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RHEATING THE "COLD PEACE" AND THE GLOBAL SECURITY

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Abstract: The Twentieth and the beginning of the twenty first century, as none so far, was a period of conflict, violence, fear and war. It took place of two world wars, revolutions, civil wars, a series of local wars, the Cold War and so on. Social conflicts and possibilities of their prevention are imposed as priority in the social, political and a security problem.

The End of the "cold" war has resulted in the destruction of communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. In the West, it is considered as the triumph of liberal democracy as a universal process. Also, it was considered that Russia in this defeat so weakened that never can pose a threat. However, it can be said that the West made a crucial mistake as Russia was treated as a defeated enemy. History teaches us that the two sides in the conflict need to agree on key issues inherited from that, but some earlier, wars plaguing today's international relations. These unresolved issues are constantly in the focus of the "cold" peace. During that period, some analysts state that the cold war period was marked by some form of certainty and stability, while the "cold" peace was characterized by great instability, even chaos. It turned out that nationalism is not weakened by globalization and until recently with the conflicts of small nations in the territory and the borders, got back and nationalism of the great powers, as well.

Relations between Russia and the West, primarily the United States, have become increasingly strained as the NATO is closing to Russia's borders. At the same time, the victory of pro-Western forces in the democratic revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine, and now the war in Ukraine, in Russia is seen as a disguised attempt of rounding. Russia has responded with threats to the US and NATO. Its borders are threatened. We are only a step from the open and the great world conflicts as all normal people of the world scared.

Key words: „cold war“; „cold peace“; *enemies, conflicts, hegemony, arming*

INTRODUCTION

To explain what a "cold peace" is, and what is beginning to be heated up, it is necessary to go back to the period of bipolarity in the world and the "cold war" when the relations of the Soviet Union (Russia) and the United States (US) were in the center attention of researchers and analysts of international relations. At that time, almost no international phenomenon could

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not be explained without taking into account the impact that the global relationship between the two superpowers had on them. Basically, the significant number of definitions, crystallized majority opinion that "cold war" phenomenon of the late 20th century marked the economic, scientific, military, diplomatic, cultural, tourist, sporting and other opposing and competition without the use of weapons, but with advertising and ideological means between the two superpowers and their allies². We used all occasions, all the weak points of the opponent, all the human weaknesses - Scoop national, religious prejudice, curiosity, interest, envy, critical-mindedness, fear and so on. If you would like an explanation of this phrase to express curtly it could be reduced to a stereotype that it is a form of unarmed combat between East and West. But the problem is much more complex than the stated perception because it was the first global and comprehensive new type of war in human history-centered "cost the understanding that improvement warfare agents can be eliminated open war if any attackers face effective retaliation."³For the purposes of this paper we will not fully explain.

It is important to point out that the initiative for the "cold war" is part of the West, primarily the United States, from the time when communism with the first steps came on the historical scene as anti-capitalist phenomenon. It was not concealed, and justified as a noble struggle (as the "Angel of Mercy" for the bombing of Serbia) Soviet totalitarianism. However, the social systems of the West and communism were not the only reasons of hostile relations between them. Russia long before the revolution 1917 became a sphere of colonization of Western countries, but revolution itself marked the West thatsphere and lost it. And German with Hitler fought against communism and Bolshevism, but it was not just a goal in itself, as a pretext for the conquest of "living space" and the transformation of the people who live in a new kind of slave.

It is indisputable that Russia has owned, almost, the whole northern part of the Eurasian continent, which is, again, one sixth of the planet's land surface. By earthly standards, this is a huge territory. This is not an accident of history or current circumstances. Even in the 19th century Russian strategists thought that the Russian empire is vulnerable to attack, because there is no natural, geographical barriers. That's why she needed the *cordon sanitaire* in order to provide better protection. This is primarily related to its western border. Although the spread in such a space the Russians tended to think of themselves as "just another European country." Events and attacks on them have led them in a situation where they feel they have a separate civilization,

² Basis of the "cold war" are: Churchill's ideas expressed in 1946, of the "Iron Curtain" against Soviet influence in Europe; The Truman Doctrine of 1947 for the first time used the term "Cold War"; The Marshall Plan, which was aimed to help the countries of Western Europe to recover and oppose Soviet influence; Establishment of NATO 1949.g. ; In Washington, in 1950, developed the basic strategic doctrine of relations with the Soviet Union, the directive has set US policy for the entire period of the "cold war" and the character of the war.

³ Todorović L. (2013) *Međudomaća politika-dileme spoljne politike Bosne i Hercegovine*, NUBL, Banja Luka, str 15

with different roots that the West is constantly trying to destroy organized once or twice every century: through the Swedish, Polish, French, German, or any combination of these countries. Life in Russia is like living in space or on the high seas: impossible without support. Simply, it is not possible to survive without the cooperation of the local people. All They have to do in order to exterminate the attackers, is that this cooperation is not to be provided. That point and unforeseen victory of the Soviet Union (Russia) reduced the West to colonize the planet. In this situation, was born the idea of special kind of war against encroaching communism - the idea of "Cold War" as something that is self-explanatory.⁴

Practically, "cold war" began after 1946 g and lasted until the end of the 90s of the previous century. The decisive role in this war belonged to the United States, whose side took part the whole West. The war was waged by the Western spirit on the basis of pre-designed strategies and tactics and ran according to plan with great precision by the major political action ending in the smallest details, shrouded ideological phraseology about freeing people from the Communist yoke. For this it encouraged the "small hot wars" in some other countries that the West is "only" supported.

