

Transeurasijský bezpečnostní systém a význam Zbigniewa Brzeziňského pro bezpečnostní futurologie

Trans-Eurasian Security System and Zbigniew Brzezinski's Impact
on Security Futurology

Bc. Pawel Grzegorzczak

Diplomová práce
2013



Univerzita Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně
Fakulta aplikované informatiky

Univerzita Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně
Fakulta aplikované informatiky
akademický rok: 2012/2013

ZADÁNÍ DIPLOMOVÉ PRÁCE

(PROJEKTU, UMĚLECKÉHO DÍLA, UMĚLECKÉHO VÝKONU)

Jméno a příjmení: **Bc. Pawel Grzegorzcyk**
Osobní číslo: **A11833**
Studijní program: **N3902 Inženýrská informatika**
Studijní obor: **Bezpečnostní technologie, systémy a management**
Forma studia: **prezenční**

Téma práce: **Transeurasijský bezpečnostní systém a význam
Zbigniewa Brzezińskiego pro bezpečnostní
futuologii**

Zásady pro vypracování:

1. **Objasněte podstatu myšlenky TESS pro bezpečnost Evropy.**
2. **Vysvětlete problémy implementace do praxe.**
3. **Uveďte význam TESSu pro globální bezpečnost lidstva.**
4. **Budoucnost využití Brzezińskiego myšlenek pro globální bezpečnost.**
5. **Význam Zbigniewa Brzezińskiego pro bezpečnostní futuologii.**

Rozsah diplomové práce:

Rozsah příloh:

Forma zpracování diplomové práce: **tištěná/elektronická**

Seznam odborné literatury:

1. LAUCKÝ, Vladimír. Bezpečnostní futurologie Skripta FAI UTB2007 ISBN 978-80-7318-560-2.
2. BRZEZINSKI Zbigniew. Velká Šachovnice, Vyd. 1. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1999, 228 s. ISBN 8020407642.
3. BUZAN, B. Waever Ole. Bezpečnost-Nový rámec pro analýzu, Vyd. Brno: Centrum strategických studií, 2005, 267 s. ISBN 8090333362.
4. BRZEZINSKI Zbigniew. Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power, Vyd. Basic Books, 2012, 208 s. ISBN 0465029558.
5. BRZEZINSKI, Zbigniew. Volba: globální nadvláda nebo globální vedení. Vyd. 1. Praha: Mladá fronta, 2004, 290 s. ISBN 8020411798.
6. GIRDNER, Eddie S. USA And The New Middle East, Vyd. Gyan Publishing House, 2008, 392 s. ISBN 8121210011.

Vedoucí diplomové práce:

JUDr. Vladimír Laucký

Ústav bezpečnostního inženýrství

Datum zadání diplomové práce:

8. února 2013

Termín odevzdání diplomové práce:

3. června 2013

Ve Zlíně dne 8. února 2013

prof. Ing. Vladimír Vašek, CSc.
děkan



doc. RNDr. Vojtěch Křesálek, CSc.
ředitel ústavu

ABSTRAKT

Cílem této práce je uvidět a pochopit jak funguje geopolitika a jak se v průběhu let menila. Nejsilnější hráč – Spojené státy – snaží se vstoupit na Evroasijskou Šachovnici pro udržení míru a stability ve světě. Nová síla se objevuje na dálném východě, který se brzy může stát světovou supervelmocí. Střední východ je roztrhán Arabským jarem a zda se, že jenom spolupracující nejsilnější země, které se podíli moci a odpovědnosti, mohou udržet světový řád. Celá myšlenka o Trans-Eurasijském Bezpečnostním Systemu byla vytvořena právě pro tento účel.

