INTEGRATION AND DISINTEGRATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AS A CONSEQUENCE OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC PROCESSES

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Достављен: 13. 11. 2020 Језик рада: Српски Кориговано: 05. 12. 2020. и 22. 01. 2021. Тип рада: Прегледни рад

Прихваћен: 28. 01. 2021 DOI број: 10.5937/vojdelo2101088D

The subject of this paper is integration as an objective tendency and the most important element of the current global processes and increasingly intensive disintegration processes. Qualitative analysis points to the main characteristics of integration as a consequence of growing interdependence, connectivity and cooperation and disintegration, which is strongly encouraged by the instrumentalization of this process for hidden and masked specific goals. The established process and the worrying and devastating implications in the economic and social function have been analysed. Emerging forces with current and potential geopolitical power as an alternative to the existing order are placed in the context of influencing both opposing processes.

The research objective is to consider the inevitability of intertwining and the collision of integration and disintegration, a number of manifested economic and social problems as a consequence of global economic processes, while identifying the significance and impact of different coercive actions on the sustainability and possibility of the established process. The results indicate that the importance of the military force is growing rapidly; the polarization between the developing and developed world is getting deeper, and the border between them is a source of tension and conflict. The constant state of instability, clash and conflict has the potential for numerous and greater dangers in the world in the long run.

Key words: integration, disintegration, neoliberal economic concept, rich North, poor South

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Introduction

Denoting all processes of connectivity, globalization is defined as a universal process or a series of processes that produce connectivity and interdependence between states and societies, linking them into a modern world system. Similarly, globalization is a process and system of conflicting connection of the world whose content, forms, objectives and effects are primarily determined by the planetarization of capital, interests, influence and power of the most powerful corporations and countries. The connection processes and new forms of organization at local, regional and global level, through a spontaneous or violently imposed process, which leads to a new structure and hierarchy in the world, have been dominantly noticed by this approach.

Global processes with integration as an objective tendency of current actions, conditioned by technological progress, modernization and interdependence, have had a promising potential for resolving many world contradictions. However, the United States with its allies, various forms of financial arrangements and the military force to break any possible resistance, simultaneously create disintegration processes.³

The domination and monopolistic position of rich countries over technological advancement and the hegemony of a remaining power, especially in the previous period, have generated new poles: the rich North, as almost the only winner of global processes, and the poor South. The other major factors of global geopolitical order with economies in full swing and growing common potential, striving for equal partnerships, affect both opposing processes, providing an alternative to the existing economic, political and military order.

Atlantic and European Integration

Monopolization of contemporary production processes, control of international financial institutions, domination over world funds of knowledge and world media, and most importantly, the military force, 6 enables the coalition formed of the richest

¹ The Concise Oxford Dictionary of politics (second edition), ed. Iain Mclean, Alistair, McMillan, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 223.

² Zoran Vidojević, Kuda vodi globalizacija, Filip Višnjić, Beograd, 2005, p. 15.

³ Mihajlo Marković, u Boro Tramošljanin, "Globalizacija i mehanizmi njenog ostvarivanja", Sociološki diskurs, Banja Luka, 3/2012, p. 42. Through the distinction of the terms: globalization as "an unstoppable process of world integration on technological, communications, political, scientific and cultural level" and globalism as "ideology and politics of world domination", points to the essential feature of global processes - duality, bright and dark side and two opposing forces of integration and disintegration.

⁴ Stanislav Stojanović, *Globalizacija i bezbednosne perspektive sveta*, VIZ, Beograd 2009, p. 234.

[&]quot;The asymmetric system of social power distribution created by globalization permanently antagonizes the world system into the developed world center - North and the developing world center - South, there are numerous contradictions between them."

⁵ Joseph Stiglitz, "The US is at Risk of Losing a Trade War with China", *Project Syndicate*, 31 July 2018.

⁶ Imanuel Volerstin, *Opadanie američke moći*, CID, Podgorica, 2004, p. 253.

countries topped by the only superpower, the United States, to have universal hegemony of the West. An example of the institutionalization of these global aspirations is NATO as a political-military organization and the European Union, being primarily an economic and political community. Various formal types of regional cooperation are also included.

NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) was established as a military and defense Euro-Atlantic military alliance whose main task was to defend the West, mainly Europe, in the circumstances of bipolar division of the world. At the summit in Washington in 1999, NATO went beyond Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty. The key changes were: agreement on the need for NATO enlargement to the East; taking on the role of guarantor of democratic values in the world and protector of human rights; the possibility of initiating military actions by the Alliance outside the territory of NATO member states and, if necessary, without the United Nations mandate. The armed aggression against FR Yugoslavia in 1999, carried out without the UN Security Council decision, in violation of Article 51 of the UN Charter, due to the alleged "humanitarian catastrophe" is the first military intervention by which NATO presented the key role and tasks that it was given on the 50th anniversary.

Until the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, the European Union¹⁰ had primarily an economic and political character. The emergence of a series of regional crises that have greatly threatened the EU stability has created the conditions for new foundations in the Common Foreign and Security Policy and adequate progress in the military sphere. In that sense, the Eurocorps¹¹ was created as a military formation in 1992.¹² In order to react quickly to a crisis and prevent its escalation, there have been plans to form 13 combat groups within the Rapid Reaction Force including the two on standby.¹³

Despite the constant enhancement of political, economic and military capacities, the EU has not freed itself from the decisive influence of the US and it is still instrumentalized in the function of the US administration interests. ¹⁴ In recent years, the EU has faced the most serious challenges in its history. The economic troubles that have led to the division into the North and South, the problematic future of the euro, the refugee crisis, the strengthening of Islamic terrorism, the obvious shortcomings of the

⁷ Miroslav Pečulić, *Globalizacija dva lika sveta*, Gutembergova galaksija, Beograd, 2002, pp. 143-145.

⁸ THE READER'S GUIDE TO THE NATO SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON 23 - 25 APRIL 1999, Office of Information and Press NATO, Brussels, 1999.

⁹ Dušan Proroković, "Strategija NATO 2020 i Varšavski samit: kontinuitet pozicioniranja NATO u istočnoj Evropi", *Bezbednosni forum,* Beograd, 2/2016, p. 20.

¹⁰ Klaus Diter Borhart, *Abeceda prava Evropske unije*, Kancelarija za publikacije Evropske unije, Luksemburg, 2010.

¹¹ Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty), 7 February 1992.

¹² Dejan Gajić, "Razvoj oružanih snaga u Evropskoj uniji", *Međunarodni problemi*, Beograd, 3-4/2003, pp. 346-352.

¹³ Igor Novaković, *Vodič kroz poglavlje 31 pretpristupnih pregovora Srbije sa Evropskom unijom*, ISAC fond, Beograd, 2015.

¹⁴ Mitar Kovač. "Odnos NATO prema Balkanu", *Bezbednosni forum*, Beograd, 2/2016, p. 46.

current manner of managing the community and the ideological antagonism between those who would like closer unity and those who advocate strengthening the authority of a nation state threaten to make the dissolution and collapse of the EU a realistic option.

The US key advantage lies in its overall economic power.¹⁵ As the mastermind of international financial institutions with the most invested capital under its formal control, the United States also has control over global economic processes.¹⁶ NATO coordinates its military action with the World Bank (WB) and harmonizes it with the interventionist policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and vice versa, Chossudovsky points out and warns that the Pentagon is the hand of Wall Street.¹⁷ As *Sol* further observes, economy will shape the course of human history instead of politics and the military.¹⁸

The growth of poverty and inequality, as a consequence of the implementation of the economic transition formula, generates insurmountable divisions between individuals, nations and states, which affects security within states and represents a danger on a global level. The failures of globalization, which have conditioned the increase of poverty and the weakening of the state's protective capacities, have opened the possibility for the return of widespread phenomena of war and violence.¹⁹

Eurasian Integration

The establishment of a global society under the unipolar leadership of the US and the most powerful Western countries is accompanied by the violation of sovereignty and the restriction of the independence of many countries. The institutions, rules and norms that manage the global economy and collective and regional security enable the Western countries to play a leading role despite the fact that they represent a small group of countries and a small part of the world's population.²⁰

Following these experiences, other major factors in the global geopolitical order work on establishing regional economic and security alliances on the basis of equal partnerships in order to increase capacity in competition with the United States and NATO, whose imperatives are to preserve the US²¹ as the only global power and

¹⁵ Zbignjev Bžežinski, *Amerika-Kina i sudbina sveta Strateška vizija*, Albatros plus, Beograd, 2013, pp. 61-70.

