

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW WORLD ORDER, COLD GLOBALIZATION AND DEGLOBALIZATION

Nano Ružin¹
Marina Mitrevska²

DOI: https://doi.org/10.18485/isimod_strint.2023.ch4

Keywords:

cold globalization,
deglobalization

Abstract: *Similar to the emblematic work of Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History and the Last Man", the topic of "the end of globalization" is becoming attractive and debatable, as well. The question is whether attitudes and opinions will be as changeable as "the end of history" phenomenon. The central focus of this paper is directed to the question: Are we witnessing today the end of globalization, synonymous with growth in recent years? Have the end of the US unilateralism and superiority and the establishment of the new world order been announced? The Covid-19 pandemic, the Russian invasion of Ukraine, climate changes, tensions over Taiwan and China are parameters that are contrary to the philosophy of globalization. Undoubtedly, the end of hyper-globalization has begun. It is a period that extends from the fall of the Berlin Wall to the crisis in 2008 and which has marked the opening of half of the world to the world global flows. Here we think of China, the countries of the former USSR and India and their opening or closing to world trade. It is evident that geopolitics, i.e. its product – the new world order – determines globalization and deglobalization. The successive shocks of the past 15 years have encouraged the retreat of states into themselves, which is unfavorable for any idea of globalization. There are no*

¹ Nano Ružin, PhD, Faculty of Law and Political Science, FON University, Skopje, North Macedonia

² Marina Mitrevska, PhD, Faculty of Philosophy, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje, North Macedonia



Creative Commons Non Commercial CC BY-NC: This article is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial 4.0 License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>) which permits non-commercial use, reproduction and distribution of the work without further permission.

doubts that globalization will be partially sustained, but it is difficult to assume that the exceptional growth of the hyper-globalization period will be reached (Dadush, 2022). Full globalization i.e. establishing a system of "cold globalization" is possible only if there is an invasion of Taiwan by China. The Russian intervention in Ukraine, although tense, is not decisive enough to completely threaten globalization. Compared to China's importance in world trade, Russian participation is far disproportionate to China's one. Will these processes create some feedback on the state of the Western Balkan countries?

Introduction

In 2021, the world faced the sanitary crisis, a year later (2022) the geopolitical crisis due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine, and simultaneously, the climate change crisis. The main consequences of the sanitary crisis and particularly the war in Ukraine are the loss of lives, the humanitarian crisis associated with the multitude of displaced persons, the devastation of urban and infrastructural facilities, the destroyed economic, agricultural and raw material system. These events have also raised the question of the cohesion of the EU and the US and have generated severe multiple economic consequences for the whole world (STUDY, 2022). Before the outbreak of war, most major global macroeconomic variables were expected to return to normal during 2022-2023, after the end of the Covid-19 pandemic. However, the Russian intervention in Ukraine has worsened the overall economic and financial situation in the world. Global value chains have been called into question. An analysis by corporate and investment bank research analysts suggests that there are strong signals that the era of globalization is coming to an end (Barclays, 2023).

The war has emphasized the importance of minimizing dependence on Russia for certain essential imports. Politicians have re-examined the relevance of market organization in order to ensure energy security. World trade fell by 0.7 points in volume, and world industrial production by 0.6 points. Changes in the price of oil, gas and electricity have reduced the growth in European most powerful economies by 1.4 points, but the shock has been neutralized by fiscal policy.

The rising tensions between the US and China represent a new source of uncertainty, which could have a major impact on global economic activity (Polytechnique insights, 2023). Analysts are divided between those who believe that with the war in Ukraine the world is finally "deglobalizing" and those who claim that the real deglobalization would happen if there was the military intervention by China on Taiwan (Santi, 2022).

True "deglobalization", that is, the complete breakdown of the global economy would be triggered by significant geopolitical events. One of those anti-globalist challenges would be possible invasion of Taiwan by China (Thebault, 2022). It would be a great problem for the economy of Europe given the high dependence of the EU on exported digital products and semiconductors with which Taiwan participates with 60% in the world production and with 85% of the latest generation of these products (European Chips Survey, 2022). Foreign policy analysts sometimes indulge in grand narratives that have little basis in data. If China decides to attack Taiwan, and the US and its allies respond by introducing sanctions against China, international trade and investment will drop significantly. Such geopolitics between China, Russia and the West will split into two opposing political and economic blocs. Then the real deglobalization will happen.

The talk of "deglobalization" has been one of such narratives since 2016. According to some measures, global economic integration is at a standstill, while according to others, it continues to grow. The collapse in trade and international investment as in the glorious 1930s did not occur after the global financial crisis in 2008 or after the election victory of Donald Trump. However, the risks of full deglobalization have clearly increased following Vladimir Putin's invasion of Ukraine and Xi Jinping's decision to strengthen ties with Russia (Springford, 2022).

