. Idu toliko daleko da je jedan medij<sup>46</sup> na dan Ruske agresije na Ukrajinu na naslovnici objavio tekst: „*Ukrajina napala Rusiju*“. Koriste se vrlo sličnim rječnikom i simbolima kao što su se koristili kad su 90ih godina prošlog stoljeća sotonizirali novoizabranu demokratsku hrvatsku vlast opravdavajući agresiju na Hrvatsku.

Posebno je potrebno naglasiti da medijski sustav Sputnik te RT i dalje neometano funkcioniraju u Srbiji šireći brojne protuobavijesti. Koje potom preuzima i širi medijska mreža na nacionalnoj i lokalnoj razini u Srbiji, Crnoj Gori te BiH te na taj način pokušava zlonamjerno utjecati na ciljane publike na tim područjima. U porukama koje šalju dominiraju snažni protu zapadni narativi, stalno se potiče slavensko i pravoslavno bratstvo Rusa i Srba te se daje podrška ostvarivanju koncepta Ruskog i Srpskog svijeta. Rusija i proruski mediji koji su i dalje odani Vučiću su se posebno angažirali u valu prosvjeda u Srbiji pod nazivom „Srbija bez nasilja“ manipulirajući podacima o broju prosvjednika, njihovim ciljevima i zahtjevima.

Glede gospodarske i financijske sposobnosti i stabilnosti Srbije, potrebno je reći da se Srbija suočava s brojnim zahtjevnim izazovima. Bez stranih izravnih investicija, bez financijske pomoći

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*„specijalne operacije“ jer su NATO i SAD spremali napad na Rusku Federaciju; Rusija ne može izgubiti rat protiv Ukrajine zato jer je Rusija i nuklearna sila; Rusi još nisu pokrenuli sve svoje kapacitete a kad ih pokrenu doći će do Dunava; Rusija ne koristi svoje najbolje postrojbe i najmoćnije oružje jer štiti narod u Ukrajini; Ukrajinu treba denacificirati; Ukrajina nije postojala kao država do raspada Sovjetskog saveza; U Ukrajini živi više od 50% Rusa; Rat u Ukrajini je rat između dva bratska slavenska naroda; Zelenski i njegova vlast su samo zapadne marionete; Ukrajinski narod nepotrebno ima velike ljudske žrtve; Slanjem oružja Ukrajini, NATO se bori protiv Rusije do zadnjeg Ukrajinca; Ukrajinske su postrojbe na pragu uništenja tako da sad ratuju strani i zapadni plaćenici i vojnici iz NATO saveza; Poljska želi napasti i zauzeti zapadnu Ukrajinu te Bjelorusiju. Iz navedenih primjera jasno je vidljivo da se radi o protuobavijestima ruskog porijekla kojima je cilj sotonizirati Ukrajinu te glorificirati Rusiju.*

<sup>46</sup> Informer, 24.2.2022.

iz EU fondova, Srbija bi vrlo teško održavala postojeću razinu (ne)stabilnosti vlastitih državnih financija.

Republika Hrvatska ima konzistentnu politiku prema Srbiji. Kao i prema drugim državama WB6. Hrvatska je izuzetno zainteresirana za demokratizaciju, stabilizaciju, de-radikalizaciju te pozitivan demokratski razvoj tih društava i država. Ukoliko se postigne takvo stanje u južnom i istočnom susjedstvu Hrvatske, to će područje prestati biti izvor brojnih sigurnosnih izazova koji mogu negativno utjecati na stabilnost, sigurnost i demokratski poredak ne samo u Hrvatskoj nego i u EU. Na primjeru migrantske krize iz 2015., kao i kasnijih, doduše manjih ali isto intenzivnih migrantskih valova, vidjeli smo koliko je to područje osjetljivo i ranjivo s obzirom na brojne sigurnosne izazove (u ovom slučaju u sprezi državne politike i organiziranog kriminala)<sup>47</sup>.

Hrvatska ima brojna otvorena pitanja sa Srbijom. Od pitanja nestalih (podaci o kojima se nalaze u posebnim fondovima i zbirkama vojnih dokumenata u Beogradu), teritorijalnih sporova na Dunavu, naknade zarobljenim, mučenim i ubijenim državljanima Hrvatske koji su završili u srbijanskim koncentracijskim logorima, demokratizacija, deradikalizacija društva i države, sloboda medija i pravosuđa, poštivanje ljudskih i manjinskih prava, prihvaćanje i pridržavanje EU vanjske i zajedničke politike, poštivanja načela, uvjerenja i sustava vrijednosti oko kojih je izgrađena EU. Također se od Srbije traži priznanje Kosova te zaustavljanje zlonamjernih i štetnih djelovanja prema drugim državama: prvenstveno Kosovu, Bosni i Hercegovini te Crnoj Gori. Srbija treba snažno raditi na smanjivanju tenzija (prvenstveno međuetničkih) koje se uporno već desetljećima stvaraju u srbijanskom medijskom prostoru.

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<sup>47</sup> Srbija je lobirala u brojnim državama, posebno tzv. Trećeg svijeta, koje su priznale neovisnost Kosova, da se to priznanje povuče. Zauzvrat su ukidali vizni režim s tim zemljama. Na takav je način povećan broj migranata koji su dolaskom u Srbiju kretali na svoj put prema EU.

Politički igrokazi koje predsjednik Vučić organizira s političkim izbornim procesima u Srbiji s ciljem odugovlačenja i odbijanja donošenja odluka povezanih s nametanjem sankcija Rusiji, sasvim sigurno ne idu u prilog europskom putu Srbije ni njejoj stabilizaciji. Rusija je, vidljivo, pojačala svoje aktivnosti u Srbiji (gdje ima snažna uporišta u Srpskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi, dijelu akademske zajednice okupljene oko Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, medija te u vojnom sustavu i srpskoj obavještajnoj zajednici). Rusija nema namjeru prestati istovremeno držati Srbiju u „bratskom zagrljaju“ kojim pokušava biti od pomoći Srbiji (s obzirom na članstvo Rusije u Vijeću sigurnosti UN) ali i vezati na sebe trenutnu političku elitu prijeteci joj radikalnim mjerama koje ruski podupiratelji iz različitih sfera društva mogu izvesti na ulici. Tako je Srbija istovremeno i partner i žrtva Rusije i njenih zlonamjernih djelovanja prema društvima i državama zemalja obuhvaćenih nazivom WB6.

Hrvatska je svjesna činjenice o važnosti koju Srbija ima na području WB6. Treba reći da Srbija nema toliku važnost koliko ju sama sebi pripisuje. Brojni se stabilizacijski i demokratski procesi mogu odvitati a da Srbija u njih nema upliva niti može imati utjecaj. Međutim, namjere koje Srbija projicira na tom području, a koje pokazuje kroz koncept Otvorenog Balkana ne ulijevaju povjerenje. U Hrvatskoj prevladava mišljenje da je Otvoreni Balkan osmišljen kao koncept koji pokušava nadomjestiti Berlinski proces te postaviti Srbiju i Albaniju kao ključne aktere na području WB6. Otvoreni Balkan nije uključujući i integrirajući koncept zbog čega ne može donijeti održive i stabilizacijske aktivnosti koji trebaju pomoći demokratizaciji i stabilizaciju društava i država na njihovom putu ka EU.

Koncept Srpskog svijeta ima sve više problema i izazova s kojima se susreću njegovi stvaratelji. Ključni izazov za Srbiju se pak nalazi u činjenici da se njegov uzor, Ruski svijet, raspada pred srpskim očima što neizbježno vodi ka raspadu koncepta Srpskog svijeta. A time i važnosti i uloge koju Srbija sama sebi pridaje. Svjesni te činjenice, planeri ruskih i proruskih informacijskih operacija utjecaja plasiraju brojne poluistine (u biti



protuobavijesti) u medijski prostor Srbije kako bi održali „pravoslavne veze“ te zadržali utjecaj na području WB6 djelovanjem kroz institucije srpske države, SPC, nevladin sektor te medije. Hrvatska očekuje da će se pristup zemalja obuhvaćenih nazivom WB6 u europske integracijske procese vrednovati na pojedinačnoj razini s obzirom na ispunjavanje, pridržavanje te održivost postavljenih kriterija, odnosno mjerila utvrđenih određenim pregovaračkim poglavljima.

Moguća popuštanja te stvaranje iznimki snažno će se negativno odraziti na pregovaračke procese drugih država koje istinski žele ući u EU i koje su spremne na taj demokratski iskorak. Svaka relativizacija pregovaračkih i otvorenih pitanja te moguće davanje olakih obećanja, negativno će se odraziti na sami pregovarački proces koji neće rezultirati očekivanim pozitivnim rezultatima. Pred Srbijom stoje ozbiljni izazovi koje je već trebala riješiti kako bi bila u stanju graditi slobodno, demokratsko i liberalno društvo i državu koje ne predstavlja prijetnju susjednim ni drugim državama.