And above all, a "cold war" with the West was business with all its properties. In the "hot wars" of the past war represented only the cost in terms of loss, "Cold War" it was an investment of forces and means under the laws of Western economies. The unusual growth of Western economies and the overall environmental activity was accidentally hit on the duration of the "cold war". At that time, American experts have argued that the war is essential to the development of society. Questioned wars that link the United States, in any way, it can be observed from the consumer side. US five percent of the population consumes about thirty percent of everything produced in the world. All of this is taken up and the arms race, in order to exhaust the opponent⁵. The

⁴ In 1948, the main creator of the real Cold War G. Kenan (Mr. Kennan), Director of the Department of Policy Planning at the US Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated in an internal political document marked "secret", US foreign policy objectives, which were built postwar empire that was to become known as the "American Century ". Kenan was then in the document, which was made available to the public, wrote: "We have about 50% of world wealth, but only 6.3% of the world population. This is the opposite of particularly great as that between the US and Asian countries. In such a situation should not be mistake is not to become an object of envy and resentment. Our real task in the coming period is to devise a form relationships that will allow us to maintain this position contrary, while still clearly threaten our national security. To achieve this, we will have to completely free of sentimentality and daydreaming. We have to be everywhere focus exclusively on our immediate national objectives. We must not deceive those that today we can not afford the luxury of altruism and world benefactor. "1 (Kennan, GF, Policy Planning Study, PPS / 23: Review of Current Trends in US Policy Memorandum by the Director of the Policy Planning).

⁵ In the American media these days one can read that the nineties of the previous century were remarkable year, the best decade in the history of the United States. Tom can be trusted because: the US economy grew at an annual rate of four per cent, to 1999 Unemployment fell to four percent, which is equivalent in practice stoodstojnoj zaposlenosti. Stopa homicides in the same period fell by 41 percent, while the value of

Soviet Union and its allies were forced to expenditure exceeded their powers. West took advantage of the weakness of the Soviet Union, including the defects of communism, which gave him an excuse for what he did on the planet these years. The defeat of communist countries in the "cold war" has deprived the West excuses for his real intentions.

COLD PEACE INSTEAD OF COLD WAR

The Russian-American relations after the end of the aforementioned periods, as well as the field of studies, suffered drastic fall in the scale of interest of scientists and other analysts of world politics. For some analysts, such as for Francis Fukuyama, the collapse of communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, hinting, as he called it, the "end of history"⁶. In addition, it believed that Russia definitely accepted universal liberal democratic values and, at the same time, so weakened that could never pose a threat. They started from the fact that the post-cold war Russia is considerably weaker than the former Soviet Union, due to which its relations with the only remaining superpower does not deserve as much attention as they used to. But history provides us with a variety of lessons, and one of them is that if a great war is over without a comprehensive political solution that would be accepted by all relevant actors, there will be no stable international order and world peace. The fact that the main actors of the "cold war" have not yet agreed on key issues inherited from it, and some of the earlier wars plaguing today's international relations, the issues are the "cold peace". During that period, Rosen notes, "if the cold war period was marked by some form of certainty and stability, the current international order is characterized by great instability, even chaos."⁷

The disintegration of the Soviet Union by the borders of federal units was in the range of fair play. The only part that has been disputed is the south Caucasus, the crossroads of Central Asia to Europe and the Middle East to Russia. In this area (Arab geographers called it "mountain of languages" there are about forty) only at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century begins the process of national emancipation and the mentality of the people who lived there. For it is, of course, influenced by centuries long rule of the big Imeri, first Persian and Ottoman, and later the Russian Empire. The web and scarcity of crossed lines and faith, inflamed gas and oil, could not long survive the disappearance of communist discipline. In this area there were many unsettled scores that should have been settled, many disputed territories and resources. For the creators of the "cold war", and the "cold peace", who did not at that time had more real rival that was a ticking time bomb that needed, just ignite. It was also fired and there have been significant armed conflicts.

shares on the stock market quadrupled. By comparison, the average American family income of the decade has grown by ten percent to 2000 G. declined by nine per cent.

⁶ Fukuyama, F. (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*, New York

⁷ Rosenau, N.J. (2002) *Ominous Tensions in a Globalizing World* - In: Conference on International Relations, Middle East Technological University, Ankara, Turkey, July 3, 2002. Issues of CESR Volume 2, Number 3. http://www.cesr-cess.org/CESR_contents.html, 21. 01. 2004.r.

Following the collapse of the USSR, the economy and the economy, as well as almost all other areas, stagnated, and Russia was losing the technological race with the West. The Russians have become greedy for imported goods from the West, which made sense, considering that at that time Russia did not produce much. In those first years after the "Cold War landmark" it's time of western compradors who flooded Russia with cheap imported goods counting that it would destroy domestic production and from Russia make the exclusive exporter of raw materials. Such a Russia would not be able to defend against the embargo and would likely be forced to renounce their sovereignty. This would be a pure invasion without the use of military force, of which Russia would not be able to defend itself.

In Russia, at that time, flourished the great enthusiasm for democracy and other Western values and carry up a hope for the birth of the era of global convergence and the definitive history of repression in the margin of a throwback to the past, such as Nazism and Communism and rivalry of the great powers. Such enthusiasm was encouraged by Western significant economic assistance from 1992 to 1997 (excluding private donations) amounted to about 55 billion dollars. However, it is estimated that Russian tycoons at that time got out of the country a few hundred billion dollars, and that Western companies pulled out profits from Russia due to favorable contracts that are at the same time, were at the expense of Moscow, which Putin later intitled as "colonial contracts "insisting on their amendments.