The mentioned geopolitical, sanitary and climate crises have resulted in stalling globalization, society, economy and technology. At the same time, international relations have entered such an intertwined crisis that they will not normalize for a long time. These are mainly the negative parameters of the crises. However, some analysts believe that in the whole world galimatias, several positive sides have been revealed, such as the adjustment to the energy shock or local efforts to compensate for deficient products. How is Europe holding up? From a series of inconveniences that have affected the EU and the world economies, it emerges with a much larger public debt. The average EU public debt in 2021 was 88.1% of GDP (gross domestic product) (Aljazeera, 2022). The EU states have mobilized numerous resources to offset the energy shock. And implicitly, it is the mobilized resources that would be useful to facilitate the ecological transition and subsidize the consumption of fossil fuels. This is the other negative legacy of the crises. Europe is left with fewer resources for the ecological transition (Sampognaro, 2022).

Establishing the new world order?

Although Russia and Ukraine carry relatively small weight in global world production, they are the major producers and exporters of essential food products, mineral and energy products. The war has caused economic and financial shocks of enormous magnitude, especially in commodity markets, where the prices of oil, gas and wheat have soared. The changes in the prices of raw materials and fluctuations in the financial markets have affected the reduction of the growth of GDP, accompanied by severe recession and an increase in global inflation. The World Bank warns that the war in Ukraine risks "the biggest commodity shock" since the 1970s (Josephs, 2022).

The United Nations and the Security Council have shown that they are not powerful enough to maintain the boundaries of the current international system. The changes in the international order confirm much greater global stakes than the conflict in Ukraine. In this context, this conflict can appear as the beginning of great maneuvers among the three greatest powers - the US, the EU and China, the destruction of the old and the establishment of the new world order. Unquestionably, the behavior of the other G7 or G20 major powers is not to be underestimated.

The concept of the new world order from a geopolitical point of view should not be identified with the conspiracy concept of the new world order. The expression "New World Order" ("Le Nouvel Ordre Mondial" in French) is also the title of the book of the novelist and journalist H. G. Wells (H. G. Wells 1866 - 1946) published in 1940. The author deals with the constitution of the unique world government immediately after the outbreak of the Second World War. This book is actually a response to Clarence Streit's manifesto published in 1939 and entitled *Union Now*, in which Streit appeals for the immediate formation of a *world government* after the failure of the League of Nations.

The new round trip of the world order begins with the fall of communism and the implosion of the Soviet Union. During this period, the speech of President George H.W. Bush from September 11, 1990 singles out and it grows into the conception of the New World Order. George Bush's conception was supported by Francis Fukuyama in his seminal work "The End of History and the Last Man" (Fukuyama, 1990).

Geostrategic plans were also developed by Zbigniew Kazimierz Brzeziński (1928-2017). In his last major work "The Grand Chessboard", Brzeziński pointed out that "the US needs to preserve its hegemony and take advantage of rivals such as China, Russia or Japan." He believed that the United States would have to join forces with Europe to dominate Eurasia. Brzeziński says that "the US needs European partners". However, considering that Europe is too divided, Brzeziński advocates closer cooperation among the most powerful countries in Europe – the United Kingdom, France and Germany (Brzeziński, 1997).

However, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 put an end to the illusions of lasting peace and prosperity promoted by George Bush in 1990. The events of September 11, 2001 and the terrorist attacks affected Samuel Huntington's theory of "the clash of civilizations". This thesis has troubled the spirits of the clash between Islam and Christianity in the 21st century. "If the 19th century was a century of interethnic clashes, the 20th century of a clash of ideologies, the 21st century will be a century of the clash of civilizations", wrote Huntington (Huntington, 1969).

The pandemic, global warming problems and especially Putin's war intervention in Ukraine since February 2022 have accelerated the emergence of the new world order. Ukraine has become the geopolitical and geostrategic space, where the East (Russia, Belarus and allies) and the West (EU, NATO and allies) have indirectly opposed. The role of the countries of the South (the former Third World) in the war in Ukraine has grown into a factor around whose orientation a great diplomatic battle is being waged between the warring parties. Russia is trying to win them over with the

help of Anti-Americanism, anti-colonialism and the establishment of the new world order that will change the previous primacy of the United States, while the West points to the need to preserve the world order, to the battle between authoritarianism (Russia, China) and liberal democracy (the US, Western Europe).

In the international relations of the 1990s and 2000s, supporters of "the global empire" thesis believe that the use of this expression by politicians testifies to the desire to expand everything that schematically defined the US model during the Cold War including democracy and market economy. The term is taken up by certain anti-globalists and anti-capitalists to condemn economic globalization, which would be dominated by liberal "single thought".

Although no one disputed the hegemony of the US empire, the topic was debated everywhere in Europe and the US. Among the authors, the critical thesis developed by Emmanuel Todd stands out, elaborated in the essay "After the empire, according to which the United States is a power in decline" (Todd, 2002). According to Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Obama's primary strategic task was to restore the US legitimacy by leading the collective efforts for a more inclusive global system of governance (Yong Deng et Fei-Ling Wang, 2005).

Even today, two decades after the affirmation of this theory, when the world is faced with the war in Ukraine, the theses of Russia and China are aimed at challenging the unipolar world order. Thus, at the joint press conference between the MFA of Russia Sergey Lavrov and the MFA of Turkey Mevlut Çavuşoğlu held on June 8, 2022, speaking about the possible peace process with Ukraine, Lavrov emphasized: "Negotiations can only take place on the basis of taking into account Russian interests... Peace negotiations for Ukraine are possible only if they aim to establish 'a new world order' without American dominance" (Le Figaro, 2023).