## Republika Kosovo



Politička i sigurnosna situacija na Kosovu znatno se, u negativnom smislu, promijenila nakon što Kosovska vlada nije na vrijeme ni na učinkovit način odgovorila na srbijanske političke provokacije. Naime, poziv koji je Srbima na

Kosovu uputila Srbija da ne sudjeluju na lokalnim izborima na Kosovu (travanj 2023.) bio je jedan od prijelomnih trenutaka na koji Vlada Kosova nije pravodobno ni pravilno reagirala. Umjesto da je pokazala strpljivost i razboritost, prihvatili su Vučićev

mamac, proveli izbore, proglasili rezultate te ih silom pokušali nametnuti (iako su izbori bili legalni, po rezultatima izlaznosti nisu legitimni). Srbija je krenula u rizik bojkota izbora očekujući upravo ovakvo postupanje kosovske Vlade. Time je Srbija iz obrambene uloge i krivca za brojne destabilizacijske pokušaje Kosova, u percepcijskom smislu postala žrtva nesmotrene politike Vlade Kosova. Da je Vlada Kosova odustala od provođenja izbora i odgodila ih dok se za to ne steknu uvjeti, pokrenula proces primjene Briselskih sporazuma s obzirom na tada postojeće političke grupacije u općinama na sjeveru Kosova (da je izlaznost glasača bila u okvirima regularnosti, ništa se bitnog ne bi promijenilo u strukturi vlasti lokalne samouprave), napori EU i SAD s ciljem stabilizacije Kosova te postizanja širokog međunarodnog priznanja Kosova, prvenstveno unutar EU, bi najvjerojatnije urodili pozitivnim rezultatima za Kosovo. S druge bi strane doveli do toga da se Srbija stavlja pred gotov čin s obzirom na potpisane Briselske sporazume i dogovorene Pregovaračke okvire što bi sasvim sigurno dovelo do dodatnih negativnih društvenih i političkih procesa u Srbiji u odnosu na postojeću vlast.

Bila je iluzija očekivati da će međunarodna zajednica prihvatiti potpuno nelegitimne rezultate izbornog procesa. S druge strane, zanemaruje se snažan negativan utjecaj koji među kosovskim Srbima ima Srpska pravoslavna crkva, obavještajna zajednica Srbije te službeni Beograd. Posebno u svjetlu očekivanog gubitka Rusije u Ukrajini, snažnog slabljenja pozicije i uloge Rusije u međunarodnim odnosima (bez obzira na njeno stalno članstvo u VS UN) i negativne posljedice na razvoj koncepta Srpskog svijeta. Primjetno je da ni Rusija, ali ni Srbija ne pokušavaju snažno negativno informacijski djelovati prema predstavnicima MZ na Kosovu (kako civilnim tako i vojnim strukturama).

Ruske maliciozne medijske aktivnosti na albanskom jeziku bitno ne odudaraju od onih na drugim jezicima. Nisu toliko ni česti ni intenzivni kao oni na srpskom jeziku. S obzirom na činjenicu da je albanski jezik službeni i najčešće korišteni jezik na Kosovu, Albaniji te dijelovima sjeverne Makedonije koji najviše

nastanjuju građani albanske nacionalnosti, te se protuobavijesti na albanskom jeziku distribuiraju i na ta područja putem različitih medija. Najveći dio takvih informacija narušenog integriteta (ili protuobavijesti) distribuirana se putem medijske mreže s teritorija Albanije<sup>48</sup>. Poruke koje se šalju ne odudaraju od poruka navedenih u poglavlju o Republici Srbiji<sup>49</sup>.

U posljednje vrijeme, nakon što je Vlada Kosova izložena kritikama sa Zapada u vezi sa svojim aktivnostima (prethodno opisanim), ruski medijski kanal Sputnik na srpskom jeziku intenzivira objavu informacija i njihovo tendenciozno tumačenje potencirajući početak političke i gospodarske izolacije Vlade Kosova od strane njihovih partnera<sup>50</sup>. U procesu stabilizacije Kosova, vlasti će morati uložiti snažne napore kako bi se učinkovito suočile s OK koji djeluje ili ima izvorište na Kosovu. Kao i sa procesima vjerske radikalizacije dijelova stanovništva.

Pozicija Republike Hrvatske je vrlo jasna. Potrebno je bezuvjetno ponoviti izbore, osigurati izlaznost Srba na njih. Ukoliko pak Srbi ponovo odbiju izaći na izbore, potrebno je pristupiti procesu primjene Briselskog sporazuma s postojećim predstavnicima. Ukoliko je potrebno, treba pristupiti prilagodbi Kosovskog zakonodavnog okvira stvarnosti iz Briselskih sporazuma. Već će samo pokretanje procesa primjene Briselskih sporazuma od strane Kosovskih vlasti, djelovati na procese stabilizacije Kosova, smanjiti informacijske manevre zlonamjernih čbenika koji trenutno otvaraju mogućnost za širenje prosrpskih i proruskih, te protuzapadnih narativa. Srbiji, koja će na temelju postojećih sporazuma uvjetno prihvatiti političku realnost, treba pomoći u gospodarskom i financijskom smislu za očekivano suočavanje sa snažnim pro-ruskim i radikalno srpskim narativima i aktivnostima. Hrvatska je više puta i javno iskazala svoju

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<sup>48</sup> <https://birn.eu.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Russian-state-sponsored-disinformation-narratives-in-Albania.pdf>,  
<https://euronews.al/en/studies-disinformation-remains-a-problem-in-albanian-language-media/>

<sup>49</sup> Vidi fusnotu 44

<sup>50</sup> [https://lat.sputnikportal.rs/common\\_kosovo-i-metohija/](https://lat.sputnikportal.rs/common_kosovo-i-metohija/)

zainteresiranost, da kao zemlja koja je prošla težak put ka članstvu u EU; pomogne drugim zemljama koje to žele sa područja WB6 na njihovom putu ka EU. Hrvatska i u ovom slučaju ističe nužnost individualnog pristupa rješavanju pitanja povezanih s mogućim proširenjem EU na temelju ispunjavanja unaprijed jasno i transparentno postavljenih pregovaračkih okvira.

## Republika Crna Gora



Crna Gora nalazi se u izuzetno nezavidnoj situaciji. Dijelom zbog slabosti prijašnje administracije koja je personalizirana u liku bivšeg predsjednika

Mila Đukanovića, dijelom zbog nekih odluka koje su donesena bez kvalitetne informacijske pripreme javnosti (prijedlog Zakona o slobodi vjeroispovijesti iz 2019. koji je Srpskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi i Republici Srbiji dao snažan povod za organiziranje protuvladinih, odnosno protucrnogorskih, demonstracija koje su u konačnici dovele do promjene vlasti u Crnoj Gori). Bez obzira na nedavne rezultate predsjedničkih i parlamentarnih izbora, Crna Gora se dana nalazi u statusu „zarobljene države“. Utjecaj na odluke u državi, na društvene i političke procese odvija se izvan Crne Gore. Prvenstveno u Srbiji. To je veliki problem s kojim se Crnogorsko društvo još uvijek nije u stanju u potpunosti otvoreno suočiti jer se još uvijek javno znanje i narativ svodi na borbu „za i protiv Mila Đukanovića“. Dodatni je problem u činjenici da su, u slučaju ne-kinetičke agresije na Crnu Goru, Srbija i Ruska Federacija snažno povezane i komplementarne. Brojni prosrpski i proruski krugovi koji djeluju na području Crne Gore to uopće i ne negiraju.

Ukoliko dođe do promjene zakonodavnog okvira kojim će se Srbima koji su neko vrijeme živjeli na području Crne Gore omogućiti lagano stjecanje Crnogorskog državljanstva, lako je moguće zamisliti situaciju u kojoj će Crnogorci, nositelji suvereniteta države biti manjina u odnosu na broj Srba koji taj suverenitet negiraju. Naravno, oni ga neće negirati u potpunosti nego će inzistirati na uvođenju dvojnog suvereniteta. Odnosno isticanje Srba kao jednog od dva suverena naroda Crne Gore te njihovo brojčano povećanje koje će jamčiti stalne pobjede srpsko-ruskog bloka na izborima, te po potrebi donošenje odluka na referendumima.

Kao posljedica snažnih srpsko-ruskih operacija utjecaja, potpunog i otvorenog angažiranja Srpske pravoslavne crkve u političkim pocesima, negiranje prava na nacionalnu autokefalnu crnogorsku pravoslavnu crkvu, društvo Crne Gore postalo je ozbiljno i duboko podijeljeno. Pored drugih problema s kojima se društvo suočava (utjecaj OK, politička i financijska korupcija, financijska nestabilnost, gospodarska kriza), Crna Gora postala je država u kojoj je potreba za brzom normalizacijom društvenih i političkih procesa, njena de-radikalizacija (prvenstveno vjerska i politička) te jačanje integracijskih procesa nužnost. Medijska scena Crne Gore gotovo je u potpunosti naslonjena na pro-srpsku i pro-rusku propagandnu mašineriju. Kako u vlasničkom tako i u uredničkom dijelu aktivnosti.

Društvena i politička nestabilnost Crne Gore, njena radikalizacija, posebno u velikosrpskom pravcu (nadziranom i upravljanim od strane Rusije) predstavlja izazov ne samo za Republiku Hrvatsku nego i za NATO savez s obzirom na članstvo crne Gore u tom savezu. Neke od poruka kojima se rušila prethodna vlast (predvođena DPS-om) nikako nisu mogle biti dobro primljene u Republici Hrvatskoj. Naime, poruke „Crna Gora je Srpska Sparta“ (koje se često pojavljuju u crnogorskom i srpskom medijskom prostoru) te „Dubrovnik je Srpska Atena“ (kojom srpska akademska i dio društvene zajednice svojata dio Hrvatske) podsjećaju na 1991. kad su te poruke dominirale u javnom

medijskom prostoru i kad je upravo iz pravca Crne Gore izvršena agresija na južnu Hrvatsku.