On the foreign policy plan Russia immediately sought to preserve the interests and influence in the former common state, launching a policy of "close abroad". It insisted on respect for the mechanisms established after the Second World War and to the United Nations to be a key point for resolving all issues. One of the last instrument of Russia in international politics, and in an effort to keep the impact on the global political scene, it was the right of veto in the Security Council. Russia opposed the violation of national sovereignty. In this sense, it was until recently a *status quo* forces as it represented principle established in another Treaty of Westphalia in the 17th century on the sovereign right of each country without interference in regulated internal relations. Western countries, however, considered that the spread of democracy and globalization, political and economic processes overcame the traditional concept of sovereignty, which served a variety of dictators as a cover to terrorize its own citizens and ethnic minorities. Representatives of this thesis point out that the international community must intervene when the state violates the rights of its population. In the opinion of R. Kagan, international law, has been essentially, since the Treaty of Westphalia, protecting autocratic regimes, and now democratic world wants to remove that barrier. According to him, in this sense, the war in Kosovo for Russia and China was more dramatic than the invasion of Iraq 2003.⁸

The hegemony or dominance of the United States through a significant number of years, after the victory in World War II, has relied on the

⁸ Kagan, R. (2008) *The Return of History and the End of Dreams*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2008, p. 65

role of the US dollar as a world reserve currency. Arbitrary prices of oil and most of the products of heavy industry has played an important role in preserving the dominance of American capital after 1971, when the US government unilaterally abolished the gold as collateral dollars. The power of dollars, built on oil prices and industrial products, was reinforced leading role of banks at Volt Wall Street on the global financial market, particularly their full authority over trade in financial derivatives, the work that is measured in hundreds of thousands of billions of dollars annually.

Although after the "Cold War" in some circles, was the the idea, about the abolition of NATO because the earlier it had completed its role, and in Moscow was asserted that George Bush senior promised to Mihail Gorbacov, at the time when it was considered the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Central and Eastern Europe, that NATO would not expand the space of the former Warsaw Pact.⁹ Despite such thinking, and promises the West opted for a major extension of the NATO area in the eastern direction and the Alliance had almost doubled (in the period of 1999-2009. connected to the 12 states, which is to say that NATO has expanded by 43 percent), including former Warsaw Pact countries, and some countries of the former Soviet Union. With Finland and Sweden signed contracts that would allow them to even closer cooperation with the Western military alliance. Since the foundation, it has had the goal to get closer to Russian territory ,NATO is still without respect to warnings, committed to its expansion and four states are on the waiting list, including Georgia and Ukraine. The US has always sought to maintain "a strong offensive force formed" american troops are deployed in nearly 150 locations around the world¹⁰, and it could be said that this is in accordance with Eisenhower's thinking "until the war is not eliminated from the international relations, the lack of preparation for it is close to the crime as the war itself. "

During the "Cold War" opposing superpowers managed to sign a number of important bilateral and multilateral agreements in the field of arms control, seven agreements on the limitation and reduction agreements for the deployment of nuclear weapons, the INF treaty on intermediate-range nuclear

⁹ „Russia vs Georgia: The Fallout“, International Crisis Group, Europe Report, No. 195, August 22, 2008, p. 14

¹⁰ "Offensive forces stationed" overseas bases in the United States, as well as "rotating offensive deployed forces" are scattered around the world: 80,000 in the Pacific, 20,000 in South Korea, 40,000 under the Central Command, 28,000 in Europe, plus Africa, Latin America and so on. In 1999, the increase in the number of US military bases around the world took on a new quality dimension. After the bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, US forces are on the border between Kosovo and Macedonia began construction of Camp Bondsteel. It is gravity base point for the future new network of American military bases in the world. Base Camp Bondsteel the US Air Force has enabled easy access to the oil-rich Middle East and Caspian Sea, as well as Russia. At a time when it was built Camp Bondsteel was the largest US military base built after the Vietnam War, about 7,000 soldiers. This military base built yen he biggest US military construction company, KBR, which is uvlasništvo company Halliburton. At that time the CEO was Dick Cheney.

missiles, the open skies agreement, CFE (contract on conventional troops on European soil), etc. In the period of "cold peace," the whole process of control was almost completely suspended, without much chance to be restarted in the near future.

Also, the number of unresolved issues between the US and Russia was piled up constantly, in the areas of global significance, which also represent the challenges and threats to regional and global stability. On this occasion, we will mention some of them: continuous deployment of US global anty missile system; Conversion of US SSBN (Strategic submarines armed with nuclear warheads filling) in the SSGN (strategic submarines armed with cruise missiles with nuclear); lack of desire by the United States that counted and SOA (strategic offensive weapons) in the warheads are stored in the active reserves; refusal to accept the US proposal on the control of SLCM (long-Brod-submarine cruise missiles); the existence of US tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, therefore outside US territory; lack of desire from the US side to expand the settlement INCSEA (agreement on the prevention of maritime incidents) and strategic nuclear submarines (12 collisions were recorded so far between the US and Soviet / Russian nuclear submarines); US still have offensive nuclear doctrine based on general and extended nuclear deterrence with the provision of preventive and preventive the first nuclear strike; there is no desire on the American side to draft a qualitatively different CFE (CFE-2); there is no desire from the US side to reach an agreement on the issue of PAROS (Prevention protivrazmeštanja weapons in space); there is a desire not to sign ASAT (contract antisatelitskom Weapons); The United States violated the INF treaty by testing missile interceptors using ballistic missile medium (1,000-1,500 km) and long-medium (3000-5500 km) range; US and NATO-led air operation "ballistic air patrol", active 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, to double patrol aircraft able to carry unguided nuclear bombs; Washington still refuses to ratify the CTBT (Comprehensive agreement on the cessation of nuclear testing), although since the signing of the past 18 years; US has no intention to limit the use of armed aerial drones (UAV), which is still used against civilians, especially in Pakistan and Afghanistan and, finally, the US has no desire to impose restrictions on hypersonic conventional weapons with high precision, which is being developed under the umbrella strategy " a rapid pace of global strike ".

