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PARTNERSHIP OF SERBIA AND CHINA WITHIN THE NEW SILK ROAD

President of the People's Republic of China, Xi Jinping, at the end of 2013 announced the revival of the Silk Road by launching the most ambitious initiative in modern history, called "One Belt, One Road", OBOR.

Focused on fostering the connectivity and cooperation among countries throughout Asia, Africa and Europe, the initiative "One Belt, One Road" in China is often referred to as "the project of the century".

Within this project, over a hundred agreements have been signed with international organizations. Serbia and China have established a strategic partnership, and Serbia is one of sixteen countries that have signed cooperation agreements with China under the cooperation mechanism "16 + 1", along with eleven EU member countries and five non-EU countries from the Balkans.

In comparison with the signatories of the mechanism "16 + 1", Serbia leads in terms of the quality of bilateral relations with China, as well as the number and type of projects agreed upon.

Through the signed agreements within the initiative „One Belt, One Road” between the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of Serbia, the economic cooperation between the two countries is strengthening, which enables Serbia to achieve faster realization of dynamic rates of economic growth.

At the same time, Serbia also leads in other segments of co-operation, as it is the first country in Europe that abolished travel visas for Chinese citizens, but is also one of the rare countries in Europe where, apart from colleges, the Chinese language can be taught in both primary and secondary schools.

Keywords: New Silk Road, OBOR, China, Serbia, economic cooperation, economic growth,

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NEW SILK ROAD: CULTURAL COOPERATION BETWEEN CHINA AND SERBIA

If we take even a superficial look at the Chinese development strategy of the New Silk Road, the Economic Belt of the Silk Road and the Silk Sea Route for the 21st Century, we will see with how much attention, desire, and passion this project of connecting and intertwining the world is designed. Serbia and China, the two countries that are incomparable in so many ways, are comparable according to the immense desire to preserve their self-esteem and freedom.

Culture and art not only carry the soul and spiritual values of a nation, but, in many ways, are the foundation of every relationship among states. Every relationship is culture or non-culture, depending on the point of view. Perhaps, at first glance, it does not look like this, but culture, whatever the way we define it, must be at the heart of all plans for a sustainable

development of economics, economy, and all other spheres of societies that deeply respect and promote important aspects of human creativity and freedom. Were it not like that, everything about man would have lost its meaning.

In this brief review of the cultural relations between Serbia and China, within the New Silk Road Initiative, some points are described that are of great importance for the relations of our two countries over the last ten or so years.

Keywords: culture, freedom, meaning, Serbia, China

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OPEN TENDER FOR INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS – BENEFITS AND PITFALLS

The 16+1 cooperation platform has been in existence since 2012. The 16 central and eastern European countries (CEECs) include 11 EU member states and five Western Balkan countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia). Its 7 year history has proven to be an effective mechanism to expand trade and investment relations between China and the CEECs region. For example in Serbia, the successful turnaround of Železara Smederevo after its acquisition and investment by China's HeSteel Group serves as a shining example of how FDI from China benefits host countries. Yet there have also been a set of issues and concerns developed through the course of the past few years that desires of improvement. At the 2018 Sofia summit of 16+1, member states raised the need for a more balanced trade, reciprocity of market access and open tenders in infrastructure construction, which is essentially an issue mostly driven by the EU. In this paper, I would like to address this last issue of open tender as related to EU's competition policy framework. I argue that although open tender originates from its good intentions of

competition, transparency and rooting out corruption, it also has the other side that tends to be neglected in the discourse about China's Belt and Road initiative – the high cost and time delay that are ultimately born by the infrastructure project owner. The Budapest-Belgrade railway is used as a case example to illustrate the tradeoffs between the benefits and pitfalls of the EU's open tender requirement for infrastructure projects.