¹⁶ Džozef Stiglic, *Slobodan pad – Amerika, slobodna tržišta i slom svetske privrede*, Akademska knjiga, Novi Sad, 2013, p. 13.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁸ Ralston Džon Sol, *Propast globalizma i preoblikovanje sveta*, Arhipelag, Beograd, 2011, p. 23.

¹⁹ Stanislav Stojanović, "Globalizacija između kraja i povratka države", *Vojno delo,* Beograd, 3/2016, p. 18.

²⁰ Chantam House and The National Intelligence Council, *Globalization and future architectures: mapping the global future 2020 Project,* Report of a conference on 6 June 2005, Chantam Hounse, London, 2005.

²¹ More in: Carla Norloff. .Hegemonv and inequality: Trump and the liberal playbook", *International Affairs*, Volume 94, Issue 1, 2018, p. 63–88.

increase the institutionalization of global cooperation. 22 In recent years, emerging powers have rejected the US leadership in situations where it is of no use to them, even though they remain unprepared and unable to offer a real alternative to it. 23

As the result of such an effort the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and the BRICS have been established. The SCO is a regional political, economic and security international organization. While some view the SCO as the counterbalance to NATO interests in Central Asia, for others centuries-old antagonisms cause deep-seated mistrust and are an obstacle to a stronger alliance between China and Russia. Growing threats of NATO and the United States contribute to overcoming disagreements.

BRICS is an economic alliance of five most important countries with about 40% of the world's population, which record rapid economic growth and together make up about a quarter of the world's gross domestic product.²⁷ The instability, imbalance and crisis of global management as key characteristics of the modern international situation, i.e. the impossibility of the West to establish a stable world order on its own, have conditioned the establishment of BRICS.²⁸

The forced Eurasian integration, as an understandable response to the imposed disastrous strategies of the established world order, ²⁹ function on an equal basis, in accordance with the clearly defined national and state interests of the members. Despite the highly set goals, the existing integration processes in Eurasia are reduced to loosely connected groups, without a clear vision. Their cooperation is dominated by formal approaches within consultations with the most frequent absence of joint activities. A small number of members, with obligations that are not clearly defined, make this integration still far from a respectable and unavoidable partner without the possibility to threaten the existing world order.

The potentially greatest danger to the interests of the US and NATO is the growth of the political and military power of the Russian Federation, connecting and strengthening a tie-up with its former republics and other countries of Eurasia, which would strengthen its economic, military and political interests. Russia protects its national

²² Zbignjev Bžežinski, *Velika šahovska tabla*, CID, Podgorica, 1999, pp. 40-41.

²³ Ian Bremer, *SUPERSILA Tri moguće uloge Amerike u svetu*, CIRSD, Beograd, 2015, p. 10. Emerging powers such as China, Russia, the leading Arab countries of the Persian Gulf, India, Brazil, Turkey, and others.

²⁴ Alyson J. K. Bailes, Pál Dunay, Pan Guang and Mikhail Troitskiy, *The Shanghai Cooperation Organization*, SIPRI Policy Paper No. 17, 2007.

²⁵ Linda Jakobson, Paul Holtom, Dean Knox and Jingchao Peng, *China's Energy and Security Relations with Russia: Hopes, Frustrations and Uncertainties*, SIPRI Policy Paper No. 29, 2011.

²⁶ Zbignjev Bžežinski, *ibid.*, p. 55

²⁷ Grow global - building business in BRIC nation, Grant Thornton International Ltd, 2012.

²⁸ Ian Bremer, *ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

²⁹ Leonidovna, I. L.: ГЛОБАЛИЗАЦИЯ КАК ФАКТОР ТРАНСФОРМАЦИИ МИ-РОВОЙ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ СИСТЕМЫ, Политология изтнополитической системы, политология изтнополитической системы, политология изтнополитика, No 1, 2018, p. 139. The author believes that under the guise of achieving maximum efficiency of the world economy or protection of human rights and freedoms, they actually ensure the economic interests of corporate entities, the states of the "golden billion".