Chinese President Xi Jinping also criticized unipolarism in his speech at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of China, stating that "China will oppose unilateralism in all its forms" (MFA, 2022).

In this direction, several dilemmas arise: is the world moving towards a new, more balanced order – multipolar, bipolar or apolar or simply towards an affirmation of the old unipolar order dominated by the United States? Is another international political and economic order possible with "two-world" globalization? Could this war be an indication or opportunity for a transition in power cycles? Will neoliberalism and Western democratic values give way to other value systems if they do not embrace them?

Globalization

The current world economy is the result of a very long process of political, economic and cultural globalization, which began with the spread of the first people on the planet. We, their descendants, now live in a world united by economics, but divided by politics and religion. However, this process is not only economic: the economy is not actually an autonomous system with its laws. Globalization is the name given to

what appears when societies are analyzed in terms of economic discourse. It is one aspect, nothing more. The economy only completes the multi-millennial movement that translates the fundamental unity of human society. The unification of the world takes place in successive waves, communicating and constantly attracting new subjects, states and territories. Some processes are enigmatic. For example, how to explain the energy that motivated Rome to conquer the Mediterranean? Why did the Ottoman Empire bypass Constantinople for almost two centuries before finally conquering it in 1453? Or what made the Europeans set out to conquer the world or how to interpret the beginning of the industrial revolution?

Around 8000 BC, in the fertile regions of Southwest Asia, people invented agriculture, and a few millennia later, in the same places, cities appeared. Agricultural and urban civilization then spread across the Earth, bringing surplus production to markets. Nations experienced social changes with the division of classes, metallurgy developed, writing began on parchments, and city-states emerged. The idea of humanism, democracy, rule of law, philosophy and art developed from the ancient world, and all these parameters started the birth of Christianity.

Around 1000 AD, feudalism, trading cities and the first outlines of the European world economy ruled by the Italian city-states emerged. In the 16th century, with the great discoveries, the European world economy expanded and became global. Through colonization, Europe tied the future South to its economic and other needs. It seems that nothing could stop this planetary moment: the Ottoman Empire, a great Muslim power, after five centuries of rule began to decline. China just broke through and showed interest in exploring the world, but soon gave up and closed down just like Japan. India, the other giant state, fell under the imperial rule of England. In the 19th century, England, due to its control of sea routes and world markets, embarked on the industrial revolution and spread it across the planet.

The general progress in the world has affected the growth and density of the population, industrialization, the occupation of the Earth's energy, the productivity of labor, urbanization, the explosion of world trade. However, the First World War slowed down this process. At the very moment when the US suddenly became the master of the world and was preparing to seize the scepter of the world economy, the Russian revolution of 1917 broke out and broke the unity with Tsarist Russia. The Second World War followed, and after 1945, the Cold War, which continued the division of the world.

The socialist fortress extended to Eastern Europe and the vast territory of China. By 1950, socialist-communist regimes encompassed one-third of humanity. However, four decades later, the system broke and the reforms of the state economy in the USSR failed.

China was the first to end its isolation (1978), and after the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) and the USSR imploded, it announced "glasnost" and "perestroika". The US power had never before seemed so victorious and superior. In the 21st century "the US empire" was challenged by new world powers, former colonies or dominating huge civilizations (India, China, Brazil...). These countries stepped onto the world stage, which during the Cold War was monopolized by the US-Soviet duel, while they developed in the shadow.

These countries confirm their superiority in the world. For the first time in three or four centuries, the West is no longer the sole master of the world. The period between 1990 and 2008, when the world GDP grew from 39% to 61% is the golden age of globalization. Thomas Friedman published his bestseller "The World is Flat" as the personification of globalization in all directions. The world has become flat, and also interdependent due to globalization. In recent years the world has changed. We divide this century into the period before the sanitary crisis and the Ukrainian crisis, which were integrated after these crises. There is virtually a silent war of globalization between the world major powers.

The new world of deglobalization?

After the pandemic and the war in Ukraine, we are witnessing the creation of a different world. Will it be the world that Thomas Hobbes envisioned, with a chaotic war of all against all? Will it be the world of Huntington – as the clash of civilizations, or that of Francis Fukuyama, dominated by the model of Western liberal democracy and the United States?

After the events of September 11, many believed that Huntington was right. At the beginning of the 21st century, the US is the undisputed master of the world. The blueprint for a new US century was drawn up long before the election of George W. Bush by his associates - Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld and Paul Dundes Wolfowitz (Theatrum Belli, 2006). This project argues a) that the US must never again tolerate competing industrial or military power at the international scene. This imperial project was repeated obsessively, in all of President Bush's public speeches after September 11. In his speech on September 11, 2001, President Bush announced b) an endless war to "liberate the world from evil", and c) the declaration of an "indefinite time" preventive war. All these goals are contained in the strategic document of September 17, 2001 (Géopolitique, 2002).

However, in the last two decades, great changes have taken place in the international community. The "American Empire" can no longer hold the same position in the world as it did in the 2000s. The Director of the Institute for International and Strategic Affairs (IRIS), Pascal Boniface, who published the book "Requiem pour le monde occidentale", during the mandate of President Trump, thought similarly. Boniface, disappointed by Trump's foreign policy, believed that in certain conditions the US can be a serious strategic danger for the planet due to its unilateral vision towards international relations (Boniface, 2019).