Keywords: China, 16+1, Western Balkans, Serbia, trade, investments, open tenders

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INNOVATION AND CIVILIZATION: THE CONTINUITIES OF THE BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE AND 16+1

In order to understand a local and global potential of political and economic innovation of the 16+1 Cooperation within the Belt and Road Initiative and to develop it, first, it is necessary to analyze the developmental trends of institutional patterns which are preconditions on innovative potential of 16+1 in the future. If we analyze the trajectory of preconditions of the Belt and Road Initiative, we can differentiate several periods of time. First, the Belt and Road Initiative based on making international, transnational and supranational projects have to be considered in close relation to the previous forty years of China's transformation and opening up since 1978. There are also longer civilizational preconditions of China's transformation and opening up which are very complex. Considering the specific advantageous geopolitical position and the economic and political situation of the CEECs' macro-region in the Eurasian continent especially in the recent decades, it has a potential to contribute to the innovative development of Eurasia by connecting the Western part of Europe with its Eastern counterpart and all the parts of Asia; considering that the CEECs,

while investing a little less in research and innovation than an average of the EU (2.1%), have significant results. The presentation will explain the connection between innovative and civilizational trends in 16+1 and the Belt and Road Initiative.

Keywords: 16+1, CEEC, institutional patterns, preconditions, China's transformation, opening, innovative trends, civilization trends

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THE NEW SILK ROAD – THE FUTURE SHAPE OF GLOBALISATION

Launched by the President Xi Jinping in Astana more than five years ago, the New Silk Road is the "icing on the cake" since the Opening Up in China. This very ambitious investment program has already started to generate important spill-over effects across the world (economic, political and social). On the one hand, OBOR may be seen as the main instrument of the transition of China to the leadership of the global economy. As regards the nominal GDP dimension China may become the largest economy of the world by the end of the next decade. On the other hand, the probability for the New Silk Road to be the future shape of globalization is increasing, given its focus on the regions with huge development potential. It is also the case of the countries from the Central / Southern Eastern Europe. The paper aims to assess the recent developments in terms of the exposure of One Belt One Road on these economies by employing standard econometric tools and using the IMF database.

Keywords: New Silk Road, OBOR, Xi Jinping, China leadership, Central Europe, Southern Eastern Europe, economy, GDP, econometrics, IMF database

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CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE BUSINESS CONTINUITY IN “ONE BELT AND ONE ROAD” PROJECT

Critical infrastructure (CI) protection is on the intersection between natural hazards, politics, business, technology and risks. ‘One Belt, One Road’ project develops connections between the spaces and states from Asia (China), through Africa to Europe including numerous ports, railways and roads, dams, telecommunication facilities, oil and gas pipelines, electricity network lines, powerplants and many other different enterprises. Risks connected with the facilities are both external (terrorists, natural hazards, cyber-attacks etc.) and internal (technological accidents, human errors, pollution, occupational health and safety issues etc.). To obtain maximal benefits and return on investments, new endeavours needs continuity, stability and operational excellence in their business operations. Unfortunately, disruptions can be massive and of different source and motive. Venezuela and its electricity supply system are just the latest example involving many players.

This paper deals with the need to develop the Comprehensive Approach in CI protection inside the ‘One Belt, One Road’ project in regards to obvious needs and ways of establishment. Establishment of the permanent bodies tasked to explore opportunities and options should be just the first step in enhancing cooperation. EU model in CI protection is also of the interest in sense of establishing the regulatory framework. Some of models to align resources in CI protection are also discussed.

Key words: Critical Infrastructure, Business Continuity, “One Belt and One Road” project, Comprehensive Approach

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PLAN B: SINO-BALKAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN THE ERA OF 16+1

Chinese activities in the Balkans have attracted attention of experts, diplomats and politicians from Europe and elsewhere for many years. China's presence in the region started to grow especially after the start of the 16+1 platform in 2012, in which China and 16 countries of the post-communist Central and Eastern Europe are present. The presented paper offers an analysis of the state of Chinese investments in the Balkans with special focus to the underlying interest on both China and the Balkans. The paper argues that while neither China nor the Balkans is a primary partner for the other one, their relations can be looked at as a plan B aimed at accomplishing other, bigger goals.

Keywords: China, Sino-Balkan economic relations, 16+1, investments, plan B

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CHINESE ENTERPRISES' CSR DEPLOYMENT UNDER THE BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE – A NEW MULTI NATIONALIZING PARADIGM FROM THE MICRO-PERSPECTIVE

The Belt and Road Initiative promoted more Chinese enterprises for multinational investment and development in the Belt and Road countries.