Rusija i Srbija su u procesu zarobljavanja institucija Crne Gore za svoje potrebe. Taj proces je istovremeno i cilj i sredstvo. Cilj kako bi se preuzela dugoročna kontrola nad svim procesima u Crnoj Gori (edukacija na svim razinama, šport, vjerske aktivnosti, civilno društvo, medijska scena), a sredstvo da se putem te kontrole pokuša utjecati u procese na međunarodnoj razini (treba uzeti u obzir da je Crna Gora otišla najdalje od svih WB6 država u procesu pregovora o članstvu u EU; otvorila je sva pregovaračka poglavlja).

Republika Hrvatska očekuje da Crna Gora nastavi putem izgradnje odnosa sa Hrvatskom na načelima koja su donedavno uspostavljena. Negiranje negativne uloge Crne Gore u agresiji na Hrvatsku, ponavljanje velikosrpske retorike koja se često čuje iz Beograda, moguće ignoriranje i neprocesuiranje ratnih zločina nad Hrvatima, odnos prema hrvatskoj manjini u Crnoj Gori, otvorena teritorijalna pitanja na Prevlaci kao i sporno vlasništvo nad bivšim vojnim školskim brodom „Jadran“ će biti u fokusu Republike Hrvatske i njenog sagledavanja budućih odnosa. Pored činjenice da će se ta pitanja uglavnom pokušati rješavati na bilateralnoj razini, postoji mogućnost, u slučaju negativnog upliva srpsko-ruskih utjecaja na njihovo rješavanje, da će Republika Hrvatska zaštititi vlastite interese, ali i načela na kojima se temelji europsko zajedništvo definirano u Temeljnog ugovoru, kroz institucije EU. Također, sasvim je izgledno da Hrvatska ne podržava proces Otvorenog Balkana koji je isključujući. Za razliku od Berlinskog procesa kao i Europske političke zajednice koje pak treba nastaviti graditi i razvijati.

## Bosna i Hercegovina



Bosna i Hercegovina složena je društvena i politička tvorevina definirana cijelim nizom sporazuma poznatih pod nazivom Daytonski-Pariški mirovni sporazumi (potpisani krajem 1995.). Ti

su dokumenti uspješno zaustavili rat te nametnuli mir na području BiH. U posljednja dva desetljeća BiH je pokazala brojne slabosti i disfunkcionalnosti. Cijelo je vrijeme bila suočena s brojnim i ozbiljnim izazovima koji su je udaljavali od bilo kojeg smislenog i održivog oblika političke, društvene, nacionalne, etničke i gospodarske stabilnosti. Bosanskohercegovačko pluralno društvo, i njegove vodeće političke elite, nisu dijelile zajedničku viziju političkog jedinstva, što je onemogućavalo uspostavljanje održive političke zajednice koja je trebala doprinosti stabilnosti društva. Poseban problem predstavljalo je (kao što i dalje predstavlja) pitanje legitimnosti pojedinih izbornih rezultata na razini države i kantona što je otežavalo procese stabilizacije kao i pronalaženje konstitucionalna rješenja kreiranih i uz pokroviteljstvo međunarodne zajednice.

Političke elite nisu uspijevale postići suglasnost u niti jednom značajnom pitanju, dok se na intelektualnoj sceni neprekidno sukobljavaju nacionalistički, nacionalni, građanski i „građanski“ svjetonazori. Upravo se pod etiketom „građanskog“ uređenja države, krio proces majorizacije jednog naroda nad drugima te protuustavno preuzimanje kontrole i nadzora nad institucijama države (a time i na razini društva te javnog poslovnog sektora). Rezultati političkih procesa koji se provode u državama koja imaju brojna otvorena pitanja s obzirom na etničke i vjerske pozicije, istovremeno moraju imati izborni i politički i legalitet i legitimitet. Bez punog legitimiteta, teško je graditi održivo društvo i izgrađivati institucije države na svim razinama odlučivanja i djelovanja.

Bosna i Hercegovina je, zahvaljujući aktivnostima trenutnog Visokog predstavnika međunarodne zajednice (OHR) na putu izlaska iz političke, društvene, gospodarske i sigurnosne krize. Prestala je biti najranjivija država na WB6 području<sup>51</sup>. Već na početku svog mandata, novi Visoki predstavnik bio je suočen s ozbiljnim izazovima posebno u kontekstu odluka koje je njegov prethodnik donio neposredno prije napuštanja svoje dužnosti<sup>52</sup>. Tim je odlukama novom OHR-u bio bitno sužen manevarski prostor za pregovaranje kao i donošenje odluka. Međutim, odluke koje je novi OHR hrabro donio, a uz potporu ključnih zapadnih država, ukazuju da je moguće doći do političkih rješenja konstituiranja vlasti na svim razinama u BiH. Taj proces pak predstavlja temelj za održivo funkcioniranje BiH. Bosna i Hercegovina je vrlo složeno ustrojeno društvo i država. Zbog brojnih otvorenih pitanja koja su proizašla iz rata u BiH, te nemogućnosti njihovog učinkovitog i održivog rješavanja, potrebno je uložiti snažne napore kako bi se međuetnički i unutar etički odnosi stabilizirali, deradikalizirali i priveli svrsi: razvoju demokratskog društva i države sa tri konstitutivna i jednakopravna naroda sa svim drugim zajednicama koji u BiH žive.

Posljedice odluka OHR-a kojima se izborni proces vraća na temeljne, Daytonsko-Pariške postavke, pokazuju da su nove/stare političke elite na razini Parlamentarne skupštine države te Republike Srpske i Federacije BiH, a koje imaju i legalitet i legitimitet, svjesne svoje odgovornosti za budućnost BiH. Čim je iz postizborne matematike, a na temelju izborih rezultata, izbačen SDA<sup>53</sup> (koji je svojom prijetećom i radikalnom retorikom lagano zasjenio pozitivne rezultate) stvoreni su uvjeti za izgradnju institucija. Vrlo su brzo uspostavljene institucije vlasti na svim razinama te su pokrenuti pozitivni procesi. Vlast ustrojena na razini države BiH te na razini Federacije BiH

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<sup>51</sup>[https://stratcomcoe.org/cuploads/pfiles/russias\\_footprint\\_in\\_wb\\_executive\\_summary\\_30-04\\_v2-2.pdf](https://stratcomcoe.org/cuploads/pfiles/russias_footprint_in_wb_executive_summary_30-04_v2-2.pdf)

<sup>52</sup><https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/bih-ohr-valentin-inzko/31366972.html>

<sup>53</sup> Stranka demokratske akcije



pokazuje svoje prozapadno lice spremno na provođenje neophodnih aktivnosti.

Poseban izazov za funkcioniranje BiH se trenutno nalazi u dvije političke grupacije: SDA te osobi Milorada Dodika. SDA se teško miri s činjenicom da nije dio državne vlasti, da nema svog predstavnika u državnom predsjedništvu te da više nema ni blizu takvu snagu kakvu je imao do nedavno. Istovremeno su vodeće osobe SDA suočene s brojnim optužbama za nezakonitosti, kriminal i korupcijske aktivnosti. Posljedica takvih djelovanja može biti daljnje raslojavanje SDA. Milorad Dodik, predsjednik Republike Srpske sa svojim izjavama, odlukama koje po njegovom diktatu donose tijela Republike Srpske i dalje unosi zabrinutost u predstavnike međunarodne zajednice. Te su aktivnosti protivne kratkoročnim i dugoročnim interesima kako Republike Srpske tako i BiH kao države. Iako Dodik stalno prijeti da će krenuti ka putem ostvarivanja prijetnji o secesiji Republike Srpske, to se neće dogoditi. Toga je i on sam svjestan. Međutim, njegov javni izričaj, njegovo ponašanje posebno u odnosu prema dužnosnicima Rusije nakon Ruske agresije na Ukrajinu, je ponekad teško objašnjivo javno dostupnim podacima. Dodik, koji je okarakteriziran kao osoba kojoj su važniji ekonomsko-financijska pitanja od etničko-nacionalno-vjerskih, ponekad postaje radikalniji u izričaju od svojih političkih protivnika u Republici Srpskoj.

Posebno mjesto i ulogu u radikalizaciji javnog narativa u Republici Srpskoj, odnosno srpskih predstavnika u BiH imaju predstavnici Srpske pravoslavne crkve u BiH. Posebno se ističe banjalučki episkop Jefrem kao osoba koja pokušava ostvariti snažan utjecaj na Dodika i njegov krug ljudi kako bi zaštitio interese Srpske pravoslavne crkve (a time i posredno Ruske pravoslavne crkve).

Dragan Čović, trenutni predsjednik Hrvatskog narodnog sabora je shvatio prolaznost vremena i situaciju, te je pokrenuo procese koji bi uskoro trebali dovesti do njegovog povlačenja iz politike. To je vidljivo iz njegovih nastupa te kandidiranja drugih osoba na

druge dužnosti na razini države i Federacije BiH. Iako mu se to često spočitava, Čovićeve stvarne veze sa Rusijom su nebitne. Posebno ne nakon Ruske agresije na Ukrajinu.