interests and improves the status of a great power on the world political scene by its moderate engagement and firm attitude towards the problems in surroundings, within strategic and doctrinal documents.³⁰ The strategy of the Russian Federation states that by creating tensions and obstructing integration processes in the Eurasian region, the West exerts a negative impact on fulfilling Russian national interests, particularly emphasizing the Ukrainian issue.³¹ In such context, it can be concluded that the Ukrainian problem weakens the attack on the US primacy in Eurasia.³²

Disintegration of nations and states as a consequence of the ambivalence of global processes

The concentration of power in favour of the United States and its allies, at the expense of a greater number of states, determines the directions of global relations. Chossudovsky says that by giving national treatment to the Western banks and MNCs open colonization has been replaced by war and the establishment of the Western protectorates, adding that in a physical sense war destroys everything that has not been destroyed through deregulation, privatization or the imposition of free market reforms. The created economic and social gap within the states themselves and between certain states globally polarizes the social structure into the globally rich and locally poor with opposing positions in the new division of wealth and poverty, possibilities and hopelessness, power and powerlessness, freedom and non-freedom. The generated inequality becomes a powerful incubator for injustice and instability.

The majority of the oppressed see the way out of the hopelessness of their difficult life in religion, generating religious fundamentalism, which consequentially leads to the flourishing of racial and national intolerance.³⁶ The recognition of Islam as the religion that is ready to achieve its goals by fight, in the conditions of cruel inequalities, significantly increases the danger. Stojanović warns that in certain parts the process of radicalization of Islam and strengthening pan-Islamist aspirations is progressing.³⁷ The essential foundation of religion, whose basis is that peace with God cannot be achieved if there is no peace among people, significantly contributes to freedom and peace.

³⁰ Zoran Karavidić i Mitar Kovač, "Afirmacija Ruske Federacije kao velike sile", Vojno delo, Beograd, 3/2018, pp. 123-125.

³¹ Указ Президента Российской Федерации от 31 декабря 2015 года N 683 "О Стратегии национальной безопасности Российской Федерации.

³² Zbignjev Bžežinski, *ibid.*, pp. 36-37 and 47.

³³ Mišel Čosudovski, ibid., p. 12.

³⁴ Vladimir Vuletić, *Globalizacija*, Zavod za udžbenike, Beograd, 2009, p. 23.

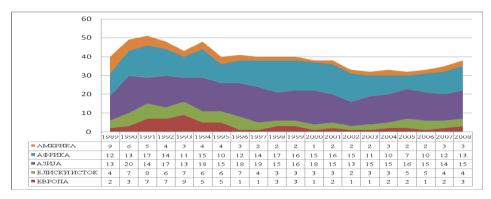
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However, the political misuse and manipulation of religion and religious feelings, using human fear of God's punishment, gives religion the huge conflict potential.³⁸

In practice, the manifested contradictions create an unfavourable global security environment and small-scale conflicts within local and possibly regional wars, as a security consequence. Two opposite tendencies have simultaneously emerged: the disappearance of the danger of war between the world leading states (World War III, nuclear war), and at the same time many internal armed conflicts and minor international wars.³⁹



Graph 1 – Number of armed conflicts in the world by regions 1989-2014. (Source: Pettersson, T., Wallensteen, P.: Armed conflicts, 1946–2014, *Journal of PEACE RESEARCH Volume 52, Issue 4*, 2015, pp. 536-550)

The dominant influence of the United States and its allies has diminished the importance of the United Nations, which subordinates its function to the military, political and economic interests of the most powerful countries in the world. The selective interventions of the great powers also contribute to this, for the sake of their geostrategic interests, which increasingly ignore the collective security guaranteed by the UN Charter. The efforts of the great powers to achieve a dominant role in global processes are characterized by a wide range of possible actions, from the provision of financial assistance to military interventions, such as the NATO aggression on FR Yugoslavia. Strobe Talbott, who chaired the Pentagon-State Joint Intelligence Committee during the bombing of Serbia, says in the foreword of the book by Liaison Director John Norris: "The real cause of the bombing was that Serbia did not conduct market, social and economic reforms, which means that it was the last oasis in Europe that did not obey the neoliberal programmes under the US administration, so it had to be removed." The processes of globalization make the position of the developing and

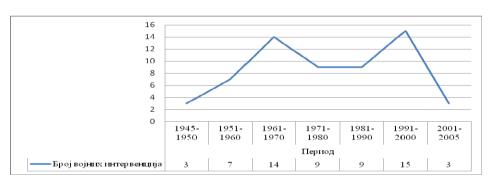
³⁸ Milovan Subotić, "Religija i rat-povratak otpisanog?", *Međunarodni problemi*, Beograd, 4/2019, pp. 482-494.

