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THE ARMS RACE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE CREATION OF THE NEW WORLD ORDER

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Abstract: *The term international relations dates back to the end of the 18th century. In those relations, other states were also key, although not the only subject. At a certain level of development of international relations, a relatively stable international order is created, which, from a historical point of view, is classified as unipolar, bipolar or multipolar. The aforementioned classification is primarily determined by the relationship of world powers to global international relations. In the competition of world powers for their own positioning in the world order, one of the primary activities was the remaining arms race.*

The main goal of this paper is to prove that the creation of the latest world order is underway, which results in a new arms race dictated by the world powers, primarily the USA and Russia, and which is transferred to the rest of the world. The arms race is especially evident after Russia's aggression against Ukraine in 2022. The basic hypothesis from which the research started is as follows: The arms race is a direct consequence of the creation of a new world order. The first auxiliary hypothesis reads: The arms race is dictated by world powers, primarily the USA, Russia and China. The second auxiliary hypothesis reads: The arms race is particularly evident in the countries of Europe.

Scientific methods, primarily comparative, content analysis and case studies, were used in the research to achieve the goal and confirm the stated hypotheses. The results of the diploma thesis of the first-mentioned author were used in the preparation of the paper. The thesis was defended at the Faculty of Business Studies and Law in 2023.

Keywords: *New World Order, Arms Race.*

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INTRODUCTION

World order and international relations are two basic concepts of the science of international relations (Simić, 2002). In theory, there are numerous attempts to define the world order, and the fact is that it is most often related to the relationship between world powers and their influence on global relations. In accordance with the above, the world order is classified as unipolar, bipolar and multipolar. (Proroković, 2018).

After the Second World War, a bipolar world order was established, dominated by two world powers - the USA and the USSR, as well as the military blocs formed by those powers - NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The bipolar world order is also called the Cold War, because a direct military conflict between the aforementioned powers and blocs did not occur.

One of the basic characteristics of the bipolar world order, i.e. the Cold War, was the arms race. The arms race is defined differently, and one of the definitions points out that it is: “a process that includes investing in the maintenance of the army and its preparations for war (planning and implementation of military spending), military production and trade (procurement and sale) of weapons and military equipment “equipment” means a process that includes investing in the maintenance of the army and its preparations for war (planning and realization of military spending), military production and trade (procurement and sale) of weapons and military equipment” (Mirković, 2007:1).

The Cold War ended with the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the collapse of the USSR. It was thought that America would establish a unipolar world order. However, very quickly Russia returned to the world stage, and China’s global influence grew significantly, and it is considered that a multipolar world order is being established.

Not accepting the fact that they cannot establish hegemony in international relations, the USA has preserved NATO and is trying in every way to suppress the return of Russia and reduce China’s influence on global international relations. By expanding to the east, NATO broke out on the borders of Russia. The attempt to include Ukraine in NATO led to a conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which culminated in a mutual war in 2022. The war in Ukraine is turning into a general conflict between the collective West and Russia, which leads to the creation of the latest world order, as well as a new arms race, as a result.

1. BIPOLAR AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER

Contemporary international relations, and especially the ongoing processes after Russia attacked Ukraine in 2022, are the result of geopolitical processes after the Second World War, which can be analyzed in two phases: 1) Bipolar world order (Cold War) and 2) New world order, after the Cold War.

1.1. Bipolar world order

Bipolar world order implies that in international relations, the greatest influence is exerted by two centers of power (two poles) with relatively close potentials and diametrically

opposed and irreconcilable interests. “The total power potentials of the sexes significantly deviate from the potential of the other actors, who either join one of the sexes, or try to remain neutral” (Proroković, 2018).

Immediately after the Second World War, antagonisms of an ideological character occur on the side of the victorious powers, which leads to polarization on the so-called the capitalist West, led by the USA, and the socialist (communist) East, which is dominated by the USSR. Europe, on whose territory two world wars began, is once again facing the threat of a new war of global proportions.