Međutim, Ruski utjecaj na BiH nije nezanemariv. Korištenjem strukture Srpske pravoslavne crkve, brojnih medija, organizacija civilnog društva, osoba i organizacija, Rusija pokušava snažno destabilizirati BiH. Jedan od pravaca je bio pokušaj zaustavljanja i/ili usporavanja procesa uspostave vlasti na različitim razinama nakon održanih izbora. S obzirom da BiH ionako ima brojna otvorena pitanja povezana s etničko-vjerskom problematikom, intenzivne Ruske protuobavijesti pokušavaju dodati „ulje na vatru“ te dodatno destabilizirati BiH. U tom kontekstu je potrebno sagledavati Dodikova medijska soliranja. Na takav način Rusija pokušava potkopati instituciju OHR-a i spriječiti daljnju stabilizaciju BiH. Pokušava procese dovesti pred Vijeće sigurnosti BiH gdje bi svoju poziciju stalne članice VS UN koristila kako bi se pokazala (prvenstveno pred svojom javnosti) kao globalna politička sila koja može nametati vlastite stavove drugima (prvenstveno SAD i UK). Naime, dugoročni cilj Ruskih i proruskih malicioznih aktivnosti u BiH je bio održavanje statusa quo. Odnosno nerješavanja brojnih pitanja koja su priječila stabiliziranje društva i države. Što je sad onemogućeno odlukama OHR-a koji je izborna načela i pravila počeo vraćati na izvorne postavke Daytonu te poništavati odluke svojih prethodnika koji su uplitanjem u izborne procese iste učinili netransparentnim i nelegitimnim.

Rusija je svoje maliciozne informacijske operacije utjecaja intenzivirala nakon što je napala Ukrajinu. U tim aktivnostima prednjače pojedini mediji koji neselektivno redistribuiraju ruske neistinite sadržaje koji potiču iz ruskih i proruskih medija. Kao i objave ruskih političkih dužnosnika i predstavnika (različitih veleposlanstava). Zanimljivu analizu<sup>54</sup> načina, modela, brojnosti te učinkovitosti distribucije brojnih neistinitih sadržaja u,

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<sup>54</sup>[https://zastone.ba/app/uploads/2019/05/Disinformation\\_in\\_the\\_online\\_sp\\_here\\_The\\_case\\_of\\_BiH\\_ENG.pdf](https://zastone.ba/app/uploads/2019/05/Disinformation_in_the_online_sp_here_The_case_of_BiH_ENG.pdf)

prvenstveno online medijima, izrađena je 2019. Iako je napisana prije Ruske agresije na Ukrajinu može poslužiti kao zanimljiv analitički obrazac za usporedni prikaz rezultata Ruskih protuobavijesti plasiranih u javni prostor nakon veljače 2022.

Trenutno se u BiH odvija ozbiljan proces gdje se Rusko-Srpsko-Turskim naporima, BiH pokušava trajno vezati na ruske energente. Hrvatska se bori protiv te mogućnosti svjesna situacije koliko stvarna raznolikost dobavnih pravaca pojedinoj državi može jamčiti energetski, a time i gospodarski, društveni i politički suverenitet.

Republika Hrvatska je posebno zainteresirana za stabilnost, sigurnost, održivost, teritorijalni integritet, funkcionalnost i samo-održivost Bosne i Hercegovine. Odnosi Hrvatske i BiH su imali brojnih izazova. Određeni je broj pitanja još uvijek otvoren kao posljedica ne definiranja zajedničkih politika u BiH prema inozemstvu. Hrvatska se nada da će se u doglednoj budućnosti i ta otvorena pitanja rješavati na način obostranog zadovoljstva dviju susjednih država koje dijele zajedničku granicu od nešto više od 1000 km.

Hrvatska će također nastaviti podupirati etničke Hrvate koji žive u BiH u aktivnostima zaštite njihovih ustavnih prava kao konstitutivnog i ravnopravnog naroda s naglaskom na njihov ostanak na teritoriju BiH. Hrvatska će, sasvim sigurno, također nastaviti podupirati rad OHR-a i međunarodne zajednice u BiH. Uz istovremeno zalaganje za deradikalizaciju društva i države, pronalaženje minimalnih zajedničkih točaka između različitih etničkih zajednica kako bi se gradila održiva državna i društvena struktura. Hrvatska može biti i konstruktivni čimbenik u razgovorima s pojedinim predstavnicima Republike Srpske u cilju stabilizacije i de-radikalizacije javnog izričaja.

## Republika Sjeverna Makedonija



Sjeverna Makedonija, nakon što je uspješno prebrodila unutarnju krizu, poticanu od strane Rusije, prihvaćanjem Prespanskog sporazuma, de-eskalirala je unutarnje

napetosti te koliko-toliko stabilizirala svoje unutarnje prilike. Međutim, Sjeverna Makedonija je i dalje područje na kojem Rusija provodi brojne aktivnosti protuobavještavanja pokušavajući iskoristiti prethodno navedene ciljeve. To pokazuju rezultati studije koja je nedavno objavljena u Sjevernoj Makedoniji<sup>55</sup>. Studija pokazuje da Rusija teško mijenja svoj modus operandi (npr. uporaba različitih profila na društvenim mrežama te online medije) bez obzira na različitost ciljanih grupa, na različitosti država i društava, na različitost kulturnog nasljeđa. Tema koja se posebno naglašava, kao i u drugim državama sa sličnim nacionalno-vjerskim određenjem je stvaranje i održavanje „slavensko-pravoslavnog bratstva“. Koriste izazove s kojima se Sj. Makedonija suočava na putu prema EU kako bi unijela dodatne, posebno među-etničke, podjele u društvo i destabilizirala državu. Poseban izazov za stabilnost i integritet Makedonskog javnog medijskog prostora imaju ruske i proruske maliciozne aktivnosti u bugarskom i srbijanskom medijskom prostoru preko kojeg Rusi plasiraju brojne protuobavijesti<sup>56</sup>.

Hrvatska i prema Sjevernoj Makedoniji ima istovjetan stav kao i prema Crnoj Gori i Albaniji s obzirom da se radi o zemljama koje

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<sup>55</sup> <https://mia.mk/en/story/presentation-of-study-on-russian-propaganda-influence-and-disinformation-in-north-macedonia>,  
<https://euronews.al/en/study-reveals-russian-influence-through-propaganda-in-north-macedonia/>

<sup>56</sup> <https://meta.mk/en/the-social-media-as-a-lever-for-spreading-authoritarian-propaganda/>

su već postale članice NATO saveza. Stav ne odudara ni od stava prema Srbiji, Bosni i Hercegovini te Kosovu na njihovom mogućem putu prema euro-atlantskim integracijama. Hrvatska drži da se put Sj. Makedonije prema članstvu u EU treba ubrzati te da prepreke koje su pojedine države na tom putu postavljale nisu bile opravdane. Stoga europski put Sj. Makedonije nije ni trebao biti usporen, a posebno ne zaustavljen. Sj. Makedonija je bitna država za stabilnost područja WB6 zbog složenih makedonsko-albanskih odnosa, granice sa Kosovom, Albanijom, Srbijom, Bugarskom i Grčkom (državama koje svaka ima svoj poseban odnos prema Sj. Makedoniji i prema njenom teritorijalnom integritetu i suverenitetu kao i prema nacionalno-povijesno-kulturnom nasljeđu). Zato je angažman, uglavnom SAD te dijelom EU, u stabiliziranju te situacije te prevencije odvrćanjem od nasrtaja na Sj. Makedoniju za sada postizao dobre rezultate.

## Republika Albanija



Albanija je najstabilnija država i društvo od svih država obuhvaćenih nazivom WB6. Možda je to činjenica koja proizlazi iz druge činjenice: Albanija je etnički najhomogenija država od svih država WB6. Stoga je pitanje

postojanja unutarnjih tenzija uzrokovanih etničkom i vjerskom različitosti bitno manja, gotovo pa nepostojeća. Nema stvaranja napetosti koje dovode u pitanje njen državni, pravni i politički legitimitet. Međutim, Albanija je i dalje suočena s prijetnjom koju po njenu demokratsku funkcionalnost uzrokuje OK, kako nacionalni tako i transnacionalni. Albanija je bila drugi ključni član projekta Otvoreni Balkan kojeg je pokrenula zajedno sa

Srbijom. Taj je projekt trebao zamijeniti Berlinski proces. Zamišljen kao proces koji nije uključujući, koji u pozadini skriva različite politike i pretenzije, trebao je spriječiti realizaciju Berlinskog procesa koji je uključujući. Stoga je međunarodna zajednica, shvativši njegovu pozadinu, posebno u kontekstu jačanja ideje stvaranja Srpskog svijeta po uzoru na Ruski svijet, pokrenula inicijative zaustavljanja tog negativnog projekta. Albanija je to ipak shvatila te je objavila svoje povlačenje iz tog projekta<sup>57</sup> što je iznenadilo srbijanskog predsjednika Vučića<sup>58</sup> (čime mu je izmakao jedan od rijetkih aduta u međunarodnim odnosima kojim je mogao se koristiti u nastupima pred vlastitom javnosti).

Kao što je već napisano u dijelu o Kosovu, Albanski medijski prostor također je meta ruskih aktivnosti protuobavještavanja povezanih s ruskom agresijom na Ukrajinu. Najveći broj informacija narušenog integriteta napisanih na albanskom jeziku, objavljen je u Albanskom medijskom prostoru. Objektivne analize ipak ukazuju da ruske protuobavjesne politike nemaju snažno uporište u Albaniji zbog činjenice da je albansko stanovništvo okrenuto prema SAD i EU više nego prema „bratskim slavenskim i pravoslavnim državama“. To pak ne treba spriječiti poduzimanje preventivnih i odvrćajućih obrambenih aktivnostima kojima se i medijski prostor na albanskom jeziku<sup>59</sup> može i treba štiti od brojnih malicioznih operacija utjecaja kojima se može pokušati destabilizirati država na njenom putu ka EU. Ali i kao saveznici NATO saveza.