Differing from the old story of multinationalization, the Initiative requires the enterprises to take Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) the same priority as pursuing profit in the very beginning – the principle of achieving shared growth through discussion and collaboration consolidates the cooperation foundation. This differentiation could signify a new multinationalizing paradigm. In purpose of revealing this paradigm, the authors are going to construct a CSR – CAGE Distance framework and analyze the responsible and sustainable business activities by using the case of Shandong Linglong Tire Co., Ltd., which kicks off a big investment project in Serbia, and other Chinese enterprises in the Belt and Road countries. This paper will demonstrate that: (1) Chinese enterprises in the Belt and Road countries take CSR as prime consideration. (2) The enterprise's responsibility should differ along cultural, administrative, geographic and economic distances. (3) Chinese enterprises are the main body for establishing new development paradigm among the Belt and Road countries, and taking CSR strategically is the right way to achieve that.

Key words: The Belt and Road Initiative, CSR – CAGE Distance framework, new development paradigm, Chinese enterprises

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OF THE PERIPHERY AND THE CORE: ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE WORLD ORDER AND 16+1

The existing world order, as we know, has been undergoing profound transformation since the outbreak of financial crisis in 2008. As the result of that crisis and spillover effects it released, the old power structure bestowed upon us after the end of the Cold War began to unravel, leading also to the weakening of the dominant position of the Core versus the Periphery in the international system. Despite the danger of

over-simplification, and for the sake of conceptualization of an analytical framework, this paper summarizes the current international relations into three broad categories, each with their own guiding principles: those among the 'elite', those among the periphery, and those that bridge the gap between the core and the periphery. With that typology in mind, the paper puts the semi-institutionalized cooperation mechanism between CEECs and China, namely the 16+1, into the category of IRs that crossed the Core-Periphery Division. And as a result of this unique position, the author argues, the 16+1 face structural pressure from the current international system. Its very existence also contributes to the deconstruction of Core-Periphery Division that characterizes the extant Old world order. The true meaning of the 16+1 is not given. It has been shaped in the way by which both sides look at it. A process of ongoing constructive dialogue would be crucial for the consensus building among all the participating parties of 16+1 in deciding the mechanism's future direction of evolution. This is exactly why the seminar such as the one we are engaging in is of utmost importance. Against the backdrop of great uncertainties unleashed by the internal governing crisis from countries in the Core area, the 16+1 would function as a stabilizing factor in international politics in a volatile period.

Key words: Liberal world order; core vs. periphery; 16+1; advanced capitalist countries; political conditionality; South-South solidarity

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SERBIA AND THE GREAT POWERS OF XXI CENTURY

Geographical space occupied by modern Serbia, and also the wider area of the Balkans, or Southeast Europe, have been the subject of interest to the current "great powers" throughout the history. Moreover, the political and economic control of this strategically important part of the world has

always been a sufficient reason, if not the cause itself, for waging wars and gaining power, influence and prestige. This was the case in times of the ancient and medieval Roman Empire, during the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, in the course of WW I and WW II, the subsequent Cold War, and the recent uni-polar world order. In all likelihood, it is so today in the time of the military revitalization of Russia and the all inclusive rise of China, the processes that return multi-polarity to the world scene. Despite the obvious and seemingly irreversible changes of power in the international order, the weakened United States and staggering EU (united in the NATO military alliance), will surely remain a key political, economic and military factor in deciding on the power relations in Europe, in the Balkans, and therefore in Serbia. The author attempts to provide a not necessarily certain, but rational predictions of such a state of affairs.

Keywords: Serbia, Balkans, USA, EU, NATO, geopolitics

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RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGY TOWARDS BRI: COOPERATIVE TRANS REGIONALISM BETWEEN CHINA AND THE EU

The Chinese Belt and Road Initiative provokes a number of expectations of increased regional cooperation opportunities, but at the same time, it also creates fears of increased competition. Russia is the leading economy in Eurasia and is a member of different regional organizations with economic dimensions like the Eurasian Economic Union, the Commonwealth of Economic States, the Union State of Belarus and Russia, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Russian foreign policy strategy in Eurasia since 2015 is based on the idea of “integration of integrations”, which can be called a strategy of cooperative trans

regionalism. Is it possible to avoid competition between different regional economic projects in Eurasia? The presentation will analyze the Russian strategy to look for points of convergence.