Russia is the only nuclear power, and at the time of the "cold peace", which was able to carry out credible nuclear attack on the United States and its allies. Aware of these opportunities the United States have launched a series of activities for the renovation and modernization of strategic nuclear weapons in several directions: modernizing ICBMs (ballistic missiles mid-range), new SLBM (submarine ballistic missile) and heavy strategic bombers. Modernize their warheads. It will be developed and a new type of fuel for modernized ICBM, force newly built engines for ICBM and SLBM will be increased, and will be improved and the accuracy of the missiles themselves. The Pentagon plans to develop a new long-range cruise flights missiles (ALCM), and that the ship-submarine ballistic nuclear missiles (SSBN) converted into a nuclear missile with the ability Guidance (SSGN), a process which has already started modernization of four submarines of class " Ohio ". There were also long-term

plans in the Pentagon to complete strategic offensive forces modernization until the end of the 20th century, and tactical nuclear forces, at the latest, to 2075.g. The assumption is that the United States if they can get quality care from a possible counter-attack by Russia on a US attack could simply dictate their conditions, not only Russia, but also throughout the world. This is what military analysts call nuclear superiority and is now becoming clear that the US government since the end of the "cold" war has never ceased to strive for nuclear supremacy.

THE NEW COLD WAR INSTEAD OF COLD PEACE

Two decades later, history is a dramatic way "back". West made a crucial mistake when it began to treat Russia as a defeated enemy¹¹, and Putin, Russia's president, thought that the collapse of the Soviet Union "was the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century"¹². At the same time, Russia was increasingly openly showed dissatisfaction with the treatment of the junior partner in relations with the West and increasingly in the period of "cold peace" watched it as a period of humiliation, like Weimar Germany after the First World War¹³. Relations between Russia and the West, primarily the United States, became increasingly strained as the NATO got closer to its borders, and the victory of pro-Western forces in the democratic revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine, the Kremlin was seen as a disguised attempt of rounding. It turned out that nationalism was not weakened by globalization, and that with conflicts until recently, among the small nations around the territory and borders – bring back the nationalism of the great powers, as well.¹⁴

It is difficult to determine the precise dates when there was a more specific disruption of the "cold peace" and intensification of Russian-American relations. We will try to point out three possible terms. The first could be associated with the Munich speech Putin 2007 that the Western media characterized as the beginning of a new "cold war". Then the Russian president in his speech, but openly and publicly, spoke out about the process that did not stop the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, then he spoke generally about the American vision of a "unipolar" world with "with one central authority, a central force and one center of decision-making", calling it "the world in which

¹¹ King, C. (2008) *The Ghost of Freedom: A History of the Caucasus*, Oxford University Press, New York, p. 8-9

¹² Vladimir Putin in his address to the Russian parliament on April 25, 2005. G. http://kremlin.ru/appears/2005/04/25/1223_type63372type63374type82634_87049.shtm

¹³ Kagan, R. (2008) *The Return of History and the End of Dreams*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, p.13

¹⁴ Late last year, Nobel Laureates gathered at the World Summit of Nobel Peace Prize in Rome expressed "deep concern" about the threat from "certain big powers" that use the power thus risking launch "a new, more dangerous Cold War." The Nobel laureates denounced "fanaticism disguised as a religion" and drew attention to the conflict in Syria, Iraq, Israel and Palestine, Afghanistan, South Sudan and Ukraine, which, according to their attitudes get dangerous current. The final document expressed "deep concern over the threat of war, including nuclear, among the states."

there is one master, one sovereign. Ultimately, this is detrimental not only to the world For those who are inside the system, but also for the ruler, because it destroys itself from within. "Of course, Putin didn't talk about Russia, but about the only superpower - the United States. The Russian president then passed to the substance of the thing pointing out:

"Today we are witnessing an almost unrestrained aggressive use of force, military force in international relations, force that is pushing the world into an abyss of permanent conflicts. As a result, we do not have sufficient strength to find a reasonable solution for any of these problems. Impossible, too, is becoming and achieving any political agreement. " Further in his speech said: "We are witnessing a growing disrespect of the fundamental principles of international law. Independent legal norms, in fact, are increasingly approaching the legal system of a country. When I say a state, of course, I mean, first of all, the United States, which their national border have been crossed in every way. This is evident in economic policy, the political issue and policy of culture and education, imposed by other nations. But who likes it? Who is happy about? " He added the role of a character from the story of the famous fairy tale writer Mr Andersen, he stood up, pointed his finger at Mr G. Bush and cried out loud for all to hear: "Look! The emperor is naked!"¹⁵

A few years later, Zbigniew Brzezinski, famous geopolitician and strategist from the United States, in his book "Strategic Vision. America and the Crisis of Global Power "in a way confirmed what Putin spoke, as he pointed out many anomalies that had arisen during the period of" cold peace ". According to him, the United States and other Western countries did not take advantage of his victory in the "cold war" in the right way. They were euphoric, arrogant and extremely disparagingly treated the defeated rival, believing that their victory was so superior and overwhelming that it had not only ideological and political significance, but also ontological significance in the history of mankind. In an atmosphere of general satisfaction it was lost what the West is particularly distinguished in relation to other cultural and civilizational patterns - rationality in the approach to problems. Thus, absent soberly draw lessons from half a century of Cold War drama, and eventually won it, which had a negative effect on the further political development of the United States and other Western countries. Thus the triumph of the US and the West in fact was a Pyrrhic victory, a defeat that had delayed effect for twenty years. Due to the many failures and various factors, the West itself had fallen into a deep political and economic crisis, which endangered not only its prestige in the world, but threatened its precipitous erosion and hardly curable entropy. Also, Brzezinski believes that America and the West slowly and surely lose their prestige and influence in Eurasia, leaving him "authoritarian Russia" and "totalitarian China". According to him, by 2025 multipolarity, which is largely present in the modern world will turn to Russia and especially China, which "must be concerned about in the free world"¹⁶. It is true that

¹⁵ Putin, V. (2007) "Rede des russischen Präsidenten Wladimir Putin auf der 43. Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz", München, 10. Февраль 2007.