³⁹ Smilja Avramov, *Trilateralna komisija, svetska vlada ili svetska tiranija*, Idij, Veternik, 1998.

⁴⁰ John Norris, Collision Course: NATO, Russian and Kosovo (foreword by Strobe Talbott).

small countries precarious. The regional distribution of military interventions is a clear indication that the victims of the intervention are the countries of the poor South, i.e. the countries of the Third World "conflict zones".

The motive that has initiated the interventions of the great powers in the territories of other states is the interest, that is, the struggle for supremacy and redistribution of resources, and it is more or less the fact throughout the entire history of mankind. After the Washington summit, NATO and the United States⁴¹ take on the role of both protectors of human rights and guarantors of democratic values. A completely new manner of the approach to human rights has determined the role and significance of the state itself. Giving primacy to international law in relation to the rights of sovereign states has diminished the role and importance of the principle of state sovereignty until its annulment. Marković points to the scope of this problem by his opinion that the most militant Western forces are committed to a new ideology and policy of the world domination under the guise of the struggle for democracy, human rights and civil society. 42 In such a system, the United States, under the guise of protecting the endangered human rights and spreading democracy and universal values, dissolves and destroys states and organizations that cannot control or that, in search of resources and markets, act contrary to its interests and the interests of MNCs. 43



Graph 2 – Military interventions in the world by decades 1945-2005.

(Source: Stojanović, S.: Globalizacija i bezbednosne perspektive sveta, VIZ, Beograd, 2009, p. 196)

Since World War II, military interventions have happened in every decade, but the frequency of occurrence has varied by decades, with the peak in the last decade of the 20th century. All military interventions in the period after the Cold War were

⁴¹ THE READER'S GUIDE TO THE NATO SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON 23 - 25 APRIL 1999, Office of Information and Press NATO, Brussels, 1999.

⁴² Mihailo Marković – Globalizacija i globalizam, *Ka filozofiji*, 2. jula 2013. godine. (Internet). Dostupno na: https://filozofskitekstovi.wordpress.com/2013/07/02/globalizacija-i-globalizam/ (pristupljeno 23. januara 2021. godine).

⁴³ Mitar Kovač, *ibid.*, p. 47.

carried out by the countries of the rich West, primarily the United States, because of their interests. We are witnesses that the preservation of peace and the protection of human rights as a motive and excuse have been the other instruments of the powerful to impose their will on disobedient and weak states. Mićović warns that no matter how much such a concern has humanitarian character, it is often misused to achieve some other goals, and national minorities serve only as a smokescreen behind which these goals are hidden. He further states that recent history is full of examples of misuse of the "concern" for minorities, reminding of Hitler's demagogic slogans about the endangered Germans in Poland and Czechoslovakia, which were the reason for his aggression against these countries.⁴⁴

Conclusion

Globalization with integration as an objective tendency, through the imposed economic paradigm, results in the crisis of the welfare state and the world economic crisis, the growth based on increasing inequality and a series of manifested economic and social problems. Many people wonder rightfully whether the vision of global society is still certain, that is, whether globalization still exists, 46 or is on the defensive, or even dying.

High and growing economic inequality also creates disintegration processes that have generated the state of instability, clash and conflict with the potential for numerous and greater dangers in the world in the long run. Inequalities, great social disparities, poverty, unemployment, wars, cultural backwardness, constant political and economic crises, corrupt and criminalized government, institutional disorganizations, etc. generate a situation that is favourable not only for terrorism and crime, but also for the majority of other social deviations. Degradation is not only evident within states, but is equally present between states, as well as globally, pointing out that its main generator is the nature of global processes with an imposed paradigm and institutional framework, whose function is to protect uneven distribution. According to the mentioned view, Radović emphasizes that the distribution of wealth, owing to the structural imbalance of the globalized economy, primarily favours the rich. Global economic processes, having in mind the worrying and devastating consequences, have not met expectations and are not sustainable and possible without various forms of coercion.