Even in the mid-twenties of the 21st century, it seemed that the globalized world was in the twilight, and experts compared this period to the beginning of the Cold War era.

Today, after the pandemic and the Russian aggression in Ukraine, people do not think in such a way. Anti-Americanism has disappeared from Europe. It is true that both Scholz and Macron have stated that Washington seeks to profit economically from the war in Ukraine and violates the principle of free market, but transatlanticism has

experienced a renaissance. First of all, they showed solidarity in the economic sanctions (Russia) and the military aid to Ukraine, and then at the NATO Summit in Vilnius (July 2023) they openly strengthened Euro-Atlanticism (Politis, 2022). At the expense of this transatlantic love, Russia and Putin seized the former US monopoly on terror.

The Cold War seemed simple and Manichean in comparison to its incredible complexity when great nations like India, which absorbed everything, Saudi Arabia, which literary mocked its great traditional ally, or China, which suddenly realized that its huge dollar reserves could be unilaterally frozen by the US. Multilateralism has found itself on a deathbed. It once experienced clinical death during the great financial crisis (2008), when it was anesthetized because of the pandemic and now because of the Russia-Ukraine conflict it is on a respirator. Regardless of who wins and who loses this war, it is politics that will, quite logically, dominate the economy from now on. It is politics that will command nations to unite under the banner of hostile blocs. Deglobalization is growing into a guarantee of the world resilience (Santi, 2022).

The term deglobalization was elaborated by the Filipino sociologist Walden Bello. In 2002, he published the book entitled *Deglobalization - Ideas for a New World Economy*. He will assert himself as one of the figures of anti-globalists. The Right Livelihood Award website is a leading critic of the current model of economic globalization. He states that "globalization has betrayed its promise" and therefore called for another world (Guillaume, 2022: 112).

Deglobalization has begun its march, and experts' forecasts for economic growth in the world recession for 2023 are not optimistic. The engines of the world development have slowed down GDP. The forecast by Zone of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) 2021 – World 6.1%, Eurozone – 5.7%, China 8.1%, 2022 – World 3.2%, Eurozone – 2.6%, China 3.3%, 2023 – World 2.9%, Eurozone – 1.2%, China 4.6%, 2022 is marked by rising inflation and commodity prices worldwide. After this complicated year, what hypotheses are foreseen for the future? In general, optimism is not justified and global recession should occur in countries that have not yet entered this phase (Darmet-Cucchiari, 2022).

Rivalry between China and the United States

As for the current situation of China – the US tensions, protectionist and industrial policies are gaining ground. In the US, spending on industrial policies is set to rise from 0.4% of GDP to 0.7% in 2023 alone. This percentage is huge. According to Maxim Darmet, "dependence on Chinese inputs has increased significantly". China is estimated to be a critical supplier for 141 products in the EU and 276 in the US. By the way, 15% of the total imported Chinese products are critical for the EU, and 51% for the US (under the term capital product is considered one that is not easy to find an alternative in the short term). However, the US and the EU still have some influence on China. The EU is a critical supplier for China for 188 products. The US has an advantage in high-end products that China struggles to make itself (Ibid).

Probably, the most strategic industries today and tomorrow are semiconductors, green technologies, biotechnology and agricultural products. The US content in intellectual property and technical information is large in these sectors. The US could restrict investment and exports to China through this channel.

As for the pessimistic estimates for the US inflation in 2023, it is quickly receding while the economy looks increasingly likely to avoid a deep recession. Allianz sees GDP declining in late 2023 – early 2024 before relatively slowly recovering. What is remarkable is that the US economy may be on track to avoid recession as inflation normalizes, despite the unpleasant combination of elevated inflation and sharp monetary tightening (Ibid).

The idea that the process of deglobalization is gradually intensifying both theoretically and practically is becoming a reality. Deglobalization means that most countries are gradually becoming less connected through all or most channels: trade in goods, trade in services, capital flows, and movement of people and transfer of technology. Such a break would mark a reversal of economic trends that have prevailed over the last 150 years. They were interrupted only by world wars, the Cold War and economic depression. When it comes to those interruptions, geopolitics has always played a decisive role.

Even today, three major contradictions or rivalries are manifested in the contemporary international community, namely: 1. China – the US rivalry; 2. democracy-autocracy rivalry; 3. Rivalry between bloc states that are in favor of preserving the current relations in the world and those that are in favor of revision (Russia, China...). For the West, a lot of attention is paid to the rivalry between China and the US. Regardless of its actuality, everyone is focused on the war in Ukraine. What is the awakened world giant China hiding? What is its political, geopolitical and economic conception? Why does the US perceive the greatest danger and challenge in China?