¹⁶ Brzezinski, Z. (2012) Strategic Vision. America and the Crisis of Global Power, Basic Books, New York

Russia and China are not just great powers that hector West. According to the T.Mr. ESA those are alternative versions of authoritarian capitalism, or capitalist authoritarianism. "This has been potentially the biggest ideological competition with liberal democratic capitalism since the collapse of communism."¹⁷

The second possible date was the Russian-Georgian war of 2008 .It could happen immediately after the NATO summit in Bucharest in 2008, when, due to the opposition of some EU member states, notably Germany and France, was not assigned a Membership Action Plan (MAP) to Georgia and Ukraine. After a while, Georgija decided to attack, and the Russian campaign acquired a logical response to the Georgian attack on South Ossetia's Army. Almost all Georgians, who made up to a third of the population of South Ossetia, were expelled. In the wars of the nineties almost 250,000 Georgians from Abkhazia were expelled, who were the majority population in the region. M. A. Hoar, from Kingston University of London, argues that Russia's attack can not be compared with the NATO campaign in Kosovo, but more reminiscent of the US intervention in Guatemala and Nicaragua during the "cold war", the role of France in Rwanda during the nineties or the British in Ireland during twenties and Cyprus in fifties¹⁸. I do not intend in this work to go into a deep analysis of this war, but it can be bemoaned the fact that Georgia enjoyed unlimited support from the West, especially after the "Rose Revolution" in late 2003. To the US, Georgia has become a "beacon of liberty" in this part of the world and vanguard for the "democratic revolution," primarily "orange" in Ukraine. Washington sent military instructors to train the Georgian army, including the common practice in July 2008 with about a thousand US troops, lobbied for Georgia to join NATO, favoring its fragile democracy and, most importantly, supported its territorial integrity, to fight Russia over the separatist region.

By recognizing the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, by the way, Russia is apparently crossed the red line, that led to the border drawn at the time of the Soviet collapse. At the very beginning of negotiations on the status of Kosovo in 2006, Moscow had drawn attention to the possible independence of this Serbian province would have far-reaching consequences, especially on the conflicts in the South Caucasus and Transnistria. At the time the declaration of independence of Kosovo, Putin qualified it as "immoral and illegal act"¹⁹, which would "break open the head of the West."²⁰ That was the

¹⁷ Zakaria, F. (2008) *The Post-American World*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York & London, p. 102.

¹⁸ Hoare, M. A. "The dangers of appeasement", *Prospect*, Issue 150 , September 2008, http://www.prospect-magazine.co.uk/article_details.php?id=10361

¹⁹ „Putin warns Kosovo will 'come back to knock' the West, as NATO envoy lashes out”, *International Herald Tribune*, February 22, 2008, <http://www.iht.com/articles/ap/2008/02/22/europe/EU-GEN-Russia-Kosovo.php>

²⁰ Coppiteters, B. (2008) „The Recognition of Kosovo: Exceptional But Not Unique”, in: *What is 'just' secession? (Is Kosovo unique)?*, ed. by Michael Emerson, ESF Working Paper, No. 28, February 2008, p. 3, http://shop.ceps.eu/BookDetail.php?item_id=1601

reason why Russia in South Ossetia and Abkhazia intervened with the same text as the West in Kosovo and did not want her action was seen as grabbing the territory, but "preventing genocide and the protection of small nations or its citizens."²¹

In the political game, in that period, were introduced fuels, as well. It was not something new in world politics since the time of the "cold war" the CIA to undermine the Soviet Union, during the eighties with the help of Saudi Arabia pedigrees of the price of oil and in 1986 and 1987 the value of a barrel fell from 30 to 10 dollars.²² Russia had its own political position in Georgia, which was getting harder, all supported by higher revenue from oil and gas, whose price rose to dizzying July 2008 which resulted in a significant increase in gross domestic product. After years of surpluses, the Russian budget was the first time in 2009 was in deficit due to a dramatic fall in oil prices on the world market, in a period of less than 40 dollars a barrel, which reduced the possibility of an ambitious modernization of the Russian army. But as the Russian President, pragmatic leader as he is, with the other oil-exporters, managed again to increase its price in the international market and thus managed to increase its power in the country and internationally, as well.

In addition, Moscow was bothered by that Georgia should become the main transit route for energy from Central Asia to Western markets, bypassing Russia. So there were her constant endeavoring to undermine the construction of gas pipeline "Nabucco", by all cost, which should be funded by the West and was against developing of their project "North Stream" and "South Stream" to make Europe more dependent on their energy. The wealth of the nation, apparently, do not necessarily lead to the global economy, but often global competition. Geoeconomy is in a function of geopolitics.

The third term could be a war in Ukraine. There first occurred "orange" revolution, for which certain analysts say that the US had been preparing long and patiently. After that, and for several reasons, in Ukraine appeared fertile ground for the development of anti-Russian sentiment, and western services were not able to make mistakes and worked horizontally and vertically. A "deep work" of the western factor for pulling Ukraine into "western orbit", was used as a joint candidacy with Poland for the organization of the European Football Championship in 2012. This was not only the project that concerned the presentation of Ukraine as a "part of civilized Europe" and an attempt of infrastructure connections with Poland, but had its particular security dimension, too. The Well-organized and highly motivated group of supporters of Ukrainian football clubs during 2012 were "Elaborated" in details and today represent the recruiting base for the right sector and the National Guard of Ukraine.

²¹ „Georgia, Russia: South Ossetia and Abkhazia's Options”, Stratfor, September 11, 2008, http://www.stratfor.com/analysis/georgia_russia_south_ossetia_and_abkhazias_options

²² Marshal I. G. (2008), *Putin, Power, and the New Russia Petrostate*, Oxford University Press, New York, p. 49-54.