⁴⁴ Vojislav Mićović, *Globalizacija i novi svetski poredak*, Čigoja, Beograd, 2001, p. 157.

⁴⁵ More in: Ljubomir Dulović, "Globalni procesi i efekat na ekonomiju i bezbednost", *Vojno delo*, Beograd, 5/2016, pp. 296-302.

⁴⁶ More in: Luke Amadi, "Globalization and the changing liberal international order: A review of the literature", *Research in Globalization*, No 2, 2020.

⁴⁷ Džon Ralston Sol, in Stanislav Stojanović i Goran Mandić, "Bezbednost sveta između kraja i povratka istorije", *Međunarodni problemi broj 2-3/2016*, Beograd.

⁴⁸ Naomi Klein, *ibid.*, pp. 342-352.

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The world is in a constant state of instability, clash and conflict, which have the potential for numerous and greater dangers in the world in the long run. As the result of the all mentioned, the world is less safer than it used to be 20 years ago. 50 Therefore, instead of global peace and stability as the key preconditions of global processes in the transition of the world, and for the free flow of goods, capital and information, the importance of the military force is growing rapidly. Growing interdependence, connectivity and cooperation face increasingly intensive processes of disintegration, whose negative result is deeper polarization on the line of the North and South, actualizing conflicts in order to maintain the dominant position and supremacy of the richest countries, primarily the United States. The increasingly pronounced border between the developing and developed world, which, due to global economic processes, is turning into an insurmountable gap between the winners and losers of globalization, is not just an economic problem. The scope of military interventions, having in mind the organizers and victims, as well as their scale, shows that the border between the developing and developed world is the source of both tension and conflict. Pečujlić correctly notices that the Bloc division of the world has been replaced by a new division: a "peace zone" consisting of rich, democratic and interdependent Western countries, and a "conflict zone" consisting of the Third World - an area of explosive conflicts, threatening chaos and enemies of peace.⁵¹

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Integration and Disintegration in International Relations as a Consequence of Global Economic Processes

Global processes with integration as an objective tendency of present operations, conditioned by technological improvement, modernization and interdependence, have had a promising potential for the solution of many world contradictions. Instrumentalization of this process for hidden specific goals has had a great impact on all intensive disintegration processes.

The concentration of power in one center, on account of the number of countries, has determined directions of global processes. The US and their allies have used in different ways the financial arrangement with IMF and WBG (especially countries which were previously brought to economic and political crisis by requests) and NATO for breaking the possible resistance, at the same time creating disintegration processes.

New redistribution of power caused by global processes has not lowered the number of problems and potential risks. Instructed by the stated experience, growing powers with real and potential geopolitical power (more specifically Russia and China) have started regional economic and security alliances on equal partnerships and influence both opposed processes, giving an alternative to the current order.

Poverty growth and inequality, as a consequence of economic transition formula, generates unavoidable partitions between individuals, people and nations, which affects inner security and becomes a global threat. Decomposition is evident in countries, between countries, as well as globally, pointing that its main generator is the nature of global processes with imposed paradigm and institutional field in the security function of uneven distribution. In practice, manifested contradictions make global security ungracious and create small local conflicts and eventually regional wars, as security consequences.

Global economic processes in fact have concerning and devastating consequences. They have not met the expectations and they are not sustainable and possible without force, which is characterized by different operations, from financial aid to the military intervention. Apparently, instead of global peace and stability as the key preconditions of global processes in the world transition, because of free trade, capital and information, the importance of the military power is growing. Rising interdependence, connectivity and cooperation face more intensive processes of disintegration, whose negative result is deeper polarization between the Northern and Southern line, regarding the developed and developing world, actualizing conflicts for maintaining the dominant position and supremacy of the richest countries, primarily the US. The difference between the developed and developing world is growing, which, because of global economic processes, is converting into an insurmountable chasm between winners and losers of globalization, and it is not only an economic problem. Military interventions, having in mind the organizers and casualties, as well as their scale, show visibly that the line between the developed and developing world is the source of tension and conflicts. As a result, the world is always in the state of instability, conflicts and clashes, which in the long term may have a potential for more and greater dangers in world.

Key words: integration, disintegration, neoliberal economic concept, rich North (Center), poor South (Periphery)

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