Hrvatska i Albanija imaju jako dobre razvijene odnose u svim sferama međusobne suradnje u skladu sa zajedničkim

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<sup>57</sup> <https://euronews.al/en/did-pm-edi-rama-unilaterally-decide-to-end-open-balkan-initiative/>

<sup>58</sup> <https://balkans.aljazeera.net teme/2023/7/15/pocetak-kraja-otvorenog-balkana>

<sup>59</sup> S obzirom da se albanski jezik govori i na Kosovu i Sj. Makedoniji koje su, pogotovo Sj. Makedonija krhke države, moguće je da zlonamjerni hibridni napadač iskoristi albanski medijski prostor za stvaranje i distribuciju protuobavijesti prema drugim područjima, odnosno državama gdje žive etnički Albanci.

interesima. Hrvatska i Albanija su zajedno postale članice NATO saveza 1.4.2009. Republika Hrvatska je i Albaniji ponudila svoju pomoć i suradnju na njenom putu prema EU.

## EU i WB6 – izazovi i mogućnosti

EU nema jedinstveni stav po pitanju WB6. Ni sami naziv WB6 sve članice EU ne prihvaćaju jer bitno odudara od njihove politike. Cipar, Grčka, Rumunjska, Slovačka i Španjolska nisu priznale neovisnost Kosova. Zato je tim državama bliža kratica WB5 nego WB6. U svakom slučaju, u ovom ćemo radu nastaviti upotrebljavati kraticu WB6. Iako postoji opća suglasnost na razini EU da se države obuhvaćene nazivom WB6 trebaju integrirati u EU<sup>60</sup>, postoje različitosti u pristupu prema pojedinoj državi. One su uzrokovane različitim individualnim interesima od strane postojećih država članica EU. Interesi su takve naravi da praktički zadiru u identitet i suverenitet pojedinih država (kao što je to u slučaju Sj. Makedonije i Kosova). To su razlike koje je teško premostiti brzim diplomatskim aktivnostima. Potrebno ih je rješavati na razini cijele EU i integrirati s drugim instrumentima koji EU stoje na raspolaganju (ali i NATO savezu s obzirom da je velika većina država EU, te nekoliko iz WB6 članice NATO saveza).

Države obuhvaćene nazivom WB6, iako su susjedne, vrlo su različite. Razlikuju se po brojnim elementima koji neko društvo i državu drže na okupu. To su države gdje, ispremješano, žive brojni različiti narodi. U ovim se državama susreću različite

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<sup>60</sup> „At the EU-Western Balkans Summit held in 2003 in Thessaloniki, the EU reaffirmed that the future of the Western Balkans is within the EU. In June 2022, EU leaders expressed their full and unequivocal commitment to the EU membership perspective of the Western Balkans and called for acceleration of the accession process“<sup>60</sup>. Izvor:

<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/enlargement/#Balkans>

ideologije, vjere, kulture, običaji. Države su to sa različitim političkim uređenjima. Imaju različite gospodarske potencijale, odnosno nedostatke koji priječe njihov daljnji razvoj. Gotovo sve su ovisne o međunarodnoj financijskoj pomoći (prvenstveno Srbija i BiH). One imaju brojna međusobna, kao i unutarnja, otvorena pitanja za koja postojeće političke i društvene elite nisu u stanju ponuditi održiva rješenja. Treba uzeti u obzir da su dvije države (Kosovo i Crna Gora) jednostrano uvele euro kao njihovu nacionalnu valutu. Upravo ta snažna ovisnost o financijskoj pomoći koju zemlje WB6 dobivaju iz EU (na razini EU kao i na razini pojedinih članica EU), izravne investicije u njihovo gospodarstvo, intenzivni trgovinski odnosi sa zemljama članicama EU (ali i između njih samih) predstavlja krupan pregovarački kapital koji EU treba htjeti i znati iskoristiti u procesima stabilizacije, demokratizacije i deradikalizacije WB6 država i društava.

Proširenje EU vrlo je složen i zahtjevan process u kojem istovremeno sudjeluju i zemlja kandidatkinja za članstvo u EU kao i već postojeće članice EU. Naime, i sama EU mora biti spremna za proširenje (u političkom, gospodarskom, institucionalnom smislu; upravo kao i zemlja kandidatkinja). Prvi korak treba pak biti želja te države da se upusti u kandidacijski proces te da je spremna prihvatiti i ispuniti brojne kriterije neophodne za buduće članstvo u EU<sup>61</sup>. Glede država WB6, ispitivanja javnog mišljenja, kao i stavovi društvenih i političkih elita koji utječu na procese odlučivanja u pojedinoj državi, daju nam zanimljive rezultate.

Prema objavljenim rezultatima istraživanja javnog mišljenja u zemljama WB6 u odnosu na sklonost pridruživanju EU, dobiveni

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<sup>61</sup> <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/glossary/accession-criteria-copenhagen-criteria.html>, <https://www.clingendael.org/pub/2020/china-and-the-eu-in-the-western-balkans/3-china-and-the-eu-in-the-western-balkans-different-strings-attached/>



su različiti rezultati. Najmanje 73,3% stanovništva BiH podržava ulazak BiH u EU<sup>62</sup> (većina onih koji ne podržavaju ulazak u EU žive na području Republike Srpske i etnički su Srbi). Istraživanje javnog mnjenja u Srbiji je, u sličnom vremenskom terminu, dobilo nešto drugačije rezultate: oko 44% građana podržava članstvo Srbije u EU dok se oko 42% protivi članstvu u EU<sup>63</sup>. U Cnoj Gori se skoro 78% stanovništva izjasnilo za pristupanje EU<sup>64</sup>. Prema podacima iz 2021., oko 97% Albanskih državljana podržava članstvo Albanije u EU. U Sj. Makedoniji oko 49% stanovništva podržava članstvo u EU dok je njih 34% izrazilo skepsu prema članstvu u EU<sup>65</sup>. Velika većina stanovnika Kosova podržava euroatlantske integracije Kosova (u studenom 2021., 91% stanovništva podržalo je članstvo u EU, dok je njih 89% podržalo članstvo u NATO savezu<sup>66</sup>).

Iako nisu rađene dubinske analize navedenih istraživanja, na temelju postojećih podataka može se osnovano pretpostaviti da su Srbi, kao etnička zajednica, znatno manje skloni članstvu u EU (i pokazuju veći skepticizam u odnosu na nju) u odnosu na druge narode koji žive na području WB6. Upravo su ovakva istraživanja javnog mnjenja jedan od bitnih alata koji mogu biti od pomoći donositeljima odluka o tome koje će, kad i kako vektore djelovanja prema WB6 iskoristiti. Naime, brojne različitosti obuhvaćenih društava i država ukazuju na potrebu za osmišljavanjem i provedbom prilagođenih procesa kojima će se zahvaćena društva usmjeravati na njihovom putu ka EU

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<sup>62</sup> <https://www.aa.com.tr/ba/balkan/istra%C5%BEivanje-dei-ja-73-3-posto-ispitanika-podr%C5%BEava-ulazak-bih-u-eu/2945206>

<sup>63</sup> <https://www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/svijet/velika-anketa-u-srbiji-pitali-ljude-jesu-li-za-eu-ili-priblizavanje-moskvi-rezultati-su-malo-koga-iznenadili-15320992>

<sup>64</sup> <https://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/montenegro/istra%C5%BEivanje-javnog-mnjenja-gra%C4%91ani-jo%C5%A1-sna%C5%BEnije-podr%C5%BEavaju-pristupanje-eu-0-me>

<sup>65</sup> <https://balkans.aljazeera.net/news/balkan/2023/2/9/u-sjevernoj-makedoniji-raste-skepticizam-prema-eu>

<sup>66</sup> <https://www.iri.org/news/kosovo-citizens-show-strong-support-for-western-institutions-despite-kosovos-slow-progress-towards-eu-integration/>

(naravno, ona koja za to iskažu želju jer ne treba nikoga prisiljavati da uđe u EU, ili bilo koju drugu asocijaciju ukoliko to ne žele). Istraživanja moraju ponuditi vjerodostojne, pouzdane i potpune odgovore na ključna pitanja: želi li ispitano stanovništvo biti dio EU; jesu li spremni na prilagodbu vlastitih društava i država te prihvaćanje europskog sustava vrijednosti, načela i uvjerenja; koji su to razlozi zbog kojih im je članstvo u EU prednost a zbog kojih nisu skloni podržati članstvo u EU; koje politike protuobavještavanja imaju utjecaj na donošenje odluka po ovim pitanjima? Rezultatima ovako provedenih ispitivanja javnog mišljenja, istovremeno se prepoznaju i područja ranjivosti obuhvaćenih ispitanika i njihova izloženost politikama protuobavještavanja kojima je cilj unošenje podjela te zaustavljanje (ili usporavanje) procesa njihovog pridruživanja tih država u EU.

Prethodno navedeni podaci mogu pojasniti i bitno različiti odnos koji pojedine zemlje imaju prema sankcijama koje je EU uvela Rusiji nakon njene agresije na Ukrajinu u veljači 2022. Države gdje Srbi imaju mogućnost donošenja odluka kao i suodlučivanja nisu proglasile sankcije Rusiji. Iste te države (odnosno stanovništvo koje se nacionalno identificira Srbima) imaju snažan negativan osjećaj prema njihovom mogućem članstvu u NATO savezu. Srbi su, uglavnom, jedan od ključnih vektora utjecaja koje Rusija koristi u stvaranju, promicanju i održavanju vlastitih interesa na području WB6.