When, finally, the war began in Ukraine, a senior US and European officials, soporific Viktor Yanukovich, the former President of Ukraine, with the arrangements not to use force, prompted the Nazis to his violent overthrow. When they succeed, they brought to power their puppet government tried to carry out a long prepared blitzkrieg and use it to establish full control over the entire territory of Ukraine. This time period since the opening of the Ukrainian crisis, it is clear that the United States in its intention failed. Control over Ukraine has not been established, nor military nor the institutional and political. Crimea became part of the Russian Federation on the territory of Donetsk and Luhansk Oblast was declared the People's Republic and there is raging a civil war, in Zaporozhye, Odessa, Kharkov and Dnepropetrovsk is a very tense situation, and the apparent stability of barely maintained, thanks to the arrangements of local influential stretched groups. For the failure of the US and its allies have accused Russia, which have introduced economic and financial sanctions, as well as a significant number of high-ranking Russian officials that went beyond similar restrictive measures introduced against the Soviet Union in the past due to the events in Afghanistan, as well as those introduced to Russia after the Georgian attack on Sth. Osethia in 2008.

Against Russia has been conducted informational-psychological war. The mass media controlled by the US and its supporters blamed Russia for all, diligently creating her character as the enemy of Ukraine and streamers for Europe. Frenzied and hysterical lie Russophobia Ukrainian and world leading channel leaves no doubt that we are dealing with the military propaganda machine, which suffocates all objective journalists and imposes anti-Russian people a sense of psychosis. It follows that the United States, as issued for the peacemakers and protectors of human rights, from the very beginning of the Ukrainian crisis following the strategy unreservedly to outbreak of the conflict in the Ukrainian-Russian war, justifying the atrocities of Nazi junta, funding and arming was covering the diplomatic channels and forcing its European allies to do the same.

It could be seen from the statements of US officials sent to Russia on a "we will read you a lesson," "Russia will pay a huge price for a military intervention in Ukraine", "Crimea was annexed", and the statement that Russia is the second biggest threat to humanity with Ebola and Islamic countries (as on the general session of the UN expressed Barack Obama, US president), were completely unfounded. Putin's answer to this is crystal clear. If with such rhetoric we consider sanctions against whole sectors of the Russian economy, this approach can not be called otherwise than "enemy's".

The immediate aim of this war is the complete separation of Ukraine from Russia, which is the purpose of the important tasks of geopolitical West and was set by Bismarck, and in modern conditions Brzezinski. His rusofoby formula that without Ukraine, Russia can not be a great state has become the leading leitmotif of the whole American policy in the post-Soviet space. Towards this goal, the United States has been moving for two decades since the collapse of the Soviet Union, while putting in the growth of anti-Russian political elite in Kiev. According to the idea of NATO strategists,

separating Ukraine from Russia should be carried out by subjecting Ukraine to the European Union (EU) in the form of associations, through which Ukraine to Brussels surrenders its sovereign rights in the field of regulation of external economic activities and implementing foreign and defense policies. Yanukovich refuses to sign the Association Agreement EUSAD received it as the release of the Ukrainian leadership from the state of inferiority and a threat to the natural renewal process of establishing a common economic space with Russia. Precisely in order to prevent the entry of Ukraine into the Customs Union with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, and Ukraine to restore the path of European integration, was organized coup, after which EU leaders are rushing to sign with the Nazi junta illegitimate political part, and after the presidential choice, and the entire Association Agreement, which is contradictory to Ukrainian constitution.

However, as the current activities of the United States prove, the transition of Ukraine under the jurisdiction of the EU in the framework of the Association Agreement, to imposed Kiev, has not yet sufficient. They want to confront Russia in Ukraine military conflicts and take into the conflict the EU. Forcing them submissive, Nazi junta to lead a total war in the Donbas, the US created in the center of Europe more widespread vortex of chaos, which is found to draw in a fratricidal war, first Russia and then the nearby European countries. What it's about, not only due to the weakening of Russia, but also because of the worsening situation of the EU.

POSSIBILITIES FOR "THE HOT WAR" BETWEEN THE US AND RUSSIA

It seems to me that this issue has been on the air for a considerable number of years and I can say that the "specter of war" circles the world, but everything points to this "terrible" could be the most bent on the territory of Europe. It would be good to answer this question, but it is complex. But on this occasion I will try to point out that "the specter of a hot war" exists.

From the various analyzes of the crisis, which affected almost the entire world, it can be concluded that the Western banking and financial system has grown to a level when he begins to devour itself and irreversibly tone. As this system, together with the large multinational companies, is controlled by the political elite of leading Western states and elites are directed towards the enslavement of other countries with the ultimate goal of enslavement of Russia and China. That is the reason why the US and its allies sparked a series of crisis areas called "Arab Spring" (Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Iraq, Syria ..), and the last began a destabilization of Ukraine's "orange revolution", and continued with the current events. Confident experts and activists are bidding when the "Arab Spring virus attack Moscow and Beijing" and there is no doubt that it is closer to Russia and the calculation of "cold" or "hot" war, with it possible. China is still on the "hold".

After the outbreak of war in Ukraine there took place the collapse of diplomacy in relations between the West and the East associated with all widely distributed war propaganda²³. Hundreds of Western powers put the

²³ The media, that live directly from multinationals and bankers, which are controlled by political elites, have zazadatak to media pressure, its citizens are

scenario of possible third world war to now considered military action against Russia at the "operational level". Let me give you some moves of that strategy.