Klíčová slova: Trans-Eurasijský Bezpečnostní System, Spojené Státy, Velká Šachovnice, Střední Východ

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to see and understand how geopolitics has been evolving. The strongest player – United States – tries to enter Eurasian “chessboard” in order to keep peace and stability in the world. A new power is emerging on the Far East, which soon could become the prime superpower. Middle East region is being torn apart by Arab Spring and it seems that only the strongest countries, working together and sharing power and responsibilities, can maintain the world order. And the idea of Trans-Eurasian Security System has been created exactly for that purpose.

Keywords: Trans-Eurasian Security System, United States, Grand Chessboard, Middle East.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful to respected JUDr. Vladimír Laucký, Tomas Bata Univeristy in Zlin, Czech Republic, who was generous enough to give me the opportunity to write about this incredibly interesting topic and who was guiding and helping me throughout the process.

I would also like to thank all my teachers and professors of faculty of Applied Informatics, from which I have learnt a lot and to all teachers that helped me with my thesis.

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to all my friends, in and outside of the university, Czech and foreign, for making my student life as it suppose to be. It would not be the same without you.

I am also thankful to all who helped me by filling my questionnaire prepared for the survey. It would be impossible to conduct it without their help.

Last, but certainly not least, I would like to express my deepest thanks to my family – my mother and my brothers, for their constant support throughout all my studies.

Prohlašuji, že

- beru na vědomí, že odevzdáním diplomové/bakalářské práce souhlasím se zveřejněním své práce podle zákona č. 111/1998 Sb. o vysokých školách a o změně a doplnění dalších zákonů (zákon o vysokých školách), ve znění pozdějších právních předpisů, bez ohledu na výsledek obhajoby;
- beru na vědomí, že diplomová/bakalářská práce bude uložena v elektronické podobě v univerzitním informačním systému dostupná k prezenčnímu nahlédnutí, že jeden výtisk diplomové/bakalářské práce bude uložen v příruční knihovně Fakulty aplikované informatiky Univerzity Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně a jeden výtisk bude uložen u vedoucího práce;
- byl/a jsem seznámen/a s tím, že na moji diplomovou/bakalářskou práci se plně vztahuje zákon č. 121/2000 Sb. o právu autorském, o právech souvisejících s právem autorským a o změně některých zákonů (autorský zákon) ve znění pozdějších právních předpisů, zejm. § 35 odst. 3;
- beru na vědomí, že podle § 60 odst. 1 autorského zákona má UTB ve Zlíně právo na uzavření licenční smlouvy o užití školního díla v rozsahu § 12 odst. 4 autorského zákona;
- beru na vědomí, že podle § 60 odst. 2 a 3 autorského zákona mohu užít své dílo – diplomovou/bakalářskou práci nebo poskytnout licenci k jejímu využití jen s předchozím písemným souhlasem Univerzity Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně, která je oprávněna v takovém případě ode mne požadovat přiměřený příspěvek na úhradu nákladů, které byly Univerzitou Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně na vytvoření díla vynaloženy (až do jejich skutečné výše);
- beru na vědomí, že pokud bylo k vypracování diplomové/bakalářské práce využito softwaru poskytnutého Univerzitou Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně nebo jinými subjekty pouze ke studijním a výzkumným účelům (tedy pouze k nekomerčnímu využití), nelze výsledky diplomové/bakalářské práce využít ke komerčním účelům;
- beru na vědomí, že pokud je výstupem diplomové/bakalářské práce jakýkoliv softwarový produkt, považují se za součást práce rovněž i zdrojové kódy, popř. soubory, ze kterých se projekt skládá. Neodevzdání této součásti může být důvodem k neobhájení práce.

Prohlašuji,

- že jsem na diplomové práci pracoval samostatně a použitou literaturu jsem citoval. V případě publikace výsledků budu uveden jako spoluautor.
- že odevzdaná verze diplomové práce a verze elektronická nahraná do IS/STAG jsou totožné.