Keywords: China, Russia, Belt and Road, foreign policy strategy, regional cooperation, opportunities, fear, competition, Eurasian Economic Union, the Commonwealth of Economic States, the Union State of Belarus and Russia, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization

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SECURITY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND CHINA

In addition to the dominant economic, the relations between the European Union and China, are increasingly taking on a political and security dimension. The beginning of the relationship between the European Union and China falls within the mid Seventies of the last century. Since then, China has increasingly become a strategic partner to the European union. Chinese global Impact and, therefore, the impact on Europe is continuously expanding. This is primarily happening in the field of economy, through institutionalization within the framework of One Belt, One Road program and 16 + 1 Initiative. Increasing economic co-operation affects the strengthening of the political relations between China and the European Union and most of its members, which is also the framework for the beginning of security cooperation. In general, we are talking about two world economic powers with a strong bilateral exchange that results in ever higher interdependence. On the other hand, China and the European Union are at different levels of institutionalizing the relationship with the United States of America, and in general, have different perspectives on cooperation with this leading world power. Together with the United States

of America (and Canada), the European union constitutes a transatlantic security community that is at a high level of institutionalization (a mature security community), while the relations between the United States and China, remain characterized by rivalry and confronted interests in the global community despite a strong economic interdependence. National Security Strategy (2017) clearly testifies about the current view of the US Administration to China, according to this Strategy, the focus is redirected from international terrorism towards the “challengers” of the American global primate – China and the Russian Federation. On the other hand, China becomes a more and more active actor In the UN collective security system, especially in peacekeeping missions. There are currently more Chinese soldiers in UN missions than the soldiers of all other permanent members of the UN Security Council. This is the area of possible security cooperation between China and the European union, especially in some parts of the world, such as Africa. China and the European Union are more inclined to using soft power, which in the long run can positively affect their mutual security cooperation and the alignment of interests globally, especially in relation to the United States, Russian Federation and India.

Key words: EU, China, Security Belt and Road, National Security Strategy, Russian Federation, UN

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ONE BELT – ONE ROAD INITIATIVE AND THE BALTIC STATES: THE POSSIBILITIES, CHALLENGES AND REALITY

The issues under investigation are economic relations of the Baltic States in the context of the OBOR project and 16+1 initiative: Russia and transit via the Baltic States; relations between the Baltic States and Russia;

main geopolitical players – EU and US and OBOR and 16+1 initiative. The Baltic States follow the politics of one China, although occasionally there are events causing tension that put this position under doubt. The question of Taiwan and visits by Dalai Lama fall into this category, permitting some politicians and cultural figures to claim that they present the public opinion, put into doubt the mutual interest-based foreign and economic politics.

From a geostrategic point of view China regards CEE Countries an important linking point of One – Belt One Road corridors to the larger West-European markets. Although the 16+1 initiative is primarily designed as an economic project, its realization raises many political and security issues.

Keywords: OBOR, 16+1, China, Baltic states, Russia, CEE Countries, political and security issues

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INTERMARIUM: A BID FOR POLYCENTRIC EUROPE

Even the most cursory discussion of the Intermarium project that aspires to integrate states along the North-South axis, requires an understanding that every configuration which inscribes us Europe the post-Enlightenment East-West dichotomy is not sufficient to understand the geopolitical, economic, and cultural complexity of the continent. Intermarium is an attempt to break away from everything that prevents the region “between Berlin and Moscow” from being a subject not an object of political affairs. Critical geopolitics allows for capturing the full complexity of this regional project characterized by two phenomena: “being in between” (monolithic powers, areas of domination, or at least domination, one religion and one language) and “fragmentation and multi nationality”. In order to discuss how Intermarium fits into the post-

liberal international order, the paper will first provide a brief historical and conceptual overview. Subsequently, the twin pillars of “being in between” and “unity in diversity” will be explored in the context of current developments in the region. The final part will look at wider implications of this form of regional cooperation.

Keywords: Intermarium, New Silk Road, East-West dichotomy, geopolitical complexity, being in between, fragmentation and multi nationality, unity in diversity, regional cooperation

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PREPARATION OF CHINESE SPECIALISTS-REGIONALISTS AT MASTER'S STUDIES AT THE SHOS UNIVERSITY WITHIN THE PROJECT “ONE BELT – ONE ROAD”

Moscow State Linguistic University (MGLU) participates in the international project “SHOS University” since 2009, when it won the General Russian Try-outs and entered the “SHOS University” network structure together with MGU Lomonosov, MGIMO and Ural State University. After the development of a master's program and its testing at the MGLU-partner universities, the program's trial work was started and the first students admitted to one semester of education. In the period 2009 through 2019, 130 foreign students, including 75 from PR China and 55 from the Central Asian republics completed one and/or two-semester education at the SHOS University Master's Degree Program (at MGLU). Upon completion of the program, students receive a certificate from the SHOS University.