The period of bipolarism is also called the Cold War in theory, for the basic reason that the world powers USA and the USSR did not directly clash militarily. There are different theories about the character of the Cold War, as well as its duration. Thus, one of the views on the character and duration of the Cold War, which is very often mentioned in the literature, was given by Charles Kegley and Eugene Witkoff (Kegley, Witkoff, 2006). In their work “*World Politics - Trend and Transformation*”, the aforementioned authors placed the Cold War in the period 1945-1991, recognizing three periods in it: 1) *confrontation*, 1945-1962; 2) *from coexistence to détente*, 1963-1978 and 3) *from renewed confrontation to rapprochement*, 1979-1991 (Kegley, Witkoff, 2006:199-200).

Professor Forca accepts the temporal division of the Cold War into phases established by Kegley and Witkoff, and analyzes the three main characteristics of that period as: 1) bloc grouping, 2) anti-colonial processes and the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement, and 3) the arms race (more widely in Forca, 2022). In their description of the Cold War, Kegley and Witkoff primarily focused on the relationship between the USA and the USSR, and in the mentioned phases of that period they see the balance of power as the main characteristic. The conflicting power primarily referred to the military power of the USA and the USSR, which was achieved through the arms race and bloc grouping.

1.1.1. Block grouping

After the Second World War, the two strongest military blocs in history were created - NATO and the Warsaw Pact, named as defense alliances. The Warsaw Pact was dissolved at the end of the Cold War, while NATO has survived to this day.

The USA was the first to start strengthening the general and especially the military power, using bloc grouping. Propagating the danger of the spread of the influence of the USSR, in 1949 the USA, together with Canada and 10 countries of Western Europe formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization - NATO. The formation of NATO is justified by the right of states to self-defense, in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter.

Initially, the USSR did not react more seriously to the formation of NATO, primarily because of the dominance in the region of the socialist states of Central and Eastern Europe. However, when West Germany was admitted to the Alliance in 1955, and the USA began deploying missile systems on the territory of Turkey, the USSR, together with seven socialist countries of Europe, formed the Warsaw Pact in Warsaw (Poland) in 1955. Like NATO, the Warsaw Pact was formed in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter.

The formal aspect of the formation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Formal aspect of the formation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact

NATO	WARSAW PACT
The signatories believe that an armed attack on one or more of them, in Europe or North America, should be considered an attack on all of them and therefore agree that in the event of such an armed attack, each of them, invoking the right of individual or collective self-defense under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, to assist signatories under attack, taking immediately, alone and in concert with other signatories, such steps as may be deemed necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain security North Atlantic area. Any such armed attack and the measures taken as a result of that attack must be immediately reported to the Security Council. Such measures must be stopped when the Security Council takes the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security	In the event of an armed attack on one or more Contracting States by any State or group of States, each Contracting Party, exercising the right to individual or collective self-defense in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, shall provide to the State or States exposed to such an attack, individually or in agreement with the other contracting states, immediate assistance by all the means they seem to need, including armed force. The contracting states shall consult without delay on common measures to be taken for the purpose of establishing and maintaining world peace and security. The Security Council will be notified of the measures taken on the basis of this Article in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. These measures will be suspended as soon as the Security Council takes the necessary measures to establish and maintain world peace and security

(Sources: 1) The Alliance's Treaty, 1949; 2) The Warsaw Pact, 1955).

Although the views on the formation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact are almost identical, nevertheless, NATO was formed for an indefinite period, while the formation and duration of the VU was conditioned by the establishment of collective security in Europe, which would make the need for such an alliance cease to exist (Vukadinović. 1969).

The USA and the USSR, as well as the blocs NATO and VU, did not directly engage in armed conflict during the Cold War, but were direct and indirect participants in numerous interstate wars during the bipolar world order. In those wars, the USA and the USSR participated on opposing sides. There are very different data on the number of interstate wars during the Cold War. According to the data of the group of authors, 93 wars were fought during the Cold War, of which 38 (41%) were international (Jeftić et al., 2018:26).