The philosophy of Jiang Shigong

The most significant rivalry likely to engage so far is that between China and the United States. One of the greatest Chinese apologists of the President Xi Jinping is Jiang Shigong. His narrative is simple and focused on China's future supremacy. The Chinese people stood behind Mao, got rich with Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997), and now China is becoming a powerful world state headed by Xi Jinping. In the same text Jiang Shigong explains why the "Era of Xi Jinping" will fulfill all these dreams of Chinese wealth and power by 2049, at the centennial of the People's Republic of China (PRC). Jiang goes into some detail to show how the era of "Xi Jinping fits into narratives of the history of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the history of Chinese civilization and the history of the international communist movement". Xi Jinping's thought is therefore now the key to China's contribution to world civilization. The past and present, China and the world – Jiang integrates everything into a seamless story of how development and the recovery of Chinese agency bring about great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation (Shigong, 2018).

Regarding the rivalry with the US, Shigong believes that "empires have not disappeared, but they have only changed their form and function." China is inevitably entering a new phase, which he calls "the phase of the World Empire." Shigong seeks to explain why "socialism with Chinese characteristics" is not an empty slogan, but a description of the Chinese political economy that paves the way for the world domination when the US liberal democracy and Soviet communism fail (Ibid).

The model of imperial rule within this global empire has constantly evolved. It is no longer content with mere colonial plunder. Instead, global empires focused on controlling colonial economies through the dominance of science, technology and finance. The two world wars have contributed to the construction of the world empire in a new historical phase.

The world wars were given the epithet "world" not only because powers around the world were involved in them, but also because many global colonial empires fought to build "a world empire". In fact, the two parties of the Cold War that developed after World War II reflected the competition between two models of "world empire". One was the US model, which inherited the "imperialist model" developed by the British Empire. The other was the "Soviet model", as a stable political alliance based on the shared belief that two types of world empires were called "liberalism/imperialism" and "communism", which in terms of values translated into "liberty" versus "equality".

At the end of the Cold War, the abandonment of the United Nations by the United States and its acceptance of unilateralism fully demonstrate that the construction of "world empire" is complete. In today's world, China and Russia are within a system ruled by "a world empire" – the United States. Therefore, instead of understanding the end of the Cold War as "the end of history" from an ideological point of view, it is more accurate to perceive it from the angle of "world empire". The US-led "globalization" in the post-Cold War era, whether in terms of ideas or military strategy, promotes the US "imperialization" and the construction of a single global empire. In the Western context, this is often referred to as "the new Roman Empire". Henceforth, no country will be able to exist apart from this system of the world trade with its freedom, rule of law and democracy (Shigong, Ibid).

The current state of the global empire (the US) faces three major intractable problems: 1. the ever-growing inequality created by liberal economy; 2. state failure, political decline and ineffective governance caused by political liberalism; and the decadence and nihilism created by cultural liberalism. Faced with these difficulties, even the United States has retreated in terms of global military strategy, which means that the global empire is currently facing a major crisis and rebellions, resistance and revolution from within the empire are collapsing the system, Shigong writes.

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of China has politically cemented the power of President Xi Jinping. The messages from the Congress are "the unity and continuation of authentic Chinese development and completion of the road of construction towards a modern socialist state by 2035." The Chinese leadership is aware that "democratization according to the Western model" would return China to

the status of an economic and political colony. This Congress, as well, was held in a spin of the change of pro-Western and pro-American young politicians called "Consomols". At the same time, the Congress supported the "hard line", which considers that the greatest danger that will destabilize China is the "anti-China coalition", which is against China's progress as a world power. To this end, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Xinjiang are being used to destabilize China. The US would like to drag China into a war with Taiwan at any cost, just as it forced Russia into a war. China's official ideology holds that the US is under great pressure to maintain its global empire, especially due to Russian resistance and Chinese competition (MFA, 2022). However, we have to admit that this is a competition that takes place within the framework of the world empire system, a struggle to take economic and political leadership after the accomplishment of the "world empire". Although China's claims are more than ideological in nature, it is fair to ask: is China overreacting and demanding too much?

The position of the EU – "less romanticism, more realism"

The European Union has been deeply affected by the war in Ukraine. Among numerous bombastic statements, in France the great "paradigm change" is stated, in Germany the "Zeitenwende" ("the change of the era"), in Europe "the end of naivety". Across the continent, an outpouring of sympathy and solidarity with Ukraine and its suffering has swept public opinion, right down to the blue and yellow colors of the European Union and Ukraine flags prominently displayed by Ursula von der Leyen. The European Union has massively helped Ukraine economically (20 billion EUR already paid, and another 20 billion EUR planned for 2023) and received 4 million refugees from this country. At the European Council in June, the Union accepted the candidacy of Ukraine, as well as Moldova, and the prospect of membership as the beginning of the wars in former Yugoslavia it has also demonstrated its ability to exercise "hard power". Under the impetus of its common defense policy, it has delivered weapons to Ukraine for the first time through its "peace facility" (3 billion EUR). By almost completely divesting itself of Russian fossil fuels, the EU is accelerating its energy transition. This shows the huge change that the war in Ukraine represents for the European project, which is going through a new existential crisis after repeated crises in recent years (eurozone crisis, migration crisis, Brexit, the Covid-19 pandemic), which again seems to confirm Jean Monnet's prophecy "that Europe will be built through crises and will be the sum of solutions adopted for these crises" (Joannin, 2023).