At the current moment, within the SHOS University MGLU cooperates with the following Chinese higher education institutions:

- Beijing University for Foreign Languages,
- Beijing Pedagogical University,
- Dalian University for Foreign Languages,
- Lanzhou University for Foreign Languages.

In the course of their education at MGLU, Chinese postgraduates improve their knowledge of Russian and English, study regionalist disciplines, do their master theses, and get acquainted with the cultural life of Moscow and other Russian cities. Currently, the option of organizing two more programs at MGLU within the SHOS University: Pedagogy and Economics is being considered. Also, the possibility of training in the «two diplomas» format for students of basic studies is being developed. Linguistic- regional preparation of Chinese students at master's studies at the SHOS University provides competence that gives them the opportunity to participate directly in the realization of the project “One Belt – One Road”.

Keywords: Belt and Road, education, master's programs, Chinese students, SHOS University, MGU Lomonosov, MGIMO, Ural State University

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NEW SILK ROAD AS A TRIGGER FOR A SHIFT IN CHINESE THINKING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The first steps in international relations (IR) were made under the auspices of American and British academic circles. The rapid development of this discipline ensued after the end of WW II and was motivated by the awareness of the possibility of self-destruction in the next world conflict. The fear of such a scenario and the awakening of consciousness about

the need for a more responsible world politics, but, also of the „more responsible“ war, as being Carl von Clausewitz’s, ‘extended arm of policy’, gave a strong impetus to the further development of this scientific discipline. Hence, in the following decades, the establishment of many university departments and institutes for the study of contemporary international relations followed. Although it was undoubtedly a case of a global trend, the West was and remains the main bearer of the development of science on international relations.

The central topic of this presentation is an analysis of the causes that prevent the emergence of authentic „eastern“ theories of international relations, as well as a considering of the possibility that China will make a breakthrough in this field of science and in the foreseeable future formulate its own theory of world politics not constrained by western theoretical matrix.

The author of the presentation will pay a special attention to the initiative „Belt and Road” and will try to recognize the elements of autochthonous Chinese theory of international relations through the analysis of the key settings of this project.

Keywords: International Relations, Theory of International Relations, Chinese Theory of International Relations, Belt and Road

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EU DANUBE MACROREGIONAL STRATEGY AND 16+1 INITIATIVES: CASE STUDY SERBIA

Despite the growing suspicion of EU and German officials that the Chinese influence in Europe is competitive and, therefore, harmful, it is necessary to maintain optimistic discourse and to seek points of overlapping of mutual interests. In many ways, the initiatives adopted by the 16 + 1 format are in line with the EU’s strategic priorities. One

of the points of merging is found in the implantation of the EU Danube Macroregional Strategy. The Danube strategy is more important in every aspect and it is based on three pillars: (a) establishing a system of safe navigation, development of transport and supporting infrastructure (river ports, canals); (b) protection of environment and sustainable use of natural resources; (c) economic development and further strengthening of cooperation and partnership in the macro-region. Danube was declared continental Corridor 7 by the EU. This corridor should connect the Black Sea at the east with Atlantic shores at the west with the transversal Constanta-Rotterdam. There are ten EU members participating in the Danube strategy – Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bulgaria and Romania and four states that are not EU members - Serbia, Montenegro, Ukraine and Moldova. At the moment 95% of river transport on Danube is done between the German port Passau and Budapest and only 5% in the lower reaches of Danube from Budapest to the Black Sea. Undoubtedly Corridor 7 has a huge development potential and its mechanisms can be used for achieving some of OBOR goals. In this paper, using the synthetic-analytical method, the possibility of implementing the EU Danube Macroregional Strategy through the format 16 + 1 on the case study Serbia will be considered. The work consists of four parts. The first part is devoted to the analysis of the current positioning of the EU and Germany according to Chinese initiatives in the CEE. The second chapter describes the Danube Strategy and its main objectives. The third part is reserved for the case study of Serbia, ie the question of how and in what way the EU and China objectives overlap in this case. The fourth part is final considerations.

Keywords: 16+1, OBOR, EU Danube Macroregional Strategy, Serbia

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