On the other hand, the particular aggravation in the relations between the great powers and their blocs during the Cold War was evident in the blockade of the UN Security Council, in the sense of placing a veto on the resolutions of that body. The right of veto is established in Article 27 of the UN Charter. According to some data, during the Cold War, the great powers as permanent members of the UN Security Council used the right of veto 230 times, in which the USSR (114) and the USA (67) took the lead (Chomsky, 1993:148).

By the end of the Cold War, NATO expanded from 12 to 16 member states, while Albania withdrew from the Warsaw Pact on its own initiative (Figure 1).

Figure 1. NATO and the Warsaw Pact at the end of the Cold War



(Source: <https://vk-spy.ru/bs/animals/vosstaniya-v-stranah-varshavskogo-dogovora-varshavskii-dogovor/> 01.10.2023).

The bipolar world order, or the Cold War, ended with major integration and disintegration processes. The key integration processes were: the unification of Germany (1990), the formation of the European Union (1991) and the survival of NATO. The most powerful disintegration processes are: the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the collapse of the USSR in 1991. It is believed that one of the biggest influences on the collapse of the USSR was the arms race with the opposite side.

1.1.2. The arms race

The arms race between the USA and the USSR practically started during the Second World War, especially after America used two atomic bombs in the attack on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (August 6 and 9, 1945). According to some sources, the dropping of atomic bombs on Japanese cities was not intended to make Japan surrender, but to demonstrate American power to the USSR (Forca, 2021).

The first period of the Cold War was characterized by Kegley and Witkoff as a confrontation, precisely because the USA had an advantage in nuclear weapons. However, the USSR very quickly conducted the first nuclear test (1949), which started the competition with the USA in the so-called balance of power. The scale of competition in nuclear weapons was analyzed in detail by Todor Mirković (Table 2), in his work *Armament and Development* (Mirković, 2007).

Table 2. The ratio of strategic nuclear weapons of the USA and the USSR in 1989

SAD				SSSR			
Sistem (tip)	Količina nosača/ lansera	Bojnih glava po lanseru	Ukupno bojnih glava	Sistem (tip)	Količina nosača/ lansera	Bojnih glava po lanseru	Ukupno bojnih glava
Interkontinentalne balističke rakete (ICBM)				Interkontinentalne balističke rakete (ICBM)			
Minuteman II	450	1	450	SS-11	420	1	420
Minuteman III	511	3	1533	SS-13	60	1	60
Peacekeeper (MX)	39	10	390	SS-17	138	4	552
				SS-18	308	10	3080
				SS-19	350	6	2100
				SS-24	10	10	100
				SS-25	100	1	100
Svega ICBM	1000	–	2373	Svega ICBM	1386	–	6412
Balističke rakete na podmornicama na nuklearni pogon (SLBM)				Balističke rakete na podmornicama na nuklearni pogon (SLBM)			
Poseidon C-3	256	14	3584	SS-N-6	256	1	256
Trident C-4	384	8	3072	SS-N-8	286	1	286
				SS-N-17	12	1	12
				SS-N-18	224	7	1568
				SS-N-20	100	9	900
				SS-N-23	64	10	640
Svega SLBM	640	–	6656	Svega SLBM	942	–	3662
SVEGA ICBM i SLBM	1640		9029	SVEGA ICBM i SLBM	2328		10074
Strategijski bombarderi				Strategijski bombarderi			
B-1B	99	12	1188	Bear	70	20	1400
B-52 G/H	105	12	1260	Bear	100	2	200
B-52 G	98	20	11960	Bison	5	4	20
B-52 H	60	20	1200				
Svega strategijski bombarderi	362	–	5608	Svega strategijski bombarderi	175	–	1620
UKUPNO	2002	–	14637	UKUPNO	2503	–	11694

Izvor: *The Military Balance 1988–1989*, London, str. 230.

As the nuclear arms race developed and the balance of power between the USA and the USSR was established, the strategies and doctrines of those powers changed, but also strengthened other components of the armed forces. “The US’s first strategy during nuclear dominance is known as Nuclear Retaliation.” As the USSR approached American power, that strategy also changed its name and character to Elastic Response, then Realistic Deterrence and others” (Forca, 2021). On the other hand, the armed forces of the USA and the USSR reached millions even without their allies (Table 3).