By defending its values against Russia, the European Union asserts "a liberal power". Similar to the US, the European Union defends both interests and values, as foreseen since the Maastricht Treaty (Articles 3-5 and 21-2 TEU). Accordingly, it is "a liberal power" or "democratic empire", as Philippe Moreau Defarges called it (Moreau Defarges, 2022). It is precisely this orientation that made it extended to the countries of

Central and Eastern Europe, formerly communist countries, to develop "a European Neighborhood Policy" towards the neighbors in Eastern Europe and the Southern Mediterranean (2002), then "Eastern Partnership" aimed specifically at the Eastern neighbors (2009) and gradually to distance itself from Vladimir Putin's Russia.

From the described cascade of rivalries and complex geopolitical relations, it is necessary to find a key. An agreement is needed for the changes in the world, argues Dominique de Villepin, the former Prime Minister of France. In the newly created conditions, it would be desirable for the EU to get the role of a diplomatic mediator between China and the US and possibly in the peace negotiations between Russia and Ukraine. At this moment, it is known that only China, Turkey and India can influence Putin's foreign policy. To this end, the EU has to be balanced to manage such an initiative. The EU can play a major role in the world balance. The war in Ukraine is being waged on European soil. That is why the EU seeks to create its grammar of deterrence, to sober up and return to reality. It is essential to put the French-German partnership on a new track. It is essential that each party shows that it has more understanding of what the other party would like. Take the example of defense policy: France aims for the European defense community, autonomous in the field of armaments, because Paris also intends to defend the interests of its defense factories. Germany has a more transatlantic view of things. These differences are not catastrophic and the French-German couple remains solid (CF2R Services, 2022). However, it is essential to redefine these relations. It is understandable that the EU is on the way to show "less romanticism, more realism".

The Western Balkans in the New World Order

What is the position of the Western Balkan countries against the establishment of the New World Order and the effects on local globalization or deglobalization? Regardless of John Kerry's famous statement in 2015 that the Balkans is the first in the "line of fire for separation" and that it carries a negative reputation of "instability and explosiveness", there are certain hopes if the Serbia-Kosovo syndrome has been overcome and weakness of the Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina region has been completely stabilized. The war in Ukraine is not the happiest moment for the stability of the region, but the EU and NATO, despite some shortcomings, are solidly controlling the Balkans. Furthermore, on the agendas of all political groups, the EU membership is a leading strategic goal. However, it is not a simple task. On the one hand, the inertness of the EU has developed the feeling of Euroscepticism and undervalued all the reform efforts of the Western Balkan countries. On the other hand, the countries of the region themselves have their problems. Jovan Teokarević rightly singles out three groups of problems: firstly, there are common problems shared by all countries in the region, secondly, specific problems for certain countries, and thirdly, there are external problems that threaten the further successful European integration of the region (Teokarević, 2016: 8).

At this moment, something that gives hope and is contrary to the concept of deglobalization is the Berlin Process and the Open Balkan initiative. The Open Balkan Initiative dates back to the 2010s, that is, four years before the Berlin Process Initiative, with the aim of creating the space for discussion between the Balkan countries on regional cooperation, stabilization, security and strengthening of cross-border trade. Serbia, Albania and North Macedonia signed an agreement on regional cooperation nine years later, in 2019 in Novi Sad (Serbia), i.e. five years after the signing of the Berlin Process Agreement. This trilateral agreement was signed in order to facilitate social and economic activities between the Balkan countries, to strengthen trust, cooperation and to overcome regional tensions. Initially, the Initiative was created under the name Mini-Schengen. A year later, two more meetings took place, in Ohrid (North Macedonia) in November 2019 and in Durres (Albania) in December 2019. The three countries have stated that they will form a single market of 14 million people by the end of 2020. It is believed that with this alliance of goods between these three countries goods will move faster, citizens of these countries will be able to cross the borders only with an identity card. It is estimated that every year more than 30 million hours will be saved between the borders of the mentioned countries. On September 4, 2020, Kosovo agreed to join the Mini-Schengen Area in accordance with the Kosovo-Serbia Agreement from 2020, but this initiative was soon abandoned. The World Bank pointed out that this project will save 3.2 billion dollars, of which Serbia alone, according to President Vučić, would save at least 1.5 billion dollars. This economic zone would also represent the country's preparation for membership in the European Union (Kutuk, 2022).

The importance of the security axis and stabilization in the region of the Western Balkans is a need that has to be nurtured at multiple levels and through multiple methods. Modern preventive diplomacy tries through various forms to influence the development of good neighborhood and regional economic and other forms of cooperation in multiple domains. This has become the sine qua non of the Open Balkan. This dimension is also present in the Berlin Process Initiative of 2014, which has been unjustifiably identified as a competing model of the Open Balkan Initiative. The critics of the Open Balkan Initiative believe that it is only a copy paste of the Berlin Process or even a failed surrogate. Unfortunately, this argument has also served as an excuse for some countries not to join the OB Initiative, allegedly due to the unoriginality or possible Serbian leadership (Vukićević, 2022).

Regional cooperation between the Western Balkans states is an essential political goal in all countries because it is considered a very important step towards European integration. For European integration, it will firstly try to overcome the old nationalist conflicts in the region and create a new spirit of cooperation between countries. It is this dimension that contributes to the Open Balkan to provide security and stability in the region, as well as to start preventive diplomacy.