Ve Zlíně

.....
podpis diplomanta

CONTENT

INTRODUCTION	8
I. THEORETICAL PART	9
1 FORMATION OF THE SUPERPOWER	10
1.1 WORLD WAR I AND II	10
1.1.1 COLD WAR.....	11
1.2 HEGEMONY OR MULTIPOWER	12
1.2.1 THE ALTERNATIVE GOAL OF THE TRANS-EURASIAN SECURITY SYSTEM.....	13
1.2.2 FREEDOM FROM FEAR AND FREEDOM FROM WANT.....	14
1.2.2 THE INFLUENCE OF NATO	16
1.2.3 THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (EU)	17
1.3 THE EURASIAN CHESSBOARD	19
1.3.1 AMERICA'S CENTRAL OBJECTIVE.....	20
1.4 RUSSIA AS A "BLACK HOLE"	23
1.5 MIDDLE EAST - THREAT OR OPPORTUNITY?	25
II. PRACTICAL PART	28
2 THE NEED FOR TESS	29
2.1 UNITED STATES' POTENTIAL STRATEGY	33
2.2 AMERICA-JAPAN-CHINA TRIANGLE	36
2.3 FUTURE ROLE OF CZECH REPUBLIC AND POLAND	39
2.4 BRZEZINKSY'S INFLUENCE ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN USA AND CHINA	40
2.5 MIDDLE EAST-USA RELATIONS	43
2.5.1 INVADING AFGHANISTAN	45
2.5.2 A WAY FROM IRAQ	46
2.5.3 IRAN AND THE NUCLEAR ISSUE	47
2.5.4 FUTURE OF ISRAEL AND PALESTINE.....	49
2.5.5 DEMOCRACY	52
2.6 SURVEY	54
CONCLUSION	58
BIBLIOGRAPHY	59
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	61
LIST OF FIGURES	62
LIST OF TABLES	63
APPENDICES	64

INTRODUCTION

The world is changing, yet it stays the same. People change, civilizations appear, rule and disappear over and over again. What stays the same is our mentality, nature and one's need to rule. Throughout the course of history, we can barely find a period when two great powers did not try to dominate one another, namely Rome-Sparta, Greece-Persia, China-Mongolia or even something more recent, the United States-Soviet Union.

In the last century something had changed though, a new type of weapon was created that had completely transformed the entire warfare. It was a nuclear bomb, with devastating power and with the ability to destroy cities and kill people within an instant. Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in Japan, had experienced its power on their own. It seems that we have reached a peak of technology development, constructing the weapon of mass destruction that had influenced foreign policy and diplomacy of every country. United States was the first country that possessed the nuclear weapon, but nowadays, several countries have it as well, namely Russia, China, India, Japan or North Korea.

For the last one hundred years, United States has been a real leader in terms of economy, finance and warfare and it is now its responsibility to stabilize economy, keep good relationships different nations and to protect other countries. USA will not be able to keep its dominance forever, therefore, it is crucial for them not to get into a conflict with other superpowers. Such a conflict would not be just the conflict between those two nations, but with using nuclear missiles, it would spread on a globe scale.

It is not an easy task for United States to keep its supremacy, in order to keep peace and stability in the world, especially when there is a new rival emerging on the Far East – China. USA, in order to avoid a direct conflict, came up with an idea of putting all superpowers together and share the responsibilities and power with them. The idea is called Trans-Eurasian Security System.

I. THEORETICAL PART

1 FORMATION OF THE SUPERPOWER

Just during one century, United States of America (USA) has transformed itself – with the help of international development and dynamics – from an isolated country in the Western Hemisphere into a worldwide power with almost unlimited reach and grasp.

This sensational growth and expansion was possible thanks to rapid industrialization of the country's economy. Just before the beginning of World War I, America's level of economy reached about 33 percent of global GDP, which gave them 1st place as world's leading industrial power, leaving Great Britain (GB), which was considered world's greatest power until then, behind.[1]

All the wealthiest and most ambitious investors from all over the world were drawn down to USA with almost one purpose – to pursue their “American” dream – gather the fortune, archaic privileges and the social status. It was all possible because of the opportunities created by American's political institutions and free market. Businessmen were able to invest in everything, which could make them rich. That particular situation and system created a giant cash-flow and sped up the economy to the highest level.

1.1 World War I and II

In the beginning of the 20th century America already was a superpower, not only in terms of economy, but also as the military force. The first occasion for the massive projection of their strength was provided by World War I. USA sent a “transoceanic military expedition” across the Atlantic – several hundred thousands of troops. That was a signal for other countries that the new “military player” had emerged in the international arena. For USA World War I was not only a chance to demonstrate their military potential, as well as it was a chance to show their diplomatic efficiency. They made an effort to apply their principles in seeking a solution to Europe's international problems.

Nevertheless, this brief burst of their leadership did not continue their engagement in world affairs. USA concentrated on its own interest. And even though the totalitarianism was gathering strength in Europe, American power – by then having the fleet that outmatched the British navy – remained disengaged. They preferred to stay a spectator to global politics. [1]

World War II put the end to the European era in world politics. The first global war was fought simultaneously on three different continents. Asia and Europe became a single battlefield. America stayed behind until December 7th 1941, when Empire of Japan attacked Pearl Harbor – US Naval base – and dragged USA into war.

The outcome of the war seemed to be on the side of Nazi Germany, which could have become a global power later on. Everything had changed because of two extra-European victors – United States and Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was supposed to be defeated by Hitler's army once they would take control over Stalingrad (now Volgograd) and Moscow. Unfortunately for Nazis, Soviet army was defending their city for over 5 months, regardless of heavy loses. After a long close-quarter combat battle, Hitler's army had to admit they were defeated. After that battle German forces never regained their earlier strength.

United States had shown their strength in a totally different way. After fighting Japan for over 4 years, US president Harry S. Truman decided to finish the war with one strike. He gave the permission to United States Army Air Forces for bombarding Japanese city Hiroshima with the nuclear weapon. It took place on August 6th 1945. Japan wouldn't give up though, so US took another step. They had bombarded another city – Nagasaki, three day later, on August 9th 1945. After seeing what America is capable of, Japan had to surrender. The two superpowers, USA and Soviet Union, had closed the European unfulfilled quest for global domination.

1.1.1 Cold War

American-Soviet contest for global supremacy dominated the world for the next fifty years. From one side - leading maritime power, dominating over the Pacific and Atlantic Ocean. From the other - world's biggest land power. The assessment couldn't have been clearer: North America versus Eurasia, with the whole world at stake. Both of those powers knew that the winner would truly dominate the entire planet and there was no one else standing in the way. These two powers could not fight each other directly – that could lead to a catastrophe. In the Cold War's final phase they were fighting indirectly in Afghanistan, which was invaded by Soviets. U.S. response was to assist and help the native resistance in Afghanistan and to build up a large-scale military inherence in the Persian Gulf to stop the Soviet army from any other political or military moves. Thanks to that, the United States

committed themselves as the defender and protector of the Persian Gulf region and its interests in western and eastern Eurasia. [1]

That was not the end of the Cold War though. The successful containment by U.S. of the Persian Gulf increased their influence over Eurasia, but both sides were deterred until the end from a direct collision, which during that time meant the nuclear war. Fortunately for everyone the outcome of the Cold War was decided by nonmilitary means. It was decided by many other, mainly economical, ways. Dynamism of economy and a political vitality were crucial. America was much richer, much more advanced technologically, more innovative militarily and socially more creative. After that United States had become and still are world's greatest superpower, whereas the Soviet Union bloc split within less than two decades.

1.2 Hegemony or Multipower

After a Cold War, United States had become the global superpower. They are the richest, most developed, technologically advanced and military strongest country in the world. They control the Oceans, have military bases in many countries. It is well known for everyone that right now no other country can match them. According to Zbigniew Brzezinski, Polish American political scientist, geostrategics and statesman, this situation should last at least until the year 2027. USA, thanks to their power, guarantees the global stability and it seems that the only alternative is chaos. But Dr. Brzezinski predicted that future for U.S. 16 years ago and many people suggested that the disadvantage of his predictions is that he still thinks in terms of Cold War, where U.S. was unreachable for any other country. He did not realize how fast China and India will grow. Right now the leadership for world's superpower keeps changing. China is growing with unbelievable pace. Their GDP increases around 10% per year, which makes them the fastest growing country in the world. India is right there on the 2nd place.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, former United States National Security advisor to President Jimmy Carter, knew that although USA is the greatest power right now, it is impossible that the economic and military power will stay in hands of one country in the long term perspective. It is vital then to create an alliance with the other great powers. That is exactly the idea that Z. Brzezinski came up with writing about Trans-Eurasian Security System. According to him, "*TESS is important for the geopolitical stability in Eurasia*". [3]

Nowadays, in 21st century, the global dominion by any single power is no longer a realistic international prospect. However, if there is no leader, the world could transform into the land with countless conflicts and chaos. The only visible solution for that would be an agreement between world's greatest powers to stabilize the world's peace and economy and share to solve the problems and issues in geopolitical scale.

1.2.1 The alternative goal of the Trans-Eurasian Security System

If America ever signed an agreement with China, Russia India and Europe about forming the TESS, that could bring a peace and stability not only in Eurasia, but all over the world. With such global powers working together, the security of other countries would be a mutual thing. The Trans-Eurasian Security System could create the so-called "status quo", the hierarchy and a new order.

There is, of course, a threat for some countries that the reason for creating TESS is completely different than it is officially declared. It would be a normal thing to believe that there is more to that. Every coin has two sides after all. Looking from the very pessimistic perspective, one can presume that the main goal of Trans-Eurasian Security System (TESS) is not stability in a region or in the world, but gaining power! It would not be a surprise, if Trans-Eurasian Security System was ever created, United States would have the main role in it. They would be able not only expand their territory, but also they could stop Russia from any expansion. The main and official idea of TESS is the stability and protection for and from Middle East countries. On the other hand it would be also much easier to invade other countries in order to get to their resources, such as oil. It would be easy enough to say that the stability in one particular region is very bad and/or that human rights were violated. Then one of TESS countries – that would be EU, USA, China, India, Japan and Russia – would go there to bring "peace and stability" in a region. It is suspected that USA wants to get their military forces into Iran in order to get to their oil supplies, which is 9% per cent of global reserves! They were trying to get there under a threat that Iran possesses a nuclear weapon, by using the term of the violation of the human rights and by putting sanctions on them. Thanks to Trans-Eurasian Security System they would have much easier access with the help from the other countries.

The other advantage for United States could be that they would not have to be the only country to "keep world peace". The responsibilities would be divided to others. In USA

74% of population think that United States should not solve all the international problems by itself, but with other countries. They also think that United Nations should play a bigger role in solving world's conflicts and focus on human rights, especially on two things:

- Freedom from fear
- Freedom from want

Leaders' main mission is to create a working structure of global teamwork and cooperation, which would respect other countries and people and be responsible for stability in every other nation. [2]

1.2.2 Freedom from fear and freedom from want

When World War I (1914-1918) came to an end, the United States changed their policy to isolationism and non-interventionism. By that they refused to endorse the Versailles Treaty (1919) or formally enter the League of Nations. Majority of Americans, remembering horrors of the Great War and being convinced that their involvement in World War I (WWI) was a mistake, were completely against further interference in European affairs. The result was the Neutrality Act (1935) that banned U.S. from sale of any kind of armaments to countries that were at war. Four years later, in 1939, World War II (WWII) began with Germany's invasion of Poland. At the beginning USA was still obliged to their non-interventionist ideals. The President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and majority of population supported the Allied cause, but because of Neutrality Act they could not have helped them. Roosevelt adopted a "methods-short-of-war-policy" in 1939, after revision of the Neutrality Act. That meant that supplies and weapons could be given to Allies and with no declaration of war. In June 1940, France was defeated by Nazi army. By December 1940, almost whole Europe was at Adolf Hitler's mercy. Great Britain stood alone against the alliance between Germany, Italy and Japan. Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Britain at that time, called for United States President Roosevelt to supply them with armaments in order to continue the war against the enemy.

Roosevelt knew that in order to help the Alliance, the Neutrality Act has to be terminated. Therefore, on January 6th, 1941, he had given the Four Freedoms Speech as a rationale for why should United States resign from their isolationist policies and involve itself in war.

That speech became a fundament for United States' involvement in WWII. These ideas of individual rights and liberties are still a sign of American politics.

The speech delivered by President Roosevelt incorporated the following:

"In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world. That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb."—Franklin D. Roosevelt. [20]

- Freedom From fear

It is one of the fundamental human rights. Freedom from fear and freedom from want are the most important human rights that were the main reason for United States to join the war to help countries and their inhabitants where their freedoms were taken away. According to this fundamental right, citizens of one nation should not be afraid of being invaded by other country. During World War II Germans broke that rule, which allowed USA take suitable actions.

- Freedom from want

It is recognized as a human right in International human rights instruments and is also known as the right to an adequate standard of living. It is understood to create a basic entitlement to housing and food. Freedom from want is enshrined in Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and in International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. There have been a lot of proposed policies to guarantee a basic standard of living

through the idea of offering a basic income guarantee that could cover one's basic needs.[5]

1.2.2 The influence of NATO

Until now, one of the goals of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) was to prevent Russia from becoming a super power. The treaty and cooperation with Japan was against China. Since September 11th, NATO has expanded a lot. But the question is: "What is this expansion really for?" – To defend or to attack? Is it to protect USA and other countries from terrorist attack or to invade "dangerous" and "terrorist" countries? The main question specialists ask is: "With whom and against whom". NATO keeps expanding to the East, even for the cost of war. Some think the war is actually the reason why they expand that direction. There could be three reasons why to expand that fast.

First of all, there is a huge amount of money for doing it - just the airplane concerns can get \$125 bln. Secondly, they can keep Russia under control and prevent it from becoming an empire again. Last but not least, NATO is like a safe insurance against national threat. The attack on World trade Centre was the reason why NATO had spread that fast and keeps the role not only as a regional, but as a global guard of capitalism. There is also an uncertainty if NATO will obey the will of the people of other country, which also belong to NATO, whether they can enter their territory. We cannot be sure how much NATO will stay in hands of politicians and how much will they be controlled by the army. [3]

There is also a problem with some countries from Eastern and Middle Europe. Their mainly focus is set on internal security, not long-term cooperation. The great example here could be Ukraine. It is not a part of NATO because NATO would not want Ukraine to join them, but because that could divide Ukrainian people. And that is the situation that NATO cannot allow to happen, because divided Ukraine is even weaker Ukraine and it would become a very easy target for Russia to gain influence and control over them once again. Not everyone in Ukraine is ready to join North Atlantic Treaty Organization. As the statistics show, only 30 per cent of the Ukraine population has an intention to become a member of NATO. Countries like that concentrate on creating tools and organizing security system against possible internal and external threats. Politicians from those countries keep saying that their freedom and sovereignty could be limited because of membership in NATO. The membership in NATO has to be beneficial for both sides. Very good example

of that is Poland. The overwhelming majority of Polish people had a desire to be a member of NATO, which convinced NATO that the addition of Poland would be a source of greater stability in Central Europe and it would, in fact, enhance the NATO alliance and, in result, make European situation more stable. In case that any country, which is a member of NATO, was attacked, all the other member countries can decide what they intend to do with that situation. But some people say that, in reality, USA decides what NATO should do and order everyone else to follow them and if you don't comply, you are a bad partner in eyes of everybody else. This seems like a lack of freedom indeed.

1.2.3 The role of the European Union (EU)

After World War II, European countries had to unite, if they wanted to survive the extreme forms of nationalism that had devastated the continent. In 1952 leaders of European countries created the European Coal and Steel Community with the main focus on eliminating possible conflicts between European countries. They had to stay strong and they knew that fighting each other would make them vulnerable. And that plan worked. In time, more and more countries had joined EU, hoping for better international teamwork and faster growth. The motto of EU was that everyone will be equal (or at least at the similar level). Right now the situation looks different. The whole strength of EU is held in hands of few members only, like Germany, France or Great Britain. Individual countries' rights are limited. The most important decisions are made by UE Council, which has no one above it, nobody controls it. The example was when Ireland was forced to join the Euro Zone. With that change, with such strong currency Ireland's economy is going down. Similar situation happens with Greece, Portugal and now Spain. Greece even wanted to leave the Euro Zone, but they were denied. That shows that the nations in EU are held in a steel grasp and do not really have much of a freedom.

And that's ironic, because according to many people this is exactly what USA is doing with EU. Even if almost all European countries joined together, there are still far away from being as powerful as United States. That is why European countries usually have to subject when it comes to discussing foreign policy with US. And it is in America's interest to gain as much control over Europe as they can. The reason for that is simple: Europe has much better relationship with Asian countries than US have. That way United States could get to Asia through Europe. In that context, how America manages Eurasia is crucial. [3]

Eurasia is the largest continent (see Figure 1.), so the power that would dominate it would be controlling two out of three world's most productive and advanced regions. Although living standard in European and Asian countries is not as high as it is in USA, the entire Eurasia is very rich. "About 75 percent of the world's people live in Eurasia (see Figure 2.), and the most of physical wealth is there as well, both in its enterprises and underneath its soil. Eurasia accounts for about 60 percent of the world's GDP (see Figure 3) and about three-fourths of the world's known energy resources". [1]

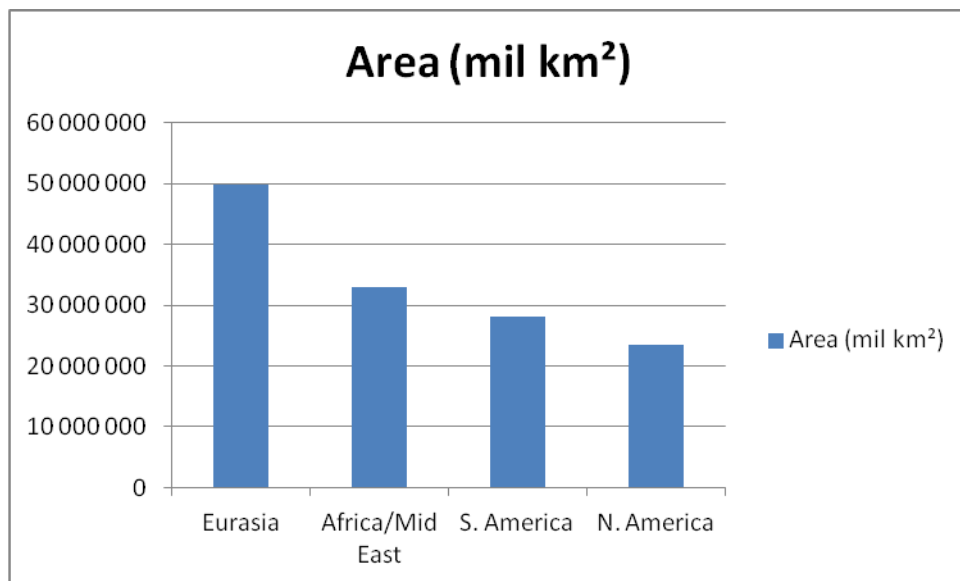


Figure 1: Area of Different Continents (Source: *The Grand Chessboard*)