S druge strane ne treba smetnuti s uma ni postojanje interesa koje prema ovom području imaju neke druge države. Turska je, kao Osmanlijsko carstvo, nekoliko stoljeća upravljala ovim područjem, bilo u cjelini bilo na nekom njegovom dijelu. Turski utjecaj je i danas znatan na području WB6. Očituje se kroz djelovanje stanovništva islamske vjeroispovjesti koji je na ovom prostoru nasatao/ostao upravo kao posljedica Osmanlijskih

osvajanja. Koliko je Turskoj, posebno u situaciji u kojoj se sada nalazi (ozbiljni izazovi u gospodarstvu i finansijskoj situaciji države) bitno članstvu EU govori nam i činjenica da je Turska odlučila dati suglasnost na ulazak Švedske u NATO savez ističući jedan uvjet: Švedska se obvezala poduprijeti ulazak Turske u EU. Na Turski se utjecaj danas nadovezuju utjecaji drugih država gdje Islam ima status državne religije. Saudijska Arabija, Katar, UAE ulažu znatna sredstva u različite društvene aktivnosti povezane sa širenjem njihovih utjecaja (kako gospodarskih, finansijskih, političkih, kulturnih i vjerskih).

Ne treba zanemariti ni snažnu gospodarsko-financijsko-informacijsku aktivnost Kine. Na ovom području<sup>67</sup>, ali na razini pojedinačnih odnosa s državama, Kina nastavlja sa svojim aktivnostima s kojima je uspješno organizirala svoju nazočnost i utjecaj u Africi (istočnoj i srednjoj prvenstveno). Kina ne ulazi izravno u politički (osim kad je u pitanju Tajvan i odnos domicilne države prema Tajvanu) i vjerski život stanovništva. Međutim, sa svojim finansijsko-gospodarsko-informacijskim aktivnostima, koje u državama gdje ne vladaju jasna pravila poslovnih procesa kao što je to slučaj u EU, potiču korupciju na svim razinama. Takve aktivnosti postupno dovode do stvaranja dužničkog ropstva tih država. Zahvaćene se države iz njega moraju izvlačiti uz pomoć EU<sup>68</sup>.

Kao što je već rečeno, na području WB6 susreću se i sukobljavaju brojni, i međusobno ponekad oštro suprotstavljeni, interesi različitih aktera na međunarodnoj sceni. Od pojedinih država do zajednica kao što su EU, NATO, Organizacija islamske suradnje i

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<sup>67</sup> <https://www.clingendael.org/pub/2020/china-and-the-eu-in-the-western-balkans/3-china-and-the-eu-in-the-western-balkans-different-strings-attached/>

<sup>68</sup> [https://www.bilten.org/?p=37687,https://www.eca.europa.eu/Lists/ECADocuments/RW20\\_03/RW\\_EU\\_response\\_to\\_China\\_HR.pdf](https://www.bilten.org/?p=37687,https://www.eca.europa.eu/Lists/ECADocuments/RW20_03/RW_EU_response_to_China_HR.pdf)

sličnih organizacija. Često se u zainteresiranoj javnosti postavlja vrlo jednostavna pitanja na koje nije lako odgovoriti: imaju li zemlje WB6 europsku budućnost? Treba li tim državama ponuditi europsku perspektivu? Ako je odgovor pozitivan, treba li govoriti o datumima mogućeg pristupanja ili datume treba uvjetovati ispunjavanjem svih utvrđenih kriterija? Treba li pak kriterije prilagođavati pojedinoj zemlji kandidatkinji? Jesmo li spremni na ignoriranje (ili popuštanje u procesu pregovaranja) ispunjavanja kriterija te procesa demokratizacije i deradikalizacije društva i države, inzistiranja na poštivanju temeljnih ljudskih prava i sloboda, neovisnosti i slobode medija i pravosuđa, poštivanja prava manjina, iskrenog i punog suočavanja s idejama i ideologijama koje su dovele do sukoba, nasilja i ratova? Trebamo li to sve, ili pojedine dijelove zanemariti u pregovaračkom procesu? A sve pod izlikom da pojedine (zlonamjerne) države, kao što je prvenstveno Rusija, ne steknu bitan utjecaj na zahvaćena društva i države? Želimo li zbog kvantitete žrtvovati kvalitetu te primanjem nepripremljenih država i društava dugoročno dovesti EU u moguće zahtjevnu i izazovnu situaciju ponovnog suočavanja s pitanjima koja nismo riješili u pristupnom pregovaračkom procesu? A koja će rizike pretvoriti u ozbiljne prijetnje stabilnosti, funkcioniranju i sigurnosti EU?

Izazovi s kojima se društva i države WB6 suočavaju izuzetno su zahtjevni. Rješavanja tih izazova zahtijevaju potpunu predanost i odlučnost. Prvenstveno donositelja odluka. Izbjegavanje suočavanja s izazovima, njihovo ignoriranje, a u pojedinim slučajevima čak i poticanje (od strane država kandidatkinja) mora biti jasno prepoznato od strane EU. Ne smije biti ignorirano i zapostavljeno prije i tijekom pregovaračkog procesa. Uopće ne treba sumnjati da će izazovi s kojima se te države sada (u pregovaračkom procesu) suočavaju, ponovo izaći na svjetlo dana i snažno negativno utjecati na EU. Ukoliko se ne riješe tijekom

pregovaračkog procesa. Može doći do dodatnog disbalansa koji u EU već postoji djelovanjem pojedinih država u skladu s isključivo vlastitim interesima koji negiraju sadržaj ugovora o funkcioniranju EU.

Dodatno bi moguće odustajanje od već dogovorenih načela pregovaračkih procesa sasvim sigurno negativno utjecalo na pregovaračke procese sa Turskom<sup>69</sup>, Ukrajinom, Moldovom i Gruzijom. Selektivna primjena različitih načela te njihova promjena tijekom procesa pregovaranja na različite države u različitom opsegu negativno utječe na šercepciju EU izvan nje same. Tako da bi takve promjene, koje bi nima koristile, mogle tražiti i druge države. Odnosno primjenu mjerila, koja bi u skladu s njihovim traženjima bila njima posebno prilagođena. Time EU dolazi u situaciju moguće dodatne snažne unutarnje destabilizacije, te gubitka svog onog utjecaja i važnosti u međunarodnoj zajednici koji EU desetljećima uporno i mukotrpno gradi. Mišljenja smo da trenutno ne postoje razlozi zbog kojih bi se utvrđeni pregovarački kriteriji razvodnili za potrebe zemalja WB6 a sve kako bi smanjili manevarski prostor Rusiji i njenim zlonamjernim djelovanjima na i prema WB6.

S tim se prijetnjama stabilnosti i sgurnosti WB6 trebamo i možemo suočiti na drugi način. Jačanjem proeuropskih osjećaja u stanovništvu WB6, istinitim i potpunim informiranjem ukazujući na sve prednosti, ali otvoreno i na one loše posljedice pristupanja u EU kao što je migracija visoko-obrazovanih kadrova i dijela stanovništva prema „starijim“ zemljama članicama EU. Brojni su pozitivni primjeri zemalja koje su postale članice EU na kratkoročnoj, a posebno na dugoročnoj osnovi. Treba jasno i

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<sup>69</sup> Koliko je Turskoj bitno članstvo u EU, i to posebno u sadašnjoj vrlo zahtjevnoj gospodarskoj i financijskoj krizi, pokazuje činjenica da je ejdan od vujeta koji je Švedska morala obećati u kontekstu dobivanja sugalsnosti Turske za Švedsko članstvo u NATO savezu, javno iskazivanje potpore koju će Švedska dati Tusknoj u njenom pristupanju EU.

transparentno raditi na jačanju uloge civilnog društva pomno pazeći na to da se te aktivnosti ne iskoriste u zlonamjerne i partikularne interese pojedinih političkih čimbenika na lokalnoj i regionalnoj razini.