US Senate in May 2014, was presented a resolution on the prevention of Russian aggression (RAPA or S 2277) in which it calls for the militarization of Eastern Europe and the Baltic countries and the deployment of NATO troops and the US on the doorstep of Russia. President of the United States is urged to implement a plan to increase US and NATO support for the armed forces of Polish, Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia, as well as other NATO member states and permanent representative to NATO dictates that requires consideration of a permanent deployment of NATO forces in those countries. The resolution imposes obligations to to president of Congress to present a strategy for increasing efforts in order to accelerate the realization of NATO and European missile defense. While the aforementioned resolution With 2277 just sends the consideration of the Senate Commission for Foreign Affairs, key points are already in the process of implementation. The first concerns the call to allies to pile up the sufficient quantities of weapons, ammunition and other supplies to support the rapid deployment of thousands of troops against Russia. Obviously, it is a "blitzkrieg scenario", which was confirmed on September last year at the NATO summit in Wales.

Less than a month after began the "muscle-flexing" was and held military exercises in the US-NATO Baltic states. The second part of the exercise was held in November and was extended to the territory of Eastern Europe. As part of a broader effort at the beginning of November on the territory of Lithuania were held in NATO military exercises named "Iron sword", in which took part nine member states of the Alliance. The entry of US tanks into Lithuania was a demonstration of power, wich goal is to make it clear to Russia that in the region 'she' is not welcome. Russia took it as "enhanced combat readiness" and the transfer of NATO "military infrastructure towards Russia's borders." World security was put at risk.

At the end of 2014 was adopted a legislative act in the House of Representatives of the US Congress - Resolution number 758, and after the vote in the Senate de factoce was given the green light to US President and the supreme commander that, without the approval of Congress, to initiate the process of a military confrontation with Russia²⁴. In the Resolution Russia was presented as an "aggressor nation" that invaded Ukraine, and had pretensions to other neighboring countries, which actions are strongly condemned. Russia has been accused of invasion of the Ukraine, and with the charges of military aggression, with no evidence of states and that Russia was behind the overthrow of the Malaysian plane MH17. It is ironic that the Russian

misleading and blames Russia, China and all the other, completely reversing all of the facts, reality naterenu to history - leading a boisterous and deafening propaganda to any voice of reason strangled.

²⁴ Legislative speed - Resolution 758 was presented on 18 November 2014, then was quickly forwarded to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and then again sent back to the plenary session, where debate and adopted. Two weeks - more precisely, 16 days - since he first predstavljiio Republican Kinzinger (Illinois), 18 November 2014 was adopted almost unanimously (410 votes for, 10 against) to vote on 4 December 2014

Federation was accused the introduction of economic sanctions, not only against Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova, but also against a number of unlisted EU countries. The resolution also accuses Russia of using "energy supply as a means of political and economic compulsion".

In this battle cry of the United States they invoked the Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, ie. NATO doctrine of collective security, which states that an attack on one NATO member is an attack on all members. The main narrative is secured for unfounded accusations directed against the Russian Federation. The resolution calls on the President of the United States, in cooperation with the Congress, "to consider the state of readiness and responsibility of the US Armed Forces and the armed forces of other NATO members to determine whether the contributions and activities of each of them are sufficient to meet the obligations of collective defense under Article 5 . NATO agreements, as well as to determine the measures necessary to correct potential deficiencies. " What is in this paragraph, in fact, suggests that the US consider using NATO doctrine of collective security enshrined in Article 5 of seeing that through it initiate a process of military confrontation with Russia.²⁵

The structure of military alliances is crucial. Washington's intention is to isolate Russia. Article 5, which the United States imposed Western Europe, it is suitable mechanism for doing so. He forces of NATO member states - which are mostly EU members - to enter into a war that is in the interests of Washington. Moreover, it considers the referendum in Ukraine on the issue of NATO membership. In the event that Ukraine becomes a NATO member and / or redefine its of Security Agreement with NATO, Article 5 could be used as a justification to wage war against Russia, which would be sponsored by NATO.

Russia is put to the wall and she has nowhere to retreat further. She said back to the threat of US and NATO. Its borders are threatened. Russia reluctantly had to speed to occupy the Crimea and that their military forces stand on the bumper of their borders. There was no more room for policy discussions and agreements with the West because they are no longer wanted. Russia has rapidly started to raise the level of readiness of their army, in response to the deployment of NATO troops on the Russian border, the Russian Federation, also in early November 2014. held a large military exercise in the Barents Sea. Russian maneuvers contained testing of the "Complete nuclear triad composed of strategic bombers and submarines"

²⁵ Member of the House of Representatives of the US Congress Denis Kusinič believes that the resolution of 758 is equal to the publication of the "cold war" to Russia. Professor of Economics at the University of Ottawa Michel Chossudovsky writes: "America is in a state of war. The war against Russia in this moment considering the "operational level", the Senate and the House of Representatives are working on laws that ensure the legitimacy of waging war against Russia. We do not deal with the "cold war" ... The United Nations closes its eyes to the huge list of war crimes committed by NATO ... So the adoption of the Resolution 758 de facto- "green light" to the President and Supreme Commander to start a military confrontation with Russia. Global security is in danger. "Sekulović D. Gigović Lj. (2008) European component of the geopolitical position of Serbia, Military work

and test "Topol-M" intercontinental ballistic missile launched from an underground silo in Plesetsk, in the Arkhangelsk region ". Almost every day she performed various military exercises, held the army in motion and dislocated from their base, fired dozens of heavy rocket carriers of nuclear weapons, was built and constant flight maneuvers and strategy, hunting and observation aviation, all submarines with nuclear weapons were launched and placed in standby mode, and the remaining fleet is the most suitable positions for the counter attack.

In these maneuvers, there are "close encounters" of offensive and strategic aviation of Russia with NATO forces, submarines sneaking near vital Western targets ... you just need the command for starting the conflict. Although it can not be read in the Western media, this demonstration of determination with a demonstration of power, the West is scared and disturbed their plans to complete the encirclement of Russia, the destabilization of Putin and Russia. Putin izsvega has strengthened, Russia people stood behind him, oligarchic, bureaucratic and political cracks around it became clearly visible, and what is most important to them, be remedied.