Table 3. Armed forces of the USSR and the USA at the end of the Cold War

Vidovi oružanih snaga	Sjedinjenih Država	Sovjetskog Saveza
Kopnena vojska	761.100	1.430.000
Ratno vazduhoplovstvo i PVO	571.000	910.000
Ratna mornarica	785.000	410.000
Strategijske nuklearne snage	-	376.000
Snage pod Ministarstvom unutrašnjih poslova		762.000
SVEGA	2.117.400	3.888.000

Izvor: Ejercito *BALANCE MILITAR 1990–1991*, Madrid, mart 1990.

Numerous armed forces required extremely significant financial investments in their maintenance and strengthening. Expenditures for military needs during the bipolar period grew with almost geometric progression. From 100 billion dollars in 1960, expenditures for military needs in 1990 grew to an incredible 1000 billion US dollars (Mirković, 2007:32).

Due to economic lagging behind the opponent, but also other reasons of an internal and external character, the USSR could not withstand the arms race and it collapsed, which is considered the end of the Cold War. In this sense, Todor Mirković writes:

“The arms race between the USA and the USSR, that is, NATO and the Soviet Union, was, in essence, a race between unequal competitors. This inequality was primarily reflected in their economic power...During the sixties and seventies, when European countries NATO and Japan recorded high rates of economic growth, and the Soviet Union and its allies in the Soviet Union slowed economic development, the difference in the economic power of potential opponents is increased. Thus, at the end of the seventies (1977), according to data from the World Bank, the ratio of economic power, measured by gross national product, was 4.45:1 in favor of the USA and its allies, including Japan” (Mirković, 2007:28).

1.2. New world order

Numerous recognized analysts of international relations announced a new world order after the Cold War. In those announcements and analyses, the prevailing views were that the new world order will be multipolar (see: Forca, 2003). However, relations in international relations, and especially the behavior of the USA, indicated that America felt its chance to become a world hegemon. Analysts also had arguments for such an attitude towards the new world order, primarily in the official statements of the US president. Thus, American President George Bush (senior), during the war in the Gulf (Desert Storm), as well as in the Introduction of the US National Security Strategy from 1991, uses the phrase “new world order” and points out:

“The New World Order is not a fact; it is an aspiration and an opportunity. We have the extraordinary opportunity that several generations have enjoyed to build a new

international system in accordance with our values and ideals. Within the wider community of nations, we clearly see our role. We must not only protect our citizens and our interests, but also help create a new world in which our core values not only survive but flourish. We must work with others, but we must also be leaders” (National Security Strategy, 1991).

In addition to unequivocal economic power, the USA based its leadership on two parameters of the theory of realism, primarily from the domain of military power: 1) preservation of NATO as a lever of power and 2) entry into numerous wars and military interventions around the world.

Using the situation that arose after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the USSR, as well as its influence in the international community, the USA managed to preserve NATO, in accordance with Chapter VIII, Articles 52 and 53 of the UN Charter. Namely, given that the UN does not have its own armed forces, regional agreements and agencies can be engaged for the needs of the Security Council, in accordance with the aforementioned articles of Chapter VIII (Regional Agreements) of the UN Charter. In this sense, although there was opposition, the USA preserved NATO, because the Security Council passed Resolution 787, by which the Alliance can be engaged at its invitation (Ateljević, 2016).

The show of force by the US after the Cold War begins without the invitation of the UN Security Council with the NATO aggression against FR Yugoslavia in 1999. The aggression was carried out outside the mandate of the UN Security Council, contrary to Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, but also contrary to the constitutions of NATO member states (Forca, 2021). In the same year, in 1999, NATO adopted its sixth Strategic Concept of the Alliance. In that concept, two very dangerous goals were determined: 1) the expansion of NATO to the east and 2) the engagement of the Alliance outside the North Atlantic area, with or without the mandate of the UN Security Council (The Alliance’s Strategic Concept, 1999). In this way, NATO turned from a defense alliance into a security forum and a proven lever of US power.

The USA and NATO, after the aggression against the FRY, are constantly mired in war conflicts, of which the following stand out: the war in Afghanistan (starting in 2001), the renewed conflict in Iraq (starting in 2003), the war in Libya, Syria, African countries and others. On the other hand, NATO is constantly expanding towards Russia’s borders. The first enlargement of NATO was in 1999, when Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary were admitted. Then, in 2007, seven countries became members of the Alliance (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Romania and Bulgaria), in 2009 - two countries (Albania and Croatia), in 2017 (Montenegro) and in 2020 (North Macedonia) one each and at the end of 2023 – one (Finland), with the expected reception of Sweden. Therefore, since the end of the Cold War, NATO has expanded by exactly 100% (from 16 to 32) in terms of the number of countries. The increase in military power through the expansion of NATO is accompanied by extremely large financial investments in the armed forces. The leader in allocations for the needs of the military budget, but also in arms trade, is the USA (Table 3).

Table 3. Military expenses in the period 2004-2014

	Military expenses (billions of dollars)		Share of military expenditure in 2014, in %		Growth of military expenses 2004-2014 in %	GDP growth 2004-2014 in %
	2004	2014	Of GDP	Global		
USA	465	610	3,8	34	131	137
China	40	216	2,1	12	540	478
Russia	20	85	4,5	5	425	355
EU	243	278	1,75	29	114	143
WORLD	1.361	1.776	2,3	100	130	190

(Source: <http://www.sipri.org>, 01.10.2023)

Why was 2014 taken as a rapper? Firstly, from a geopolitical point of view, it is a year when it becomes clearer that the new world order will not be unipolar, but that it is leaning towards multipolarity. That year, after NATO re-invited Ukraine to its fold, Russia annexed Crimea and supported the fight of pro-Russian forces against the regime in Kiev, with greater involvement in the Gulf, the Middle East and especially in Africa. In that year, China's Belt and Road Initiative (New Silk Road) began to develop strongly, as the largest geo-economic project in history. China has become the world's economic leader. Secondly, in addition to the evident leadership of the USA in allocations for military needs, it is observed that these allocations are strongly increasing in Russia and, especially, in China, but also in the EU.

With the arrival of Donald Trump at the head of the USA (2016), America is changing its geopolitical orientation. Trump begins to withdraw forces from numerous wars and in the National Security Strategy from 2017, under the motto "America First", he focuses on two main opponents - Russia and China, calling them revisionist states (National Security Strategy, 2017). Also, Trump requires NATO member countries, especially European countries, to raise their expenditures for military needs to at least 2% of GDP by 2024 (Forca, 2020). As much as he expressed his wishes to the allies to increase allocations for the armed forces, so much did Trump raise those investments in the USA, but he loses in the 2020 elections, and Joseph Biden becomes the president of America.

2. THE NEWEST WORLD ORDER AND THE ARMS RACE

The arrival of Biden at the head of the USA coincides with a very bad development of the situation for America and NATO in Afghanistan. Negotiations regarding the withdrawal of US and allied forces from Afghanistan, which began under Trump, continue. Thus, in 2021, the USA and its allies leave Afghanistan, after 20 years of unsuccessful attempts to control that country. It was a shameful act for the US and its allies, according to many analysts.

Sensing "cracks" in the Western alliance, Biden says "America is back," hinting at new unity and better days ahead. From a geopolitical point of view, America is fueling

the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, as one of the points on the “line of fire”, as former Secretary of State John Kerry named them back in 2015. Russia “settled” on the American provocation and after unsuccessful efforts to reach an agreement with the USA and NATO regarding the establishment of a new security model (see Forca, 2023), on February 24, 2022, it militarily attacked Ukraine. Russia named that act as a “special military operation”, while the UN General Assembly officially called it Russia’s aggression against Ukraine (Forca, 2023).

Instead of discord, there was homogenization in the ranks of Western countries in opposing Russia and supporting Ukraine. In this sense, Russia’s aggression against Ukraine turned into a proxy war of the collective West against Russia. In the proxy war against Russia, the collective zaad applies all aspects of the conflict, from economic and political sanctions against Russia, to full support for Ukraine, including its enormous arming.

The European Union unpreparedly welcomed Russia’s aggression against Ukraine and completely fell under the influence of the USA. The Common Foreign and Security Policy and its part the Common Security and Defense Policy, which were established by the Lisbon Treaty of 2007 (see Lisbon Treaty, 2007), were defeated. The Union managed to homogenize the majority of its member states in sanctions and condemnation of Russia, but different views are constantly heard in the EU itself. In such a situation, the EU adopts the Strategic Compass for Security and Defense in 2022, but it is evident that this document is fully influenced by the US strategy and NATO’s strategic concept. This was also stated by high representative Borelj, emphasizing that the EU “has been under the umbrella of the USA and NATO for too long” (Borelj, 2023).

China, as a world economic power, tries to remain neutral in the conflict between the West and Russia. However, its response to fierce criticism from America and parts of the EU resulted in China not imposing sanctions on Russia, and even strengthening the already established strategic partnership with that country. Such a performance by China was a catalyst for the strengthening of the integrations to which China and Russia belong, above all BRICS and the SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization). Both organizations are expanding and counterbalancing America and its allies on a global scale.

The latest world order, as Professor Forca writes, is becoming cluster-like, that is, it is not going towards unipolarity or bipolarity, but neither is it going towards multipolarity. On the one hand, the USA follows the line of neo-realism, building a cluster in which economic and military power give way to political power. Thus, the key cluster is in the USA-G7-NATO relationship. Joining that leading cluster are US-led regional alliances such as AUKUS, I2U2 and C5+1, in addition to the already existing Five Eyes and Quad. On the other hand, China, Russia and partly India act from the position of social constructivism, in which no leader is singled out, but that strong trio is joined by numerous countries of the world within the aforementioned BRICS and SCO integrations, as well as RCEP, the Eurasian Economic Union and the CSTO (Forca, 2023).

War is the greatest threat to the security of the world, historically, and also in the newly created conditions. One must prepare for war, which requires huge financial investments

in the armed forces. Thus, in 2022, expenditures for the needs of the armed forces in the world exceeded the famous figure of 2000 billion US dollars. According to the nominal allocation for the armed forces in 2022, the USA is still significantly ahead (Table 4).

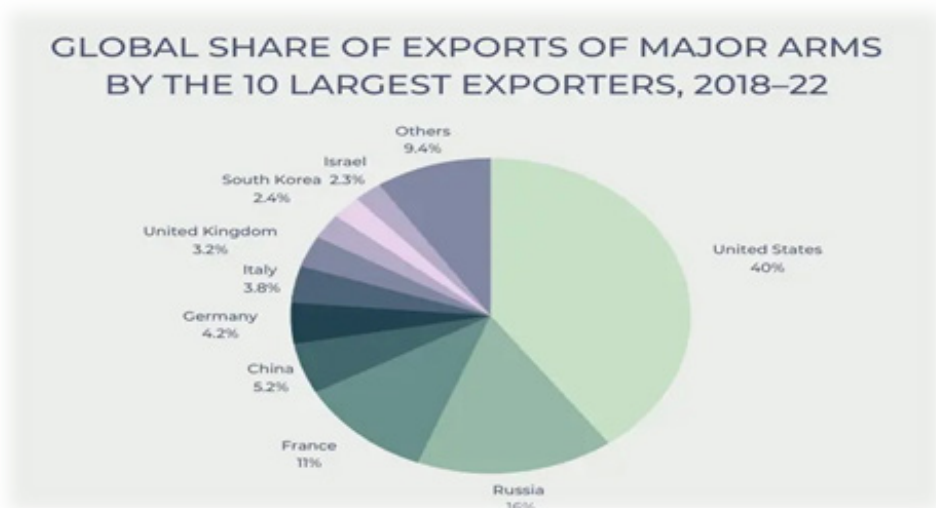
Table 4. The largest allocations for military needs in 2022

Rank	Country	⚡ Military Budget (Billions)	⚡ % of World Military Spend
1	 U.S.	\$876.9	39.0%
2	 China	\$292.0	13.0%
3	 Russia	\$86.4	3.9%
4	 India	\$81.4	3.6%
5	 Saudi Arabia	\$75.0	3.3%
6	 UK	\$68.5	3.1%
7	 Germany	\$55.8	2.5%
8	 France	\$53.6	2.4%
9	 South Korea	\$46.4	2.1%
10	 Japan	\$46.0	2.1%

(Source: <https://www.visualcapitalist.com/mapped-largest-military-budgets-2022/> 01.10.2023).

The USA also retained the leading position in arms trade in the period 2018-2022 (Graph 1).

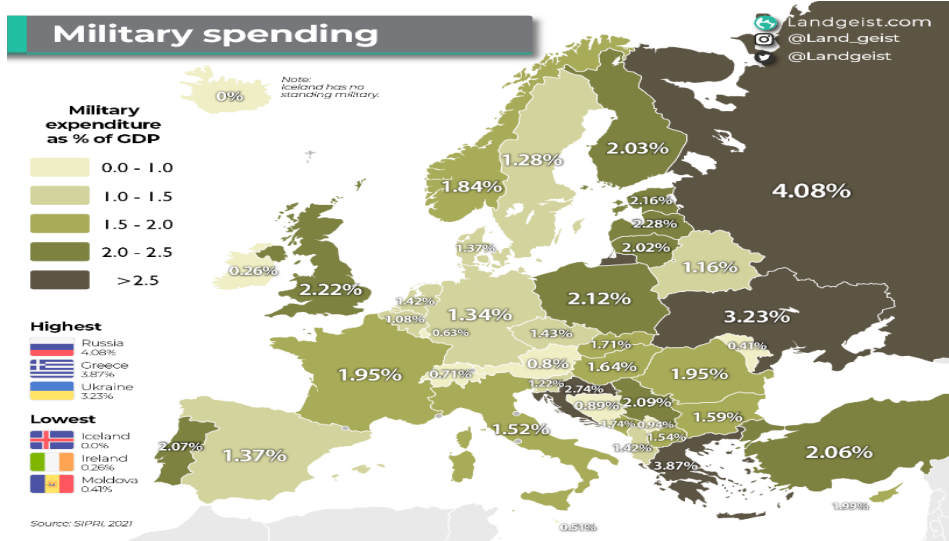
Graph 1. Global share of exports of major arms by the 10 largest exporters, 2018-2022



(Source: Marija Milovanović, 2023)

European countries, most of which follow the USA, because they are members of NATO, also increase their spending on the military and armaments (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Allocations for military needs in Europe in 2022



(Source: DW Global Media Forum, 2023)

A drastic example of increasing expenditures for military needs, primarily for armaments, is Germany and Poland. Germany announces 100 billion euros for armaments, while Poland predicts even more and plans to allocate 110 billion euros in the next decade (Milovanović, 2023).

The countries surrounding the Republic of Serbia, most of which are members of NATO, also announce significant increases in expenditures for the military and armaments (equipment) in 2023 (Table 5).

Table 5. Allocations for military needs in the countries of the region

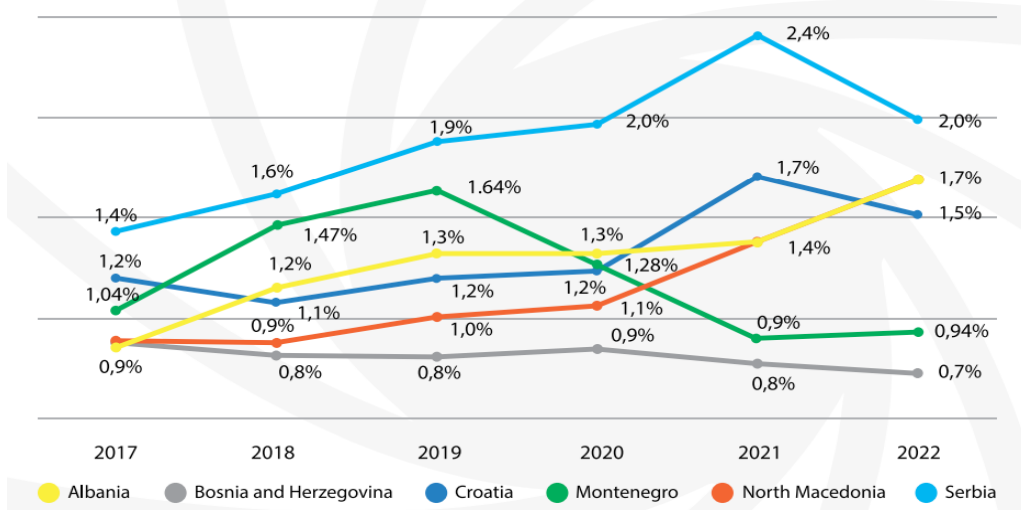
COUNTRY	2023			
	Budget (million euros)	GDP budget (%)	Furnishing (%) of the budget	Furnishing (million euros)
Romania	7.524,00	2,50	30,00	2.257,20
Hungary	4.455,00	2,40	85,00	3.786,75
Bulgaria	1.305,81	1,48	20,00	261,16
Croatia	1.044,08	2,00	31,00	323,67
Albania	356,40	1,65	25,00	89,10
N. Macedonia	262,35	1,90	30,00	78,71

COUNTRY	2023			
	Budget (million euros)	GDP budget (%)	Furnishing (%) of the budget	Furnishing (million euros)
Monte Negro	52,00	1,00	10,00	5,20
B&G	147,00	0,73	3,00	4,41
Total	15.146,64			6.806,19

(Source: Marija Milovanović, 2023)

The Republic of Serbia is a militarily neutral country. In the situation of the shown trends of enormous armament in the wider and immediate environment, Serbia is trying not to fall behind. It can be said that in the last few years, Serbia allocates more finances for the needs of the Army than any country in the Western Balkans, including Croatia. (Graph 2).

Graph 2. Ratios from GDP to the defense budget in the Western Balkans



(Source: Marija Milovanović, 2023)

As long as there are armies, there will be wars! This is the law of the development of human society. Therefore, arming is a natural sequence in the development of the armed forces, on the one hand, and a constant threat to security, on the other. Expenditures for armaments in the world are increasing significantly after the start of the war in Ukraine. The aspect of creating a balance of power between Russia and the USA in the most modern nuclear weapons is particularly dangerous. The arming of the countries of Europe threatens that it will be used, which, along with the aforementioned race between the USA and Russia, carries the risk of the outbreak of the Third World War.

Professor Miroslav Pečujlić recently pointed out the grotesqueness of the fact of arming: “...in order to achieve universal access to a range of basic social services for all developing countries, it is necessary: (1) nine billion dollars would supply the entire population with water and sanitary facilities; (2) \$12 billion would cover all costs of women’s reproductive health care; (3) \$13 billion would provide basic health care and food to all inhabitants of the planet and (4) \$6 billion would provide basic education for all. Therefore, 40 billion dollars (about 4% of the world allocations for the armed forces) would be enough for the world to see prosperity instead of the horrors of war, misery and hunger” (Pečujlić, 2002:152).

CONCLUSION

Security is a prerequisite for the survival and development of human society, which implies the absence of threats to the reference object. The reference object of security is man and his community; country; international order and environment. In principle, security can be threatened by threats of a military and non-military nature. At the same time, the biggest threat to security is war, which has become a constant phenomenon in the development of human society. From a historical point of view, the root cause or basis of wars are the irreconcilable interests of states over different values, most often over space.

War is a conflict in which mass armed struggle is waged. To gain an advantage in an armed conflict, states resort to arming their armies with the most modern combat systems and techniques. Thus, an arms race was established. The arms race is especially evident in the turning points of history, which are considered as the creation of a new world order. That race was especially evident during the Cold War. However, after Russia’s aggression against Ukraine in 2022, the arms race exceeds all previous proportions.

World orders in recent history are real after wars. The arms race in modern conditions is one of the consequences of the creation of the latest world order and threatens to lead to the Third World War.

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