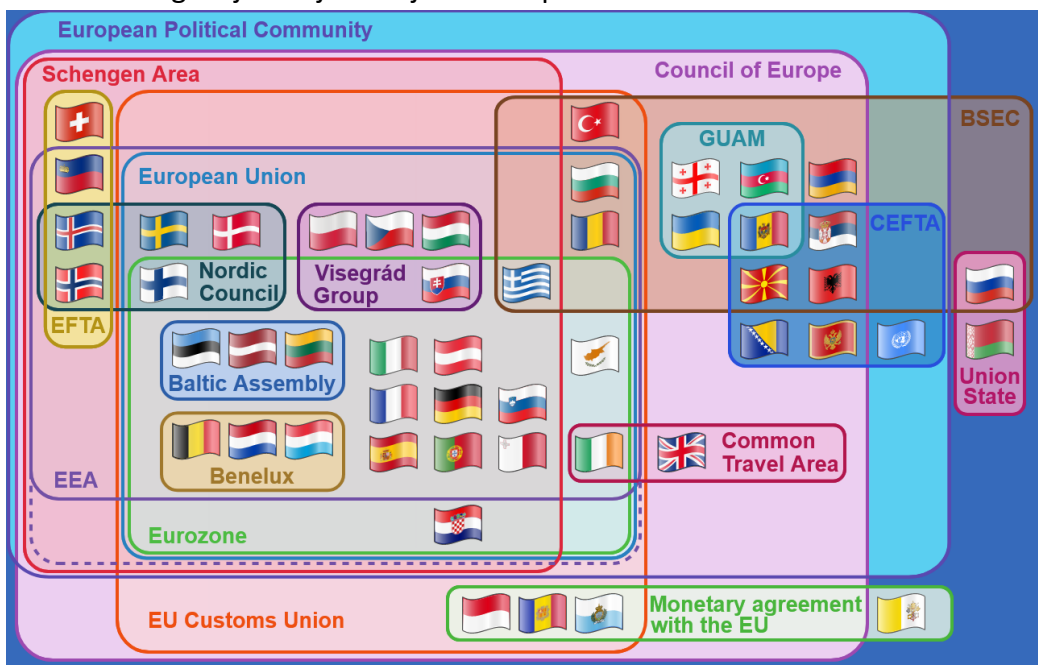
Ne treba robovati predrasudama. Treba jasno komunicirati sve prednosti kao i izazove. Treba izbjegavati, u konstruktivnom komuniciranju, jezik političke korektnosti koji izbjegava stvarno identificiranje izazova, analizu posljedično-uzročnih veza te potpuno traženje i definiranje izazova. Stanovništvu se ne treba nuditi datume o mogućem pristupu jer pristup treba povezati s ovisnosti transformacije društva i države sukladno postavljenim kriterijima. Treba djelovati na zaustavljanju negativnih projekata kao što je Otvoreni Balkan a poticati Berlinski te Brdo-Brijuni proces.

Istovremeno treba uporno rješavati brojna otvorena bilateralna pitanja između država WB6 kao i rješavanje otvorenih pitanja koje te države imaju s postojećim članicama EU. S tim da otvorena pitanja s članicama EU ne bi trebala ići u pravcu zlouporabe pristupnog procesa s ciljem postizanja neprihvatljivih političkih rješenja.

EU sudjeluje u nekoliko procesa kojima WB6 države želi potaknuti na brže promjene i ispunjavanje postavljenih kriterija pristupa u EU. Berlinski process, Brdo-Brijuni process, Otvoreni Balkan (koji je praktički ugašen jer se shvatilo da je to process kojim su Srbija i Albanija htjele izdominirati taj prostor (dez)integrirati ga u skladu sa svojim interesima zanemarujući interese drugih država s tog postora) te Europska politička zajednica su najvažniji u tome. Posebno treba naglasiti posljednju inicijativu francuskog predsjednika Macrona o pokretanju Europske političke zajednice (EPZ). Ona ne smije zamijeniti niti preuzeti ulogu institucija koje već postoje (kao što

je Vijeće Europe). Također ne smije biti ni izlika ni povod da se zemljama WB6, kao i drugim državama koje se nalaze u pregovaračkom procesu s EU uskrati pravo na pristupanje EU. Ta zajednica treba biti forum gdje će zemlje članice EU, zemlje kandidatkinje kao i one koje ne žele biti članice EU ali su svojim demokratskim uređenjem zavrijedile biti članice EU (npr članice EFTA-e), mogu otvoreno komunicirati sve prednosti i nedostatke članstva u EU. EPZ treba pokazati zemljama kandidatkinjama kako se treba ponašati u članstvu EU, kako treba komunicirati izazove, kako surađivati i kako graditi zajedničke sposobnosti i mogućnosti, kako izgrađivati demokraciju, sigurno i stabilno društvo, te institucije države koje će služiti svojim građanima.

Sljedeći prikaz<sup>70</sup> pokazuje nam svu složenost odnosa i različitih integracijskih djelovanja na europskom kontinentu:



<sup>70</sup>[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6a/Supranational European Bodies.svg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6a/Supranational_European_Bodies.svg)

Kineski “Jedan pojas jedan put” process ima potpuno druge ciljeve i gradi se na potpuno drugim temeljima. Koji nisu nužno korisni za sve dionike tog procesa.

Dodatni razlog zbog kojeg Ukrajini treba pružiti svu nužnu i neophodnu pomoć u obrani od ruske agresije leži u činjenici da će pobjeda Ukrajine utjecati na ostvarenje koncepta Ruskog svijeta. Ukrajinska pobjeda smanjit će njegov negativan potencijal te moguće dovesti i do njegovog kolapsa. Na takav će se način utjecati i na koncept Srpskog svijeta koji je Srbija osmislila po uzoru na koncept Ruskog svijeta. Smanjit će se negativni potencijali Srbije u “stvaranju unutarnje te izvozu” nestabilnosti u svoje okruženje. Srbija će biti prisiljena stvarno se okrenuti prema sebi te izazovima čije rješavanje potiskuje već desetljećima. U tom procesu se ne treba voditi kratkoročnim već dugoročnim rješenjima. Ukoliko Srbija (a to se odnosi i na druge države koje žele postati članica EU, a nisu u stanju iskreno i potpuno se suočiti s brojnim izazovima) ne prepozna sve svoje ranjivosti i slabosti koje priječe njenu demokratizaciju i deradikalizaciju, i kao takva uđe u EU, te će ranjivosti i slabosti i dalje biti meta zlonamjernih napadača. Koji će ih moći uspješno koristiti za promociju vlastitih ciljeva i daljnju destabilizaciju društva i države. Ali ovaj put i društava i država koja su članice EU. To nije nešto što bi EU smjela sebi dozvoliti.

U suočavanju s brojnim izazovima koji opterećuju i usporavaju europsku budućnost WB6 trebalo bi se koristiti ključnim strategijskim odrednicama koje je hrvatska politika prepoznala i artikulirala s ciljem stvaranja, osamostaljenja, pobjede i demokratizacije Republike Hrvatske u vremenu od 1990.-1998. Tri su ključne odrednice (strategemi) te strategije<sup>71</sup>:

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<sup>71</sup> Miroslav Tuđman, Gordan Akrap: Strategijske odrednice dr. Franje Tuđmana 1990.-1998. (u procesima stvaranja, obrane i oslobađanja Hrvatske); ppt prezentacija, IPA Split, 3.8.2023.



1. Pravilo kontinuirane interakcije i komunikacijske otvorenosti.
  - a. Zagovarati, objašnjavati, činiti dostupnim širokoj javosti (na nacionalnoj i međunarodnoj razini) vlastite stavove, odluke, djelovanja, posljedice vezane na pregovarački proces.
  - b. Upoznavati ciljane publike sa svim posljedicama pregovaračkog procesa te mogućeg pristupanja EU.
  - c. Stvarati komunikacijska uporišta u poslovnim, društvenim, medijskim krugovima s ciljem objektivnog obavještavanja o pristupnom procesu i njegovom razvoju sa svim posljedicama.
  - d. Ukazivati na nužnost usklađivanja politika zemlje kandidata s politikama EU ukazujući na činjenicu da se ne radi o „tamo nekoj administraciji koja donosi odluke mimo volje zemalja članica“ nego o procesu gdje sve zemlje članice imaju bitnu ulogu u procesu njihovog donošenja.
  - e. Prepoznavanje i identificiranje aktera koji će svojim djelovanjem pokušati negativno utjecati na pregovarački proces.
  - f. Identificiranje pojedinaca, grupa, organizacija, pravnih osoba koje su svjesne stvarnosti i koje mogu poslužiti u borbi protiv protuobavijesti s kojima će se dionici tog procesa suočavati.
  
2. Strateško rješavanje problema, odnosno prepoznavanje i određivanje prioriteta.
  - a. Prepoznavanje prioriteta s kojima se u pregovaračkom procesu sve strane trebaju učinkovito suočiti; identificiranje stvarnih nositelja negativnih aktivnosti kako na nacionalnoj tako i

na međunarodnoj sceni je od ključne važnosti u ostvarenju ovog stratagema.

- b. Prepoznavanje prioriteta utječe na određivanje redoslijeda aktivnosti kao i na uzročno-posljedične veze u ostvarenju drugih stratagema.
- c. Prepoznavanje te angažiranje svih onih koji mogu pomoći u procesima demokratizacije i deradikalizacije društva i države koja se nalazi u pregovaračkom procesu.

### 3. Neutraliziranje protivnika izolacijom<sup>72</sup>.

- a. Prepoznavanje i identificiranje stvarnih protivnika pregovaračkog procesa kako na nacionalnoj tako i na međunarodnoj razini.
- b. Krajni cilj nije potcjenjivanje ni prisiljavanje pojedinog pretendenta na članstvo nego identificiranje protivnika (i njegovih vektora napadnih djelovanja) tog procesa koji svojim destruktivnim djelovanjem mogu negativno utjecati ne samo na pristupni proces nego i brojne druge demokratske procese u toj državi. Ali i na razini EU.
- c. Definirati, te organizirati provedbu, jasne strategije koje treba koristiti u borbi protiv protivničkih strategija.

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<sup>72</sup> Kad govorimo o protivniku (ili protivnicima) proširenja i pristupnih pregovaračkih procesa, govorimo o situaciji kad je većina stanovništva pojedine države izrazila sklonost pristupanju u EU dok se tom procesu manjina stanovništva, posebno vođena i instruirana pojedinim zlonamjernim interesima, koristi različitim metodama i sredstvima (uključujući i nasilna) kako bi taj proces usporila ili pak zaustavila. Ponavljamo da nikoga ne treba siliti da uđe u EU. EU je zajednica država koje su svojom voljom odlučile podijeliti dio svog suvereniteta s drugoim zemljama članicama, povezati se, integrirati svoja znanja, sposobnosti i mogućnosti s drugim državama iz EU, te se okupiti oko istog sustava vrijdnosti, uvjerenja i načela življenja u slobodnom demokratskom svijetu.