The sanctions that the West introduced to Russia will cost Russia a lot, but they are counter sanctions demonstrated the vulnerability of all countries, although for large and deep "wounds" The Russians did not use even close to its main trump card. The United States are too far away themselves that they may endanger Russia effectively, and Europe (EU) are increasingly wavering, given unconditionally to follow the US and seriously jeopardize its interests and security or, still, with Russia put down the ball. The EU should be aware that the epicenter of the "hot" war is not somewhere in Europe, but it is located on the borders of Russia, in a region from the Russian perspective is taken as absolutely crucial to Russia's security, and even for itself the Russian civilization.

CONCLUSION

If we analyze the wars in the 20th century, which were conducted on the territory of Europe, we came to the conclusion that they were an important source of economic growth and political power of the United States. They became a superpower because of the First and Second World War, which entailed massive capital outflows and minds of each of the warring European countries to America. "The Cold War" drove socialist system into oblivion, but it brought the United States influx of over a thousand billion dollars, hundreds of thousands of specialists, a ton of plutonium and other precious materials, and a number of unique technologies. Today, faced with economic difficulties, the US is trying to trigger another war in Europe to achieve their own goals. The gains are not measured only by money. The main prize, for which some circles in the United States provoke a new world war, would be the preservation of world domination in terms of global structural changes caused by technological change in structure, and that Europe "falls to his knees"

dismantled and torn at the seams, as well as Russia. But we should not forget that Russia is part of Europe, too.

And the Balkans as the "Mediterranean keyhole" is located in the geopolitical interests of global powers. "From the standpoint of European and world geopolitical structure in the Balkans clash the four largest regions. The greatest importance among them are Eurasia (Russia) and Mitteleuropa (Germany) (German term that is up to the First World War signified the concept of the region of Central Europe, slightly wider than the present or the countries that are under German cultural influence). Between them there is a "cordon sanitaire" which in the contemporary geopolitical distribution geographically moved from Central Europe to Eastern Europe. On our geospace Atlanticism has significant geopolitical interests, which are the traditional holders of the United Kingdom and France, and today the United States. As a counterweight to Atlanticism, Germany constantly strives to build a European diagonal, whose vector is directed towards the Balkans, Asia Minor and the Middle East (Drang nach Osten)²⁶. "There is no" cold "or" hot "war will be felt in these areas, and the distance from the epicenter of the war an aggravating circumstance for the countries in this region. As recent statement US Secretary of State John Kerry in several European countries there is the "line of fire" in the conflict between Moscow and Washington. These are Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and some other countries.

Under the foregoing circumstances, it will move further unpredictable development of international relations. Europe is threatened by a new division. Practically, we can say that the coup in Ukraine and the beginning of the civil war in that country was a shot that marked the beginning of a great match in which European nations will occupy the position for the 21st century. Since the outbreak of the crisis in Ukraine, everyone who even remotely political thinks, it became clear that it would be in Europe to be established new relations among people and nations. And if you choose such a path, there will be a lot of "heart" and debris, and their cleaning products will take decades, not years. Unfortunately, a return to happier past is not possible. Organizations demoted by democratic messianism remains to try to somehow find their way to peace, stability and a more humane life. It will be a long and very painful process.

PODGREVANJE „HLADNOG MIRA“ I GLOBALNA BEZBEDNOST

Prof. dr Luka V. Todorović

Apstrakt: Dvadeseti ipocetak dvadestet prvog veka, kao nijedan do sada, bio je period sukoba, nasilja, straha i ratova. U njemu su se odigrala dva svetska rata, revolucije, građanski ratovi, serija lokalnih ratova, hladni rat itd. Društveni sukobi i mogućnosti njihove prevencije nametali su se kao prioritetan društveni, bezbedonosni i politički problem.

²⁶ Секуловић Д., Гиговић Љ. (2008) Европска компонента геополитичког положаја Србије, Војно дело 3/2008, Београд, стр. 12

Kraj „hladnog“ rata imao je za rezultat propast komunizma i raspad Sovjetskog Saveza. Na Zapadu se to smatralo kao trijumf liberalne demokratije kao univerzalnog procesa. Takođe, smatrano je da je Rusija u tom porazu toliko oslabljena da više nikad ne može predstavljati pretnju. Ipak, može se reći da je Zapad napravio ključnu grešku što je Rusiju tretirao kao poraženog neprijatelja. Istorija nas uči da dve strane u sukobu trebaju da se sporazumeju o ključnim problemima nasleđenim iz tog, ali i nekih ranijih, ratova koji opterećuju današnje međunarodne odnose. Ta nerešena pitanja stalno se nalaze u žiži „hladnog“ mira. Za taj period određeni analitičari konstatuju da je period hladnog rata bio obeležen nekim oblicima izvesnosti i stabilnosti, dok „hladni“ mir odlikuje velika nestabilnost, čak i haos. Pokazalo se da nacionalizam nije oslabljen globalizacijom i da uz doskorašnje sukobe malih naroda zbog teritorije i granica vraća i nacionalizam velikih sila.

Odnosi Rusije i Zapada, pre svega sa SAD, postaju sve zategnutiji kako se NATO približava ruskim granicama. Istovremeno, pobeda prozapadnih snaga u demokratskim revolucijama u Gruziji i Ukrajini, a sada i rat u Ukrajini se u Rusiji doživljavaju kao prikriveni pokušaj njenog zaokruživanja. Rusija je odgovorila na pretnje SAD i NATO. Njene granice su ugrožene. Na samo korak smo od otvorenog i velikog svetskog sukoba što je sve normalne ljude u svetu uplašilo.

Ključne reči: „hladnirat“; „hladni mir“; neprijatelji, sukobi, hegemonija, naoružavanje

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