On the other hand, the Balkan countries are relatively small and share more or less the same characteristics and problems in their economic and social development. From this point of view, the integration of these countries in the European Union can be seen as the integration of the region as a whole. From a

pragmatic point of view, the EU has emphasized that the "gate" for the Balkan countries is open. However, populist responses to the restriction of the access to the EU seem to have delayed new accession plans. Instead, we can consider the cooperation between the countries as a "school" or "lobby" of European integration, although the EU has conducted open accession negotiations with Albania and North Macedonia, as well as Serbia.

In this context, it is important to consider the Berlin Process, which was launched in Berlin in 2014, followed by the meetings in Vienna in 2015, Paris in 2016 and Trieste in 2017, as well as the ongoing meetings. At the Summit of this Initiative (Trieste, July 2017) a fund of more than 500 million EUR was allocated precisely for the development and promotion of the regional integration of the Western Balkan countries, which is an inevitable driver towards the ultimate goal. At the same time, the proposal of Prime Minister of Serbia at that time, now President of Serbia A. Vučić in February 2017 has confirmed the need for interregional cooperation for the establishment of a customs union with the Western Balkan countries.

According to the example of the OB and BP, regional integration took place simultaneously with global trade integration, although after the invasion of Russia in Ukraine, the process of deglobalization, that is, regional globalization, began. This suggests some complementarity between the two initiatives. The increase in the regionalization of the WB can be attributed to the inability of global integration to address various issues such as the disadvantageous position of developing and least developed countries in trade compared to developed countries, difficulties in the modernization of national industries in the course of liberalization and consolidation for developing competitiveness, amid fierce global competition, sudden capital outflows and crises.

Trade regionalization can help countries gain experience and increase competitiveness by expanding into narrower regional markets. Moreover, transaction costs can be reduced through regional regulatory adjustments, such as the reduction of tariff and non-tariff trade barriers, harmonization of customs procedures, mutual recognition of standards, permits and certificates, the steps that have been taken by initiating examples of the OB Initiative such as the free movement of goods, people and capital. Regionalization of trade with RIA (Regional Integration Agreement) expands markets from national to regional borders, while the common state resources can be used to set up a more competitive regional framework in terms of regulations and infrastructure and to develop strategies that promote economic development.

In conclusion – three possible scenarios

For the first time in the post-war history of the international community, the fear of a global and nuclear war is manifested among all actors. The peaceful epilogue is far from reality for the time being, but the world order under the pressure of geopolitics and geostrategy is gradually evolving and affecting the gradual slowing down of globalization. The beginning of the 20th century was the golden age of

globalization. Thomas Friedman published his bestseller "The World is Flat" (Friedman, 2005) as a personification of globalization in all directions. The world has become flat, and also interdependent due to globalization. In recent years, the world has changed. We divide this century into the period before the sanitary crisis and the Ukrainian crisis, which were integrated after these crises. There is practically a silent war of globalization between the world major powers. Who can be the winner in such a war, especially when the world is in recession? For now, one gets the impression that "cold globalization" is working in certain parts of the world. It would only be functional if China does not occupy Taiwan. How possible is that and can the leading political authorities afford such a rate of historical irresponsibility that would completely block globalization? According to Thucydides' trap philosophy, war can weaken belligerents and result in a long-term defeat like the war between Athens and Sparta. The challenges in the world order can result in at least three possible scenarios:

The first is the pessimistic scenario, which would mean new decades of a kind of inter-globalist rivalry or cold war between the bloc represented by China, Russia and their allies against the bloc of the US, the EU and their allies. China, relying on the newly established position has already announced that by 2045 it will be the leading world empire and will advocate for major changes and taking the position of the first world power instead of the United States. This will mean the gradual establishment of the new world order followed by "cold globalization". The US is in favor of maintaining the current world functional system of the international economic and political system. After all, the US is still the biggest world power that can control China.

A sub-variant of this scenario is the consequences to the new world order from a possible invasion of Taiwan by China. In that case, in the current context of the Ukrainian war, Russia would approach China and segmentation, i.e. the complete globalization of the world economy, technology and society would be expected to occur.

China, Russia and their allies represent the personification of authoritarianism, while the West and its allies are conspirators of democracy, or rather the system of liberal democracy. If we compare this context with the one of the Cold War, probably such a system under current conditions could not last for 45 years, but much less. Simply, the functioning of the economy cannot be limited to autocracy and strict protectionism. In this case, we would be talking about a bipolar world, and maybe even a tripolar one depending on India's positions.

The second possible scenario will depend on the epilogue of the war in Ukraine and the fate of President Putin. If a peaceful solution to the war in Ukraine is found, it is possible that Russia will distance itself from China, move closer to the EU and BRICS, and then the rivalry and battle to be reduced to a clash between the United States and China, otherwise the most powerful economies in the world.

In such a scenario, the EU will play a significant role as a mediator in relations with Russia, China and the US. In this scenario, as well, there will be possible stoppage of globalization, partial deglobalization and reglobalization of economic and technological capacities.

The third possible scenario is overcoming deglobalization and re-establishing globalization, or we can call it "new globalization" with certain modified rules, but still with normal cooperation between world economic and political engines. The West and the US along with allies would continue according to Fukuyama's model, while China and allies would develop their political system without abusing economic performance. Another scenario is theoretically possible, which is the Hobbesian model of "war or rivalry of all against all", but it would destroy both the planet and the lives of people.