- d. U ovim kao i drugim aktivnostima smiju se koristiti isključivo demokratska metode i sredstva.
- e. Izolirati protivnika/protivnike na nacionalnoj i međunarodnoj razini, jasno ih i javno opisati, povezati s njihovim zlonamjernim i štetnim djelovanjima kao i vektorima, sredstvima i teodama koje u tom zlonamjernom djelovanju koriste.

Treba jasno komunicirati sljedeću činjenicu kojom se izbjegava činjenje strateške pogreške u zamjeni teza:

- Članstvo u EU nije i ne smije biti cilj. Članstvo mora biti shvaćeno kao sredstvo s kojim će se postići krajnji cilj koji stoji pred tim društvom i državom: demokratizacija, deradikalizacija, sloboda kretanja ljudi, roba i usluga, okupljanje s ciljem integracije znanja, sposobnosti i mogućnosti kako na pojedinačnoj tako i na zajedničkoj razini, na razini fizičkih i pravnih osoba, jačanje vlastite otpornosti na buduće rizike i prijetnje djelovanjem kroz utvrđene mehanizme pomoći, suradnje i oporavka te brojne druge prednosti koje članstvo u EU povlači za sobom.

## Zaključak



U svibnju 2019.<sup>73</sup> objavili smo „Analiza – Europska unija i Zapadni Balkan: mogućnosti, izazovi, rješenja“. i danas stojimo iza navedenog teksta te posebno tvrdnji kojima se opisuje sva složenost i zahtjevnost brojnih izazova kojima je WB6 opterećen:

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<sup>73</sup> <https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/1077>

Trenutačno je upitna sposobnost osmišljavanja relevantnih politika i dosljednog provođenja neophodnih društvenih transformacija. To je presudno ukoliko se želi doista konsolidirati demokratski poredak i razviti tržišna ekonomija. Međutim, dinamiku transformacije opterećuju problemi povijesnog nasljeđa – raspad bivše Jugoslavije u vrtlogu rata i vojnih operacija koje je pokrenuo Miloševićev nacionalistički režim i koje su presudno odredile odnose među novonastalim susjednim državama (osim Albanije). Gospodarska stagnacija, kao jedan od najznačajnijih problema u državama Zapadnog Balkana, uglavnom se ne rješava, ili se radi na krivi način ili s krivim, profesionalno i moralno nedoraslim, osobama. Zloupotrebom i manipuliranjem osjećajima nacionalnog identiteta politički akteri se desetljećima održavaju na vlasti učvršćujući partitokratski način upravljanja.

Zbog svega toga se može reći da su države Zapadnog Balkana primjer nerazvijenih demokracija, devastirana i podijeljena društva, slaba gospodarstva, oaze organiziranog kriminala zbog čega, a što je potpuno vidljivo iz političko-gospodarskih procesa u posljednjih godinu dana, predstavljaju laku metu Rusije, Kine i Turske, koje sve agresivnije žele proširiti svoj utjecaj na tom prostoru.



WB6<sup>74</sup> je područje koje bi trebalo biti visoko na listi međunarodnih (ali istovremeno i unutarnjih)

<sup>74</sup> Izvor slike: <https://eng.cepsmn.org/a-new-momentum-for-progress-in-the-western-balkans/wb6-3/>

pitanja s kojima se EU institucije moraju učinkovito suočiti. EU sa svojim različitim instrumentima koji joj stoje na raspolaganju (prvenstveno instrumenti financijske pomoći, poslovna i druga ulaganja, programi potpora, razmjene znanja, suradnja s drugim institucijama na EU razini kao i razini zemalja članica, prekogranični razvojni projekti) može u bitnoj mjeri utjecati na stabilizaciju WB6 područja. Povratkom na postavke Berlinskog procesa<sup>75</sup>, davanje potpore Europskoj političkoj zajednici je nužnost.



Ovdje se ne radi samo o mogućnosti da će netko drugi (Rusija, Kina, Turska, arapske zemlje) „ući“ na to područje te polako ali sigurno preuzeti kontrolu nad njim. Radi se o tome da

je područje WB6 poznato i prepoznato kao politički i sigurnosno vrlo nestabilno, jer je izloženo brojnim različitim i međusobno suprotstavljenim političkim silnicama. To je jedan od razloga zbog čega je teško naći neko univerzalno prihvatljivo rješenje kojim će se istovremeno moći primjeniti na sve države WB6. Postupnom integracijom (na pojedinačnoj razini nakon ispunjavanja postavljenih kriterija) zemlje članice WB6 mogu i trebaju postati članice EU kako bi se dugoročno smanjio krizni potencijal koji je visok ukoliko države WB6 ne prihvate europski sustav vrijednosti, uvjerenja i načela. Na takav način će se i razina vanjskih i sigurnosnih ugroza koje egzistiraju unutar EU smanjiti.

Buduće migrantske krize (a bit će ih još više kako se klimatske promjene budu pogoršavale posebno na području Afrike te Srednje Azije i Bliskog istoka) će se lakše upravljati ukoliko to područje bude povezano institucionalnim vezama s EU. Smanjit

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<sup>75</sup> Izvoro slike: <https://www.dw.com/hr/zapadni-balkan-ima-koristi-od-berlinskog-procesa/a-58147352>

će se razina unutarnjih sukoba te će se stvoriti prostor za gospodarski napredak razvijenijih zemalja članica EU. Tad se može očekivati ponavljanje procesa preseljenja visoko stručne radne snage iz novih zemalja članica EU prema onima u kojima je viši standard. Pitanje sigurnosti i stabilnosti južne te jugoistočne Europe izravno je povezano s pitanjima stabilnosti i sigurnosti WB6.

U tom je smislu potrebno poticati prilagodbu javnog mijenja prema EU integracijama, jačanje utjecaja nevladinog sektora i civilnog društva, poticanje održivih ulaganja, jasno prikazivanje svih onih brojnih koristi koje su svojim članstvom stekle nove članice EU, depolitizaciju i izgradnju edukacijskog sustava koji će biti uključiv, istinit, relevantan i integrativan, poticanje slobode medija, ljudskih prava, neovisnosti represivnog i pravosudnog sustava. Treba stalno raditi na de-radikalizaciji društava i država te posebno na sprječavanje medijskog diskursa koji se u političkim aktivnostima može koristiti kao bi se zadobili pojedini politički bodovi ali kojima se društvo i država dijeli. A time i čini lakšim metama za različite maliciozne aktivnosti protubavještavanja protivnika.

Na takav će način istovremeno biti lakše i jednostavnije suočavati se s brojnim sigurnosnim izazovima s kojima se WB6 već suočavaju danas, kao i onih s kojima će se ovo područje suočavati a koji će svoje izvorište imati u malicioznim akterima

kao što je Rusija danas. A sutra netko treći.



Pitanje sigurne, stabilne i održive budućnosti ovog područja izravno je povezano s educiranjem i stvaranjem odgovornih

političkih elita koje se moraju, iskreno i odlučno, okrenuti vlastitim problemima i rješavati ih u neposrednoj suradnji sa svojim susjedima te multinacionalnim organizacijama kao što je, prvenstveno, EU. Izgradnja stabilnih društava, iskreno i potpuno

rješavanje nagomilanih etničkih problema, suočavanje sa stvarnim razlozima nasilnog raspada Jugoslavije, stvaranje kulture dijaloga i suradnje, jačanjem svijesti o pripadnosti EU bez obzira na vjerske i etničke razlike, model je koji treba slijediti pri suočavanju sa svim izazovima koji su ovo područje oblikovali već nekoliko stoljeća.

Rusija protuobavijesti primarno stvara u srbijanskom medijskom prostoru te ih nesmiljeno širi u druge medijske prostore kako na području WB6 tako i šire. Brojni su primjeri koji nam ukazuju na rusko-srpsku informacijsku spregu<sup>76</sup>. Borba protiv ovog oblika malicioznih operacija utjecaja mora se provoditi na integriranoj razini jačanjem sposobnosti cijelog društva, stvaranjem i jačanjem povjerenja društva u institucije država na nacionalnoj i međunarodnoj razini, trajnim educiranjem, razvojem vlastitih sposobnosti u cilju zaštite (utvrđenih te jasno definiranih) sustava vrijednosti, načela i uvjerenja na kojima se određena zajednica temelji. Ključnu ulogu u tom procesu može imati civilno društvo zajedno s medijima koji se trebaju vratiti odgovornom kvalitetnom novinarstvu. Također je potrebno poduzeti brojne institucionalne i razvojne aktivnosti kojima će se velike tehnološke tvrtke staviti pod kontrolu i nadzor u onom segmentu gdje se mogu pojaviti kao negativni multiplikatori malicioznih informacijskih operacija utjecaja (jer je tehnološkim tvrtkama primarno stvaranje materijalnog bogatstva u odnosu na istinu te dugoročno održivo društvo) zbog različitih prioriteta države i tehnoloških tvrtki<sup>77</sup>.

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<sup>76</sup> <https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/2089>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/2091>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/2090>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/3098>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/3099>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/3103>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/3106>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/3107>,  
<https://zagrebsecurityforum.com/analysis/id/4183>

<sup>77</sup> Prioritet države treba biti opće dobro svih stanovnika dok je prioritet, posebno velikih tehnoloških tvrtki, stjecanje monopola te povećanje materijalne dobiti.

Notes/Bilješke:





