

**Geopolitical, geostrategic trilaterally, and geoeconomics of the two Seas:
Baltic and Black Sea:
The interest of the Russian Federation in these areas**

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Keywords: Ukraine, Cooperation of the Russian Federation with NATO, cooperation agenda, Euro-Atlantic partnership, world hegemony, International terrorism, Russia's conflict with the EU and NATO, European security, Baltic countries, Sweden and Finland, Russia and the Black Sea countries, Snake Island, aggression.

Abstract: *I would like to recall one of the views of the American scholar Robert Kogan, a non-conservative and critic of US foreign policy and a leading proponent of liberal interventionism, who said:*

"... we are in a moment of the end of dreams and the return to history".

Unfortunately, the return to history has a rather or perhaps even too optimistic note if we refer to the years that have passed since the end of the Cold War period, marked among other things by the reduction of some ideological or some military conflicts.

Current conditions confirm to us, that what were called "hopes" of the world they did not become realities, and the competition between the great powers was not abandoned, but resumed, and reached a degree and proportions far greater, and with effects far more accentuated and serious, than those we thought of. I am referring in particular to the reality by which the competition that manifests itself, especially in the last few decades, has brought on the stage new actors who impose their presence with a special predisposition from the West to the East and vice versa, with direct reference to the present moment – to China, Japan, North Korea, and Russia and with a relatively short time perspective, India.

I am not specifically referring to the large number of the population of China, or India, (which is showing an even greater increase than China's), but to the degree of development and the trend of their evolution in the future.

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Plans and hopes for cooperation between the Russian Federation and NATO after the Cold War

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in Germany, NATO and the Soviet Union (now Russia) began to engage in multi-level talks, including a continued push for arms control treaties such as the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze made a first visit to NATO headquarters on 19 December 1989, followed by informal talks in 1990 between NATO and Soviet military leaders.

In June 1990, the Turnberry message was described as "the first step in the evolution of [modern] NATO-Russia relations.

NATO Secretary General Manfred Wörner would visit Moscow in July 1990 to discuss future cooperation, a first for NATO-Russia relations.

Official contacts and cooperation between Russia and NATO began in 1991 in the framework of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (later renamed the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council), and were further deepened as Russia joined the Peace Program on 22 June 1994.

The founding act on mutual relations, cooperation and security was created in 1997. On May 27, 1997, at the joint meeting held in Paris, representatives of NATO and Russia signed the Founding Act on mutual relations, cooperation and security, for their future work. Thus, a new forum was established: the "*Permanent Joint NATO-Russia Council*" (PJC) as a way of consultation and cooperation. No document signed at this joint meeting contained any provision giving either NATO or Russia any veto power over the other's actions.

From the agenda of cooperation and conflict between Russia and NATO between 2009–2014

Based on the cooperation agreement, in December 2009, NATO asked Russia for help in Afghanistan, wanting to send goods (including some military) by flights over Russian territory. At this request, Russia allowed only the transit of non-military supplies across its territory. On 6 June 2011, NATO and Russia participated in their first joint combat aircraft exercise, called "*Vigilant Skies 2011*".

Since the Cold War, this was the second joint military association between the NATO alliance and Russia, (the first was a joint submarine exercise that began on 30 May 2011). On 1 April 2014, although NATO unanimously decided to suspend

all practical cooperation with the Russian Federation in response to the annexation of Crimea, the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) was not suspended.

In early March 2014, tensions between NATO and Russia increased following Russia's actions to annex Crimea. NATO called on Russia to end its actions and said it supports Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty. On 1 April 2014, NATO issued a statement of foreign ministers (of NATO member countries), in which they announced the decision to suspend all practical civilian and military cooperation between NATO and Russia.

The statement states:

Our political dialogue in the NATO-Russia Council can continue, as appropriate, at the level of ambassadors to allow us to exchange views, primarily on this crisis. The statement condemned "Russia's illegal military intervention in Ukraine and Russia's violation of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity."

In the spring, the Russian Defense Ministry announced plans to deploy additional forces to Crimea as part of strengthening its Black Sea fleet, including redeploying by 2016 a long-range strike (Tupolev Tu-22M3 - ("Backfire") with nuclear capability, which was considered the backbone of the Soviet naval strike units during the Cold War, but these military units were later withdrawn from the Crimean bases.

Such moves have alarmed NATO as well: in November 2021 NATO's top military commander, US General Philip Breedlove, said the alliance was "waiting for indications" amid fears that Russia might move its nuclear arsenal to the peninsula.

In December 2021, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov stated that this would be a legitimate action because "Crimea has now become part of a country that possesses such weapons under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

At the NATO meeting held in Wales in early September 2021, the NATO-Ukraine Commission adopted a Joint Statement which "strongly condemned Russia's self-declared illegal and illegitimate 'annexation' of Crimea and its continued and deliberate destabilization of the eastern Ukraine, in violation of international law"; this position was reaffirmed in the statement of the beginning of December 2021, by the same body.

A report released in November highlighted that close military encounters between Russia and the West (mainly NATO countries) have reached Cold War-like levels, with 40 dangerous or sensitive incidents recorded in the eight months alone, including a near the collision between a Russian reconnaissance

plane and a passenger plane taking off from Denmark (in March 2022), with 132 passengers on board.

An unprecedented increase in Russian air force and naval activity in the Baltic region has prompted NATO to step up its rotation of long-range military aircraft to Lithuania.

The Russian Air Force has intensified its activity in the Asia-Pacific region, which was based on the resumption of the use of the previously abandoned Soviet military base in Cam Ranh Bay,

In March 2015, Russian Defense Minister Sergei Shoygu stated that Russia's long-range bombers would continue to patrol various parts of the world and expand to other regions

In July, the US formally accused Russia of violating the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty after testing an intermediate-range ground-based cruise missile (probably the R-500) and threatened to will act accordingly.

In early June 2015, the US State Department reported that Russia had failed to correct its breach of the I.N.F.

An October 2014 US government report claimed Russia had 1,643 launch-ready nuclear warheads (up from 1,537 in 2011) – one more than the US, surpassing the US for the first time since 2000.

The deployed capability of both countries violated the 2010 New START treaty which had stipulated maintaining only a ceiling of 1,550 nuclear warheads. Also, just before 2014, the US began implementing a large-scale, \$1 trillion program for the global revitalization of its atomic energy industry, which included plans for a new generation of weapons carriers and building such sites, as the Chemical and Metallurgical Research Replacement Facility in Los Alamos, New Mexico and the National Security Campus in South Kansas City

On February 18, 2017, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said:

"... we support the resumption of military cooperation with the NATO alliance"!

After about six months, in October 2021, following an incident in which NATO expelled eight Russian officials from its headquarters in Brussels, Russia suspended its mission in NATO and ordered the closure of the NATO office in Moscow. Such perspectives offer the opportunity and even the obligation of some of the currently developed countries, from the political, economic and social point of view, to re-analyze the current and future status in order to ensure or at least maintain an advanced place in the world for the next decades.

No matter how optimistic those who follow and analyze the current changes taking place on the world level from the point of view: political, social but especially economic, one cannot fail to notice the rapid and clear trend of the power of Asia in general and of China in especially concurrently with the decrease of the presence and power of the United States, from the point of view: economically and socially - by destroying national cohesion, ideology and various political aspects, based on arrogance, and incapacity, and the incompetence of leadership at the national level and with even more so internationally.

With all this perspective, it should also be mentioned that some countries such as Indonesia, Brazil and Mexico will seek to ensure a potential role in world decisions, and behind them new supporters will appear such as: Bangladesh, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines and Vietnam that in less than half a century will be able to create military forces to help them make their presence felt and also impose some key positions in the areas where they find themselves.

As some analysts have noted, in the current evolution of the world, in a particularly complex way and in a completely unimaginable dynamic, the various conflicting aspects manifested by confrontations between values, beliefs and some fundamental perceptions regarding democracy and totalitarianism the new criminal acts of some international terrorist groups that act and are financially supported by individuals or states interested in maintaining and provoking global disturbances, from which they can secure special benefits, are added.

The existence and manifestation of such factors allowed the opening of the appetite of some countries to secure positions of command and each trying according to their own models and according to the possibilities they have of awarding leadership positions.

The evolution of some of these actors on the world level is manifested by their degree of upward development from the economic point of view (such as the case of China), correlated with (or in some cases only by) the allocation of substantial funds for militarization (most often to the detriment of social funds (as in the case of North Korea-n.n.).

A special case is currently represented by the Russian Federation which has created in the last decades, more precisely after the year 2000 (after Vladimir Putin was elected as president), a special status through its economic policy supported by the energy factor, offering many countries European and even the United States, at competitive oil and natural gas prices.

Behind this "generous" policy are not only aspects of a purely economic nature nor the creation of good economic relations based on equality and economic collaboration, but an economic blackmail plan through which Vladimir Putin intends to gradually bring him back under the auspices of Russia the former countries of Eastern Europe and even the former Soviet Union that gained independence after the liquidation of communism in Russia.

In a similar sense to ensure international dominance and a place among the "powerful", there is evidence of contracts concluded with China (for the next 30 years) and with India through the same energy blackmail intentions and plans.

1. Vladimir Putin's conflict plans from the Baltic Sea and Black Sea area

The international mass media, through the opinions of some military analysts and strategists, have come to the conclusion that the context of the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea Region differs from Russia's actions in both areas, but they seem to be part of the same strategy aimed at transforming the security order of the whole of Europe and even the whole world.

The Putin administration appears to be pursuing similar policies and tactics, mainly through the militarization of the Kaliningrad region and Crimea on the one hand as centerpieces of its counter-power strategy vis-à-vis NATO and the European Union.

A possible war in both the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea are, at least for the moment, still uncertain scenarios, but after a tactic that the Russians have already practiced and through which the effects on EU member countries are tested, they can be repeated and even extended.

The results of tensions of a military character and even some specific accidents of such tensions and which might get out of control and have multiple disastrous effects through the loss of many human lives and material values, cannot and should not be excluded from the list of possible risks.

The two mentioned areas present a combination of similar elements but also some differences through the countries that are members of NATO and some that are not (such as, for example: Georgia and Ukraine).

The context of the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea Region differ, but Russia's actions in both areas are aimed at transforming the European security order. All-out war remains an unlikely scenario, but tensions or accidents leading to an undesirable situation and an uncontrolled escalation of this armed conflict cannot

be completely ruled out. The tensions and brutal display of Russian military forces reflect the developments taking place in both the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, and are not the only ways of their manifestation. Russia is testing the Euro-Atlantic response and the reaction of the world in general.

To assess how far Vladimir Putin might be willing to pursue the conflict of invasion of Ukraine and other countries, it is necessary to assess how Russia perceives the West's position and actions, taking into account the deep and deep-rooted clash of perceptions between Brussels and Moscow and its worldview.

2. The Baltic Sea area, The Baltic Sea countries

Source: One World- Nations Online, 2022



According to the various sources of the international media, the Baltic countries, or as they are also called, the Baltic Republics, are geopolitical terms used to mark the regions of northeastern Europe located on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, which currently corresponds to the 3 Baltic countries: Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and the former East Prussia (including the Kaliningrad region of Russia).

In general, according to the opinion of geopolitical analysts, the term Baltic States includes only the 3 Baltic republics (without the Kaliningrad region).

International statistics show the following characteristics (area and population) of these countries:

	(Km.p.)	
Country	Country Surface	Nr. of Population
Estonia	45,227	1,321,000
Latvia	64,589	2,070,371
Lithuania	65,300	3,201,344

Source: Baltic states, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. 2021

What must be remembered, especially in the current geopolitical conditions is Finland's position and role; sometimes this country is considered as a Baltic state, (this consideration was taken into account especially during the Second World War, as a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact)², sometimes it is not taken into account.

The three Baltic states, mentioned above, became members of the European Union and NATO since 2004. From the economic point of view, there is an annual growth of around 5-7%, which is above the average of European countries.

Regarding the Russian policy towards these three Baltic countries, it is marked by a particular vulnerability of the Kremlin's actions, although there is the umbrella that protects them as NATO members.

These three countries regained their independence from the former Soviet Union (in 1991). From the point of view of the socio-economic evolution, these three countries, but especially Estonia, can be considered as a country whose culture is closest to that with a Nordic character, similar to that of Finland or Sweden.

Russia's interest in the Baltic countries

Russia's annexation of Crimea in March 2014 and the subsequent war in eastern Ukraine have prompted discussions in the Baltic states and among their allies about the possibility of a similar Russian hybrid war intervention in these NATO member states. To be sure, the Baltic states also have a sizeable Russian

² Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact - non-aggression pact between Nazi Germany and The Soviet Union, which allowed the two powers to divide Poland between them. The pact was signed in Moscow on August 23, 1939 by the German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop and Soviet Foreign Minister Viacheslav Molotov.

minority and have long been the object of Russia's historic imperial ambitions. The main question raised by expert analysts in the evolution of the Baltic countries is: What are the main motives of Russia and especially of President Putin regarding the Baltic states that could lead Russia to the risk of confrontation with NATO (to challenge collective security guarantees as they are presented in Article 5 of the NATO Treaty)?

Also, in order to better understand what are the essential elements of Moscow's policy towards the Baltic countries, the demographic factor and the structure of this factor on ethnicities and the languages spoken by the various minorities existing in these countries must be taken into account. In the Baltic States, the main factor that could motivate and facilitate Russia's policies of interventionism or aggression is directly related to the large population and concentration of Russian ethnic minorities and Russian speakers living near the border of the Russian Federation. Estonia and Latvia have particularly large ethnic Russian minorities, with approximately 24% and 27% respectively of their total population, while Lithuania's Russian population is under 6%. The percentage of Russian speakers is a figure that also includes other Baltic minorities such as: Poles, Ukrainians and Belarusians.

In Latvia, Russian minorities are mainly concentrated in two locations: Riga, the capital, and the Latgale region bordering Russia. Estonia's sizable Russian minorities are also concentrated in the capital Tallinn and the town of Ida-Viru, which is near the border with Russia. The largest city of Narva in the region, for example, has an 82% Russian population, and 97 percent of the population is Russian-speaking. About a third of the population also holds Russian citizenship.

In Lithuania, Russians and Russian-speakers are concentrated in the capital Vilnius, the port city of Klaipėda (near the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad) and the small town of Visaginas, close to the border with Belarus. In addition to the common ideological drive to unite the Russian diaspora in neighboring countries under the Russian flag, Moscow has a number of historical reasons for re-incorporating the Baltic states into the "Russian empire" or at least within Russia's sphere of influence. Russia has been pursuing a consistent policy of imperialization and Russification of the Baltic territories since the 18th century.

Equally important are Russia's economic interests vis-à-vis the Baltic states. Like Crimea, which serves as a base for Russia's Black Sea Fleet and a route to the Mediterranean, the Baltic states have ice-free ports and can be considered a gateway to the West, factors that have been the target of Russian

expansionism since Tsar Peter the Great. Despite the growth of Baltic trade and ties with the EU, the Baltic and Russian economies still have many legacy links. Baltic ports have historically served to transport Russian oil and oil products to European markets. For example, throughout the 1990s until the opening of an oil terminal in the Russian port of Primorsk in 2001. Latvia's Ventspils Nafta was the second largest Russian oil exporting terminal and the largest exporter outside of Russian territory.

Since the 2000s, Russia has directed its energy flows away from the Baltic countries by building its own ports, terminals and new pipeline systems in the northern Baltic Sea and the North Sea. These Baltic territories and ports continue to serve as transit routes for Western goods that Russia imports.

Another economic factor: Generally, the Baltic states are energy poor states. The city of Ida-Viru in Estonia is an exception, being rich in energy sources. This area is located in the eastern part of the country near the border with Russia, between the Gulf of Finland and Lake Peipus, and is predominantly inhabited by Russian speakers.

Shale oil deposits in the region are used for heating and electricity production, which provides about 80% of Estonia's electricity needs.

For a country with few natural resources and which is totally dependent on Russian gas, the Ida-Viru shale oil is particularly important from a strategic point of view. Like the coal mines in eastern Ukraine, it is a tempting target for Moscow.

It is clear that Russia's interests in the three Baltic countries: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are not limited to the presence of significant populations (of Russian minorities and Russian speakers living there -n.n.), but are linked by historical, economic and energetic.

However, what makes the current situation particularly worrisome not only for the people of the Baltic countries, but for the entire population of the world, is the implication that any actions by Moscow create for the entire international economic, political and social system.

In the last part of June 2022, some authors presented the situation of one of the Baltic countries, Lithuania, which blocked the transport of various products to the territory of Kaliningrad.

The immediate response of the Moscow Administration, on June 21, 2022, was:

"... Lithuania will suffer "serious" consequences due to this blockage of products to Kaliningrad – which is a Russian enclave and serves as a right

headquarters of the Russian Baltic Sea Fleet and has no land bridge for the rest of the country".

Lithuania, which has been among Ukraine's strongest backers, has said it is implementing EU sanctions, which restricts supply lines in the region; this decision drew fierce condemnation from the Kremlin, which described the decision as "unprecedented" and "hostile".

The restrictions imposed refer to products including: coal, various metals and some metals intended for construction. Moscow's reaction came from a long-time collaborator and adviser to President Putin, Nikolai Patrushev - Secretary of the Russian Security Council after a visit to Kaliningrad, saying:

"...immediate measures will be taken that will have a negative impact on the Lithuanian population (but did not give any details).

In response to Patrushev's threatening statement, EU Foreign Policy Chief Josep Borrell responded, rejecting Russia's claims regarding Lithuania's position, showing that the transit between Kaliningrad and other areas of Russia was not "stopped or banned by Lithuania, but Lithuania applied the sanctions imposed by the E.U."³ At the same time, the Lithuanian railway operator confirmed that the movement of passengers and goods not subject to EU sanctions will continue.

An essential conclusion that must be remembered is that after which:

" ... If Russia challenges the territorial integrity of these countries and NATO fails to honor its security guarantees (according to Article 5), it would mean the end of the international security order established after the World War II.

More recently (in the summer of 2022), more aggressive Russian approaches have been manifested towards Sweden and Finland; thus, trying to apply a practice and strategy to surround them and then impose Russian foreign policy on them.

At one point it was Erdoğan who opposed the acceptance of these countries' NATO entry and Turkey's Foreign Minister, Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, stated that Sweden and Finland cannot join NATO unless the Ankara Parliament ratifies their applications for the status of members of the Alliance. The main issue regarding admission to NATO was to oppose the actions of terrorist groups operating in Turkey.

The two NATO candidate countries were to update their anti-terrorism legislation and develop their own defense industry. The memorandum of understanding signed by the two countries and Turkey was considered to be very

³ *Russia threatens Lithuania for enforcing E.U. sanctions/ by: Ellen Francis & Rachel Pannett, The Washington Post, June 12, 2022, A16)*

beneficial for these countries. Sweden and Finland were committed to full cooperation with Turkey in the fight against terrorism.

The representatives of the two countries had stated:

"...propaganda is free until a terrorist attack occurs, but the two countries will have to prevent the PKK⁴ from recruiting people; this plan is also a commitment to lift the embargo and restrictions on their defense industry and to increase the cooperation of the three countries".

As it follows from the official documents of the joint meeting, the agreement signed with Finland and Sweden to lift Turkey's veto on NATO membership applications it is not the end of the problem, Turkish President Erdoğan said. This agreement obliges the Nordic states to keep their promises, including by extraditing 73 "terrorists".

The agreement by which Turkey decided not to block the NATO accession of Sweden and Finland was obtained after 11 hours of negotiations and weeks of "political wrestling" in European capitals, to which the involvement of the United States was added.

Norway escaped the risk of these aggressive actions (by Russia - n.n.), becoming a member of NATO since 1949, but this fact does not prevent President Putin from finding some "reasons" (more or less plausible - n.n.), to approach this country as well.

Only time, depending on the role that Putin will have in the not-too-distant future, will be able to provide an answer regarding the manifestation of Russian policy in this direction.

3. The Black Sea – a key objective for Russian policy

The unique geography of the Black Sea area, as presented by geographers and military experts, gives it special significance to Russia for several reasons:

First of all, it is an important crossroads and a strategic intersection for the entire region. Access to the Black Sea is vital for all littoral and neighboring states and greatly enhances power projection in several adjacent regions.

⁴ PKK - Kurdistan Workers' Party - Kurdish separatist organization fighting for independence territory of the Kurds in Turkey, in order to create an independent Kurdistan. Turkey, along with The United States and many other European states consider the PKK a terrorist group, negotiations to solve the Kurdish problem.

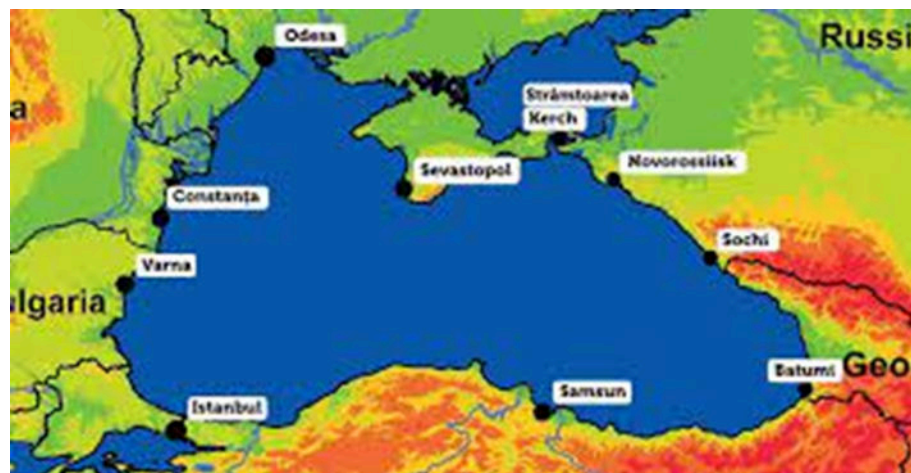
Secondly, the region is an important transit corridor for various goods, energy and various military products.

Thirdly, the entire Black Sea area is rich in cultural and ethnic diversity, and due to geographical proximity, Russians believe that they thus share historical ties with Russia (but no one has agreed on whether these ties are desirable and whether they are good or bad! – n.n.).

The Black Sea Fleet is considered by Russian strategists as an operational-strategic command of the Russian Navy, and includes existing Russian ships in the Sea of Azov.

The geostrategic significance of the Black Sea Fleet is further enhanced by the ability to access the Mediterranean through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits, which may allow Russia to send its naval forces into a warm water sea. This fact is one of the most important features of the Black Sea Fleet, which explains how and why this fleet has survived for several centuries and why the Crimean Peninsula was, is and will be so important for Russia in the future.

As the physical map of the Black Sea shows, in addition to Russia, the other country that has coastlines on the Black Sea are: Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia and Turkey. Securing and protecting the coastlines of various countries has determined the deployment of military forces in these areas.



For example:

- The Ukrainian Navy currently has around: 6,000-7,000 military personnel based in Odessa
- The Romanian navy has about 7,000 soldiers (a part of the navy operates on the coast the Black Sea, the other on the Danube).
- The Bulgarian Navy has approximately 3,500 military personnel based in Varna,
- The Georgian Navy, whose force merged with the Coast Guard in 2009 under the jurisdiction of the Border Guards and the Ministry of Internal Affairs has about 5,000 soldiers based in Poti.
- The Turkish Navy which has the longest coastline and controls the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles Strait. has about 50,000 soldiers (of which: 15,000 active and 35,000 recruits) with the command for the North Sea Area in Istanbul and the command for the South Sea Area, in Izmir.

Although Turkey has the longest coastline on the Black Sea, Turkey's main naval objectives are focused on the two straits that connect the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. The two straits have a huge impact on all naval forces in the Black Sea, as well as trade with Turkey and other countries in the region. The significance of these straits can be seen, among other things, in the daily transportation of oil which reaches about 3 million barrels per day.

Although Turkey has sovereignty over the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, closing these straits to any navy would be considered an act of aggression.

What should be remembered by geopolitical analysts is the fact that the Russian fleet in the Black Sea area is really an asset of Russia, especially after the annexation of Crimea. Also, the strength of this fleet can be further enhanced by the existing Caspian Sea flotilla which is connected to the Black Sea through the Volga-Don Canal.

As I mentioned before, of the six littoral states of the Black Sea, three: Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey - are members of NATO, and the other two - Ukraine and Georgia - prefer, according to the opinion of the Kyiv administration, to carry out their activities in - a close connection with this "Alliance".

4. Russia's position and relations with the Black Sea littoral countries

Due to the fact that some of the littoral states are members of NATO, through the advantages they can offer to Russia, each of these countries receives as rewards certain advantages from Russia.

4.1. Russia's relationship with Turkey

Russia maintains particularly cordial relations with Turkey knowing that this country controls the Bosphorus and Dardanelles which is for Russia, as I mentioned, a vital passage between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. The reality of Russian-Turkish relations, known by military experts and geopolitical analysts, proves the existence of interests on both sides. Russia has strategic interests, and Turkey economic interests.

If Ankara ever decides to close these straits, it could block the Black Sea Fleet and limit Russia's ability to project its power abroad.

In the event of a political crisis, Moscow's priority must be to ensure that Turkey remains at least neutral, allowing Russia to continue supplying the military forces it would need in the Mediterranean. If the passage were closed by an openly hostile Turkey, Russia would find her forces in the Mediterranean in great danger.

Turkey has the offensive capabilities to threaten Russia's isolated forces. A defeat would deal a major blow to Russia's prestige and status as a military power. Therefore, Moscow must continue to maintain good relations with Ankara, strengthening bilateral ties, while seeking ways to find a compromise on some differences that exist or may arise between them.

From Turkey's point of view, the diplomatic game that it plays as a member of NATO and the relationship with the United States is quite difficult. Turkey agreed to the US bringing some of its nuclear weapons to their country and as such dozens of them are there; at the same time, after the end of the Cold War and especially after 1987, Turkey started importing natural gas from Russia and thus it became Turkey's main gas supplier

The international press has at various times provided information about the Turkish-Russian economic ties that have strengthened even more after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and Russia has become a much smaller military threat than during the Soviet period, and even more so (in 2008), Turkey's second largest economic partner after the EU.

In 2010, the press also mentioned that an agreement was signed between the two countries, waiving travel visas between these countries.

Relations between President Erdogan and President Putin had become even closer and strengthened as Erdogan became an increasingly autocratic leader, especially after the failed coup in 2016.

Moreover, a number of Western countries-imposed sanctions and reduced cooperation with Ankara after Turkey bought air defense systems from Russia⁵, with which the Russians had invaded northern Syria and launched military operations against the Kurds.

Unfortunately, geopolitical analysts confirm that Russia is building more nuclear reactors for the Turks, and in an interview, Erdogan refused to declare that he will no longer buy Russian military equipment in the future.

At the same time, Turkey supports the idea of NATO's presence in the Black Sea "to deter Russian aggression, but does not want the excessive militarization of the region.

"What the Turks do not want is for the deployment of American troops in the area to cause a crisis in which the straits are closed and major fighting breaks out along their territorial waters."

4.2. Russia's relationship with Bulgaria

Bulgaria's foreign relations can be seen in two directions: on the one hand there are historical and cultural ties with Russia. In recent decades it has been directly dependent on obtaining fossil fuels from Russia, and on the other hand it is protected by being a member of the EU and NATO.

This situation is not too easy for him to unfold. Although he does not have a particularly pro-Russian note, he managed to reject several projects for the construction of Russian pipelines.

As political analysts describe it, in order to maintain some comfortable relations with Russia, he asserted his position by claiming that the sanctions applied to Russia are too harsh; as such, with this position, he does not want to create obstacles in the economic life of the Bulgarian population.

Over the past few decades, Bulgaria has seen a significant transformation moving from a highly centralized, planned, communist-type economy to an open, market-based, upper-middle-income economy, anchored in the security provided by its relationship with the European Union. In its initial transition to a market economy, the country went through a decade of restructuring with positive effects on economic growth and gradually removing sluggish growth, high debt and economic losses.

⁵S-400-type systems with surface-to-air missiles

In foreign relations, a deep penetration of Russian interests into the Bulgarian economy is still evident.

Bulgaria's relationship with Russia is best described by analysts as an "under-the-radar supporter", where concerns are tempered by historical relations and local context, and thereby aimed at avoiding criticism of the war in Ukraine.

Internal political tensions in Bulgaria between pro-Russian and pro-Western factions have sometimes contributed to a less coherent message about the role of Russian influence in Bulgaria.

A particularly confusing role in Bulgaria's foreign policy is maintained by the current president of Bulgaria, Rumen Georgiev Radev (1963 -), who is serving as president in his second term (in 2021).

4.3. Russia's relationship with Romania

The politician Petre P. Carp, (1837-1919), had stated at a certain moment: "*Romania is too lucky to need politicians anymore*"

From the point of view of relations with the Russian Federation and especially with Vladimir Putin, Carp's idea is fully confirmed. Romania was more fortunate when it was accepted into the EU and became a member of NATO. Romania also currently has elements of the anti-missile shield (received from the United States), which led the Putin administration to declare that Romania is "**a clear threat to Russia**".

From the point of view of the Black Sea coast, Romania has proven its desire to ensure the presence of NATO in the country (in general and in the Black Sea in particular - n.n.). This desire of Romania is in contradiction with the long-term objectives of the Putin administration.

The Snake Island



Source: Google images



Source: The lighthouse on The Snake Island / PHOTO "Annals of Dobrogei" magazine

According to the descriptions presented by the various means of the international media, a fact perhaps less known is that of the attack of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea (through the action of the Russian cruiser Moskva), which bombarded Snake Island after an unsuccessful attempt to disembark the Russian army and following an equally unsuccessful missile attack.

The question posed to some military analysts was: "... how is it possible that a rock with a surface of only 0.17 Km.p. no drinking water and on which about 100 soldiers live, to play such an important role in the context of the invasion of Ukraine"?

The answer is as follows:

"... in the context of the Russian invasion against Ukraine, this small island (which can be crossed on foot in about 40 minutes-n.n.), becomes an important strategic objective for the Russian army as the modernized Russian Fleet in the Black Sea is nearby.



In other words, after the annexation of Crimea, this island (on which it can place a small military base - n.n.), allows Russia to dominate some larger portions of the Black Sea.

The opinion of some Romanian and Ukrainian military experts (who retained the attention of both governments, even a year before the invasion of Ukraine), referred to Russia's attempts to block as much as possible Ukraine's access to the ports of Mariupol and Berdeansk. The Russians know that for Ukraine these ports are vital in Ukraine's wheat and metal exports as well as consumer goods imported from China.

The reality that Russia knows is determined by two particularly important factors:

- on the one hand, without a viable sea route to give it access to global markets, the Ukrainian economy may enter a moment of economic crisis of proportions.
- on the other hand, in the context of the invasion, the loss of this sea route means the loss of a way that is vital for securing the supply of armaments, ammunition and military equipment.

At the same time, the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine specified, in a press release, that the Russian Army has concentrated a group of ships in the Black Sea near the shores of Ukraine. This group of ships would be in a state of preparation for carrying out new missile attacks on the territory of Ukraine.

In addition, this military entity reported that the Russian military is intensifying its sabotage activities on the routes of humanitarian and military aid transport convoys. Such information proves, as expressed by some journalists, "a total delirium of Russian propaganda", stating:

- on the one hand, the celebration of 8 years since the victory of Russian troops in the conquest of Crimea it took place concurrently with the actions of the Russian army, which killed the Ukrainian civilian population with particular cruelty, destroyed homes, children's hospitals, schools, theaters, etc.,

- on the other hand, the publication of extensive information on the Internet in response to all the images presented by the international media and revealing the Ukrainian policy against the Russian population in the two areas of eastern Ukraine (Donets and Luhansk).

According to some political analysts, the current Russian-Ukrainian war is not only a war between these two countries, it is a confrontation on the one hand between the United States and the West, and on the other hand between Russia (behind which is China, and Korea North).

As is well known in any military conflict, large or small, there are also many casualties. In this conflict. one can note the ambition of each side manifested by the idea that none of the warring parties can afford to lose this war, and the ravages committed are of the order of thousands of human losses and the destruction of tens or hundreds of thousands of homes, destruction of schools, hospitals, universities, theaters, etc.

The opinion of these analysts is that according to which: if Russia loses this war, we may witness its dismemberment,- if the United States and the West lose the war, the prestige of democracy, independence and of humanism lose their prestige; we will witness anarchy, the introduction of the concept, and the effects of the dictatorial system throughout the world, and the process of globalization will reach on a declining slope.

There is one more aspect that is more than scary. In order not to lose this war, Putin is able to press the "red button" and trigger a nuclear war.

Years ago, Mrs. Madeleine Albright - former Secretary of State in the USA, referring to Vladimir Putin, said:... *"Putin won the war, but lost the trust."* Unfortunately, many of those who had heard this statement did not take it seriously, and today we wonder how it is possible for such a war to take place before our eyes, with such effects and with multiple long-term consequences.

American strategists believe that this war must continue to become a war of attrition and increasingly limiting the military power of the Russian Federation.

The current Secretary of State, Antony Blinken, claims that Russia will have to reach the moment when it will exhaust all its military resources and as

such will no longer be able to launch such invasions and wars against one (or some) country.

President Biden changed his point of view by which he initially considered that the aid that the United States would have given to Ukraine *~would be of little value~*; in recent months he has come to the conclusion that Ukraine must be helped and together with the EU has sent billions of dollars and modern weaponry. He claims that Ukraine can and must win this war against Russia.

For his part, the Secretary General of NATO, Jens Stoltenberg, urges the Ukrainian army to fight, to defend the country against those who have forcibly kept Ukraine in the middle of the communist world.

As a result of all these points of view and following the indications of President Putin, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Sergey Lavrov, in a recent speech specifically mentioned:

"... the risk of provoking the third world war and he did not rule it out the possibility of such a war becoming nuclear".

The main question that analysts ask themselves and that was answered by an OECD Report is the following: What if the war in Ukraine does not end? How does this war affect the world economy?

The organization expressed its point of view referring to the reduction of the prospects for global growth, concomitant with the projection of inflation and with the risks of worldwide aggravation of the effects of this war.

The Report presents the opinion of some analysts that the world economy will pay a "big price" because of this (Russian-Ukrainian) war, which has caused a large increase in inflation and with potential long-term damage to supply chains.

The OECD cut its outlook for global growth this year to 3% from 4.5% it had forecast in December 2021 and doubled its inflation projection to almost 9% for European countries; and according to some forecasts for 2023, global growth is estimated to show a further reduction of up to 2.8%. The price of war, OECD experts estimate, could be "even higher", they present a list of risks, including:

- a sudden interruption of Russian supply to Europe to the vulnerabilities of financial markets due to high debts and high prices of various assets.

In recent months, "there have been several significant changes in the global economic environment," including the worldwide spread of the Omicron variant (of Covid) and the greater-than-expected persistence of inflationary

pressures." The biggest change was and continues to be driven by the economic impact of the war in Ukraine.

The assessment, which echoes a similar warning from the World Bank, points to a deeper and broader economic consequence of Russia's invasion, which will make it difficult to establish sound fiscal and monetary policies. This is the first detailed view from the OECD, which in April 2022 preferred not to issue full forecasts due to prevailing uncertainties. The immediate effects of rising prices forced central banks to modify their monetary policies.

The US Federal Reserve Department, for example, raised interest rates at an accelerated rate of 50 basis points; meanwhile, the governments of EU and NATO member countries are rethinking spending plans while trying as much as possible not to affect the daily lives of households too much.

Although OECD representatives believe that it is justified for all monetary authorities to reduce stimulus, it called for caution especially in the euro area, where rising prices mainly reflect supply pressures.

The OECD also drew attention to "Central banks ensuring a balance between keeping inflation under control and ensuring post-pandemic economic recovery, especially where the recovery is not yet complete". It is worth noting that the OECD has noted that inflation is affecting living standards and reducing consumer spending across the globe, and various activities and investments are becoming less optimistic about future output. Crucially, this impact on the loss of confidence discourages investment, which in turn threatens to affect supply "for years to come".

There is also a sense of caution as the global economy teeters on the brink of stagflation, despite similarities to the oil shock of the 1970s. Compared to that time, major economies are now consuming less energy, central banks have more robust frameworks and a more independence, and consumers have a stockpile of excess savings left over from the Covid pandemic.

"Nevertheless, the OECD Report mentions, it should also be noted that there are clear risks that the economic growth process will manifest itself in a slower than expected slowdown, and inflationary pressures could intensify even more."

The OECD report that was recently presented to the 38 member countries mentions several important points including:

- Europe is one of the region's most at risk should the war in Ukraine prolong or escalate, as its economies struggle to move away from Russian fuel •
- Low-income economies are also at risk from rising food and basic energy prices

- Sharp increases in interest rates could slow economic growth more than expected

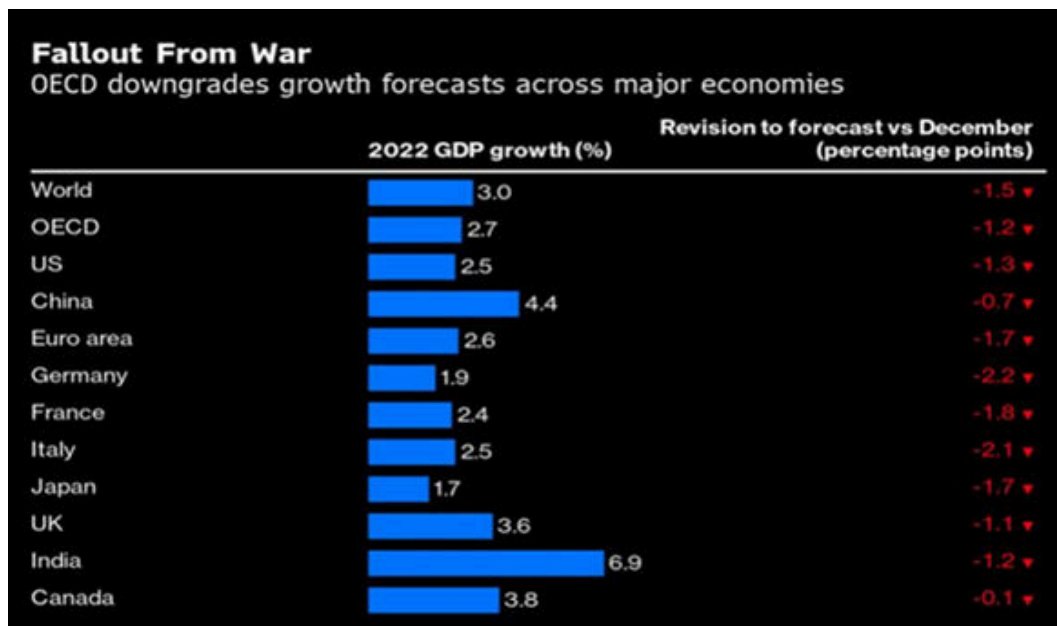
- China's "Covid Zero" policy continues to affect global outlook.

Regarding this situation, the OECD also made some recommendations

Here are some of them:

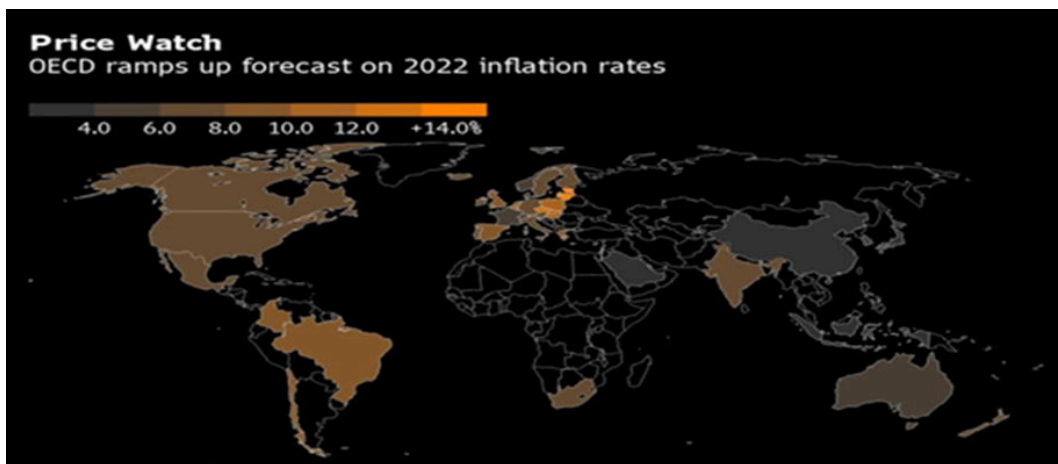
- More aid and global cooperation in logistics to prevent a food crisis
- Targeted government support for households hardest hit by the rising cost of living
- Signals from the central banks that they will not allow the expansion of the inflationary phenomenon
- US monetary policy may tighten faster as prices continue to be driven by excess demand
- More solidarity in Europe on defense spending, and energy
- Maintaining open trade to ensure diverse value chains for ecological transition.

Here is how the situation of the reduction in growth forecasts is presented graphically major savings due to the war in Ukraine; GDP growth in 2022 (in %), and the changes in these forecasts compared to December 2021 (in percentage points).



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2022

Another graphic shows how the price evolution of various products, food and non-food, of short, medium or long-term use, which have changed following inflation, influences the decrease in average income in some areas such as: USA, Europe, South Africa, India, Australia, China and the Middle East.



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2022

Note: Map shows inflation rates for distinct economies

The effect of the inflationary shock was manifested by a decrease in income compared to 2021, in most countries of the world.

(The Information is based from the information: Russia-Ukraine war threatens prolonged effect on global economy, presented by Bloomberg under the signature of William Horobin according to Al Jazeera. June 8, 2022).



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2022
Change in wages vs 2021

*

In the last days of July 2022, the international press presented a very important information regarding the decision to transfer grain, food and fertilizers from Ukraine to millions of hungry people around the world.

On this occasion, the point of view of the UN Security Council was also presented, which appreciated the agreement established in terms of ensuring the grains of food products and fertilizers that had been blocked for months, more precisely, immediately after the Russian invasion, in the ships and silos of the Black Sea area.

From the information presented by the AP, the congratulations to Secretary General Antonio Guterres and the government of Turkey for the key roles they played in ensuring the signing of agreements by Russia and Ukraine emerged.

"At the same time, the action of Norway and Mexico was mentioned, which tried countless times to reach an understanding and unification of the UN Council in order to resume the exports of grain, food and fertilizers that had been blocked in the Black Sea". Norway's ambassador to the UN, Ms. Mona Juul, stated in an interview for the Associated Press: "*We regret that for months this was not possible.*"

Russia and Ukraine have signed separate agreements with Turkey and the UN, clearing the way for Ukraine - one of the world's keys "agricultural baskets" - to export 22 million tons of grain and other agricultural products that have long been stuck in sea ports Black because of the political position and the invasion of Russia, for over six months. The agreements provide for ensuring that food, wheat and agricultural fertilizers have unrestricted access to world markets.

António Manuel de Oliveira Guterres (1949 -), - The Secretary-General of the United Nations described these agreements as "unprecedented" between two sides involved in a bloody conflict and called it "a beacon of hope" for millions of starving people who they faced huge increases in the price of food.

Unfortunately, the very day after the signing of the agreements, Russia launched airstrikes and long-range missiles on the Ukrainian port of Odesa (one of the ports) and Mykolaiv mentioned in the grain export agreements. Under these agreements, Kiev and Moscow agreed not to target ships and port facilities involved in this initiative.

In the Mykolaiv area, the port infrastructure was the target of the Russian attack despite the signed agreements.

A few hours after the attack, Moscow officially installed a representative of Russia, who after the installation stated that the two ports will soon be "liberated" by the Russian military forces, as happened with the Kherson area (according to information transmitted by the RIA Novosti ⁶Agency).

⁶ RIA Novosti - a Russian state-owned domestic news agency. On 9 December 2013 by a decree of Vladimir Putin it was liquidated and its assets and workforce were transferred to the newly created Rossiya Segodnya agency. On 8 April 2014 RIA Novosti was registered as part of the new agency. RIA Novosti is headquartered in Moscow. The chief editor is Anna Gavrilova.



To be sure that the implementation of the agreements signed in Istanbul will be carried out in good conditions, President Volodymyr Zelensky, together with several ambassadors from various countries and UN officials, visited the port of Chornomork (near the city of Odesa) on July 29, 2022.

The initiative of the president of Ukraine was considered as a particularly humanitarian act, aiming for these grains to reach as soon as possible millions of poor people facing hunger around the world. Despite all these acts not considered by Ukraine, nor by the government in Istanbul, some Russian diplomats have stated on several occasions that Moscow is ready for dialogues with Ukraine regarding the end of the war. Knowing the Russian strategy, Ukraine's allies advised President Zelensky to oppose this Russian intention.

We never refuse to discuss because everyone knows (?!!), that any hostilities end at the negotiation table", stated the Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov in a speech held in Uganda, where he had arrived on his way to different countries in Africa.

The British Foreign Secretary stated: "Ukraine, sees the use of mass attack against Ukrainian ports as a limitation of the Black Sea fleet. This significantly undermined the overall plan of invasion because Russia cannot realistically attempt one amphibious assault to occupy Odessa. Russia will continue to

prioritize efforts to degrade and destroy Ukraine's anti-ship capability." Institute for the Study of War (based in Washington D.C.), reported that Moscow uses mercenaries from the Wagner group to capture the Vuhledar power station on the northern outskirts of the Bakhmut region on Novoluhanske.⁷

At the same time, Guterres condemned "unequivocally" the Russian attacks on the city of Odesa. He invoked the commitments made by Russia and Ukraine at the signing ceremony of the agreements by the representatives of the two countries, which took place in Istanbul.

Some of the diplomats from the UN Council claimed that Russia objected to the last point of the statement on the grain deal, as Guterres noted:

"Condemnation of the air attack (on Odesa), from July 23, 2022".

This statement, received and subsequently transmitted to all UN member countries by the PA, includes congratulations to Secretary-General Guterres and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan who called for the swift implementation of the commitments made in Istanbul.

AP also presented the idea supported by the representative of Norway, from which it emerged: " Norway believes that the Secretary General's personal efforts and commitment, were essential in facilitating the negotiations between the parties";

"..."these efforts are more important than ever because the effects of war continue to be felt by the people of Ukraine and by many peoples around the globe."⁸

5. Unfortunately, nothing was learned from history!

A history teacher said ". although history often repeats itself, the world has not learned nothing from history"!

Even if years ago, such a statement was circulating among the ideas of the intellectuals of the era of the Second World War and continued for many years after that, it came to be the date of forgetting and even not taking into account a such statement. What was the history of this idea? To an international Convention aimed at establishing a definition! That of AGGRESSION!

On July 3, 1933, for the first time in history, aggression was officially defined in a treaty signed at the Soviet Embassy in London. Among the

⁷ Associated Press, July 27, 2022

⁸ AP, July 29, 2022

signatories were the representatives of the Baltic states, along with those of the USSR. Article II defined the forms of aggression as follows:

"The State that will be the first will be recognized as the aggressor who will commit one of the following acts:

The first – a declaration of war against another State;

The second - an invasion carried out by armed forces on the territory of another state even without a declaration of war;

The third – to attack with land, sea or air forces, even without a declaration of war, the territory, vessels or apparatus of flight of another State;

Fourth – to launch a blockade of another's coasts or ports state;

Fifth – to support the armed gangs that are organized in the territory his and who will attack the territory of another State, or to refuse, despite the requests of the invaded state, to take everything on its territory the measures in his power to deprive him of all aid or the protection of the aforementioned bandits.

It is worth mentioning that between 1940 and 1945 the USSR signed a series of conventions, becoming a member of the *Atlantic Charter* on August 14, 1941, the accession resolution being signed in London on September 24, 1941.

- The seeding states do not seek any territorial or other expansion;
- They do not support territorial changes that do not correspond to free wishes expressions of the targeted peoples;
- They respect the right of all peoples to choose their form of government.
- The signatory states wish to see sovereign rights restored and the independence of those peoples who were forcibly attached to them.

It should be noted that Stalin himself reaffirmed the principles of the Atlantic Charter on November 6, 1941: He had stated:

"We do not have and cannot have such war objectives as the occupation of foreign territories and the subjugation of foreign peoples, regardless of whether they are peoples and territories of Europe or peoples and territories of Asia...

We do not and cannot have such war aims as imposing our will and regime on the Slavs or other occupied peoples of Europe who seek our help. Our help consists in supporting these peoples in their struggle for liberation from Hitler's tyranny, followed by giving them the freedom to rule their homelands as they wish. We will not interfere in the internal affairs of other nations."

Shortly after this, the Soviet Union signed the United Nations Declaration (January 1, 1942), by which the accession to the Atlantic Charter is reaffirmed.

The Soviet Union signed the "Declaration on a Liberated Europe" at the end of the Yalta Conference (February 4-11, 1945), in which Stalin, Churchill, and

Roosevelt agreed to restore order in Europe in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, which stated:

"... all peoples have the right to choose the form of government under which they will live, the restoration of the sovereign rights and self-government of these peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them, by the aggressor nations".

The Yalta declaration also stated that "in order to ensure the conditions under which the liberated peoples can exercise these rights, the three governments will undertake ... among other things to facilitate, where necessary, the organization of free elections".

Finally, the USSR signed the United Nations charter on October 24, 1945, which in Articles 1 and 2 stated that "... one of the "purposes of the UN is the development of friendly relations between nations, based on respect for the principle of equal rights of peoples' and self-determination".

Human losses in the Baltic region during World War II were some of the highest in the European theater of war. Estimates of population losses went as high as 25% in Estonia, 30% in Latvia and 15% in Lithuania. Losses from the war and occupation were estimated at around 90,000 Estonians, 180,000 Latvians and 250,000 Lithuanians. These figures also included people deported by the Soviet authorities in 1941 and victims of the Holocaust.

At the Yalta Conference, the USA and the United Kingdom, allies of the USSR in the war against Nazi Germany, recognized the de facto occupation of the three Baltic states by the Soviets, but, in the post-war period, both the Americans and the British and the other Western democracies did not recognize de jure the USSR occupation of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia.

As a result, Western democracies recognized diplomats from these three countries who continued to function in numerous countries on behalf of their former governments. I think the question is natural:

Does the current Administration in Moscow not have access to such documents, existing in the archive of the Kremlin?

If so, the answer is YES! Maybe it wouldn't hurt to revisit and apply them further in this century too!

Conclusions

I began my essay by recalling the point of view of a great American thinker, Robert Kogan:

"... we are in a moment of the end of dreams, and the return to history".

And, my last subsection of this intervention I referred to the idea:

Unfortunately, humanity has not learned anything from history!

I don't think any geopolitical analyst could find and explain which one were, and are the real causes of the current conception of the two powers (Russia and the United States of America), which instead of developing their social-economic conditions and ensuring better living for their own populations, and those of other corners of the world, they squander the wealth obtained through the efforts of their own peoples, they create increasingly sophisticated weapons designed to destroy everything that has been built and kill tens of thousands of people.

The peace that existed for several decades is once again put under a big question mark, since in this short time both of the world's powers have continued to allocate more and more funds for militarization.

Is this dementia to call it "philosophical" based on the idea of the existence on our little blue planet of too many people? Or, it is simply a sick conception of justice to hold the first place in the world through crime and destruction, and not through creations, in various fields of science, art, and culture, offering the future generations that will follow new horizons of development,

Or, it is the manifestation of a real megalomania, of gathering millions of people and new territories under the same leadership. How sick and wrong can this megalomaniac manifestation be in the minds of leaders who hoped to be appreciated for what they do and do not think that their lives and those of these "empires" are short-lived and no one will be able to appreciate them for what they do or have done in their time, instead of lifting up their own nation or other backward nations.

History has known and described the evolution of empires and it also allowed us to know their fall. It is easy to conquer countries by force and subjugate peoples but it is extremely difficult to keep these peoples under a criminal heel.

Sooner than these rulers imagine possible, the peoples will reclaim their rights to exist freely and to choose the rulers they deserve. Today we are experiencing one of the many events where instead of peace and collaboration, military conflicts are again taking place with all the worst effects. Moscow and Washington have forgotten or do not want to remember the joint efforts they carried out during the Second World War to liquidate the crimes committed by the fascist "philosophy". A moment of peace followed - across the globe, but today again instead of collaboration they brought out their old and new weapons of all kinds and confronted each other: Why?

What do the current leaders lack to collaborate instead of military confrontations? Whatever one says, the nations do not want to confront each other, neither the Russians nor the Americans, they do not want to fight and kill each other; on the contrary, both peoples are really peaceful, willing to cooperate, willing to get to know each other better, willing to travel and see all that is most beautiful and interesting in the other country.

Those who are guilty and have the obsessions of gains from the hope of victories in these wars, are the leaders of these peoples, who have the decision-making power to start wars but do not have the power of understanding and the wisdom to stop them before they start.

Each of the leaders chose their so-called "advisors who sing to them, do not contradict them and tell them everything the leader want to hear; and if any of them comes up with an idea that does not suit the leader (who is a dictator or a so-called democrat), he is (at best) removed or even physically liquidated.

The current conflict in the areas of the Baltic and the Black Seas are only examples of the way of thinking and misunderstanding of the existing realities and the multiple advantages that peace instead of wars could offer to Russia and the countries in the mentioned areas.

Having behind them (each of the two forces), the support of a third power (such as China, for example), or of member countries of an organization created to ensure their peace (NATO), the leaders are always ready to press the "red button", to present the force at their disposal and taking into account the global catastrophic risk that they would cause by using nuclear force.

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