Faced with the upcoming tectonic changes, the Western Balkan states are oriented completely or discretely towards the Euro-Atlantic positions of the great powers. The EU membership has no alternatives, and the Western Balkan countries have no time to lose, especially after obtaining the candidate status of Ukraine, Moldova and promises to Georgia. It is desirable for Serbia and Kosovo to find suitable compromise solutions, just like Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Open Balkan and Berlin Process Initiatives are useful formulas for overcoming tensions about strengthening local globalization in the region.

Bibliography

1. Aljazeera. (2022). <https://balkans.aljazeera.net/interactives/2022/7/2/mapa-najzaduzenije-drzave-u-evropi>
2. Barclays (2023). Corporate and Investment Bank, suggests <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2023/01/deglobalisation-what-you-need-to-know-wef23/>.
3. Boniface, Pascal. (2019). *Requiem pour le monde occidental*. Eyrolles.
4. Brzeziński, Zbigniew. (1997). *The Grand Chessboard*, New York, Basic Books.
5. CF2R Services (2022). <https://cf2r.org/tribune/le-conflit-ukraine-russie-et-la-rivalite-geopolitique-franco-allemande>
6. Dadush, Uri. (2022). *Deglobalisation and protectisme*. 17.11.2022- <https://www.bruegel.org/sites/default/files/2022-11/WP%2018.pdf>.
7. Darnet-Cucchiari, Maxime. (2022). https://www.linkedin.com/posts/maxime-darnet-cucchiari-42141513_china-us-eu-activity-7051867992187400193-bcFz
8. European Chips Survey (2022). <https://digital-strategy.ec.europa.eu/fr/library/european-chips-survey> European Chips Survey | Shaping Europe's digital future (europa.eu).
9. Friedman, Thomas. (2005). *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
10. Fukuyama, Francis. (1990). *The End of History and the Last Man* is a 1992. Free Press.
11. Géopolitique (2002). François Géré-La nouvelle stratégie des Etats-Unis- <https://www.diploweb.com/p5gere1.htm>.
12. Guillaume, Vuilleme. (2022). *Le temps de la démondialisation, protéger les biens communs contre le libre-échange*. Seuil, Paris.
13. Huntington, Samuel. (1996). *The Clash of Civilizations*. New York. Simon & Schuster.
14. Joanin, Pascale. (2023). *L'Union européenne face à la guerre en Ukraine: la puissance libérale et ses limites*. Fondation Robert Shuman.

15. Josephs, Jonathan. (2022). <https://www.bbc.com/afrique/region-61271040>, 29.04.2022.
16. Kutuk, Dilek (2022). Le sommet Open Balkan comblera-t-il le fossé dans les Balkans occidentaux? TRT Français. 17 Juin.
17. Le Figaro. (2023). <https://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/le-chef-de-la-diplomatie-russe-serguei-lavrov-est-arrive-en-turquie-20230406>
18. MFA (2022). <https://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/> Moreau-Defarges, Philippe. (2022). L'Union européenne, Empire démocratique. IFRI.
19. Politis. (2022). L'anti-américanisme n'est plus ce qu'il était. <https://www.politis.fr/articles/2022/12/lanti-americanisme-nest-plus-ce-quit-etait/>
20. Polytechnique insights. (2023). <https://www.polytechnique-insights.com/tribunes/economie/guerre-en-ukraine-comment-prevoir-limpact-sur-leconomie-mondiale/>.
21. Sampognaro, Raul. (2022). <https://www.polytechnique-insights.com/contributeurs/raul-sampognaro/>
22. Santi, Michel. (2022). Déglobalisation En Marche. La Tribune. <https://michelsanti.fr/globalisation/deglobalisation-en-marche>
23. Shigong, Jiang. (2018). Philosophy and History. <https://www.readingthechinadream.com/jiang-shigong-philosophy-and-history.html>
24. Springford, John. (2022). The US could cope with deglobalisation. Europe couldn't. <https://www.cer.eu/publications/archive/bulletin>.
25. STUDY (2022). Requested by the REGI Committee [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2022/733095/IPOL_STU\(2022\)_733095\(SUM01_FR.pdf\)](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2022/733095/IPOL_STU(2022)_733095(SUM01_FR.pdf)).
26. Teokarevic, Jovan. (2016). Western Balkans Between Geography and Geopolitics – Foreign policy, Belgrade. Fridrih Ebert Stiftung.
27. Theatrum Belli. (2006). <https://theatrum-belli.com/think-tank-project-for-the-new-american-century/>
28. Todd, Emmanuel. (2002). Après l'empire, Essai sur la décomposition du système américain. Gallimard.
29. Vukicevic, Jasna. (2022). Osporavanje Otvorenog Balkana iz civilnog sektora. Radio Slobodna Evropa, 15. oktobar. Demush Shasha-Most: Otvoreni Balkan-korist za sve ili pre svega za Srbiju?
30. Yong Deng et Fei-Ling Wang. (2005). China Rising: Power and Motivation in Chinese Foreign Policy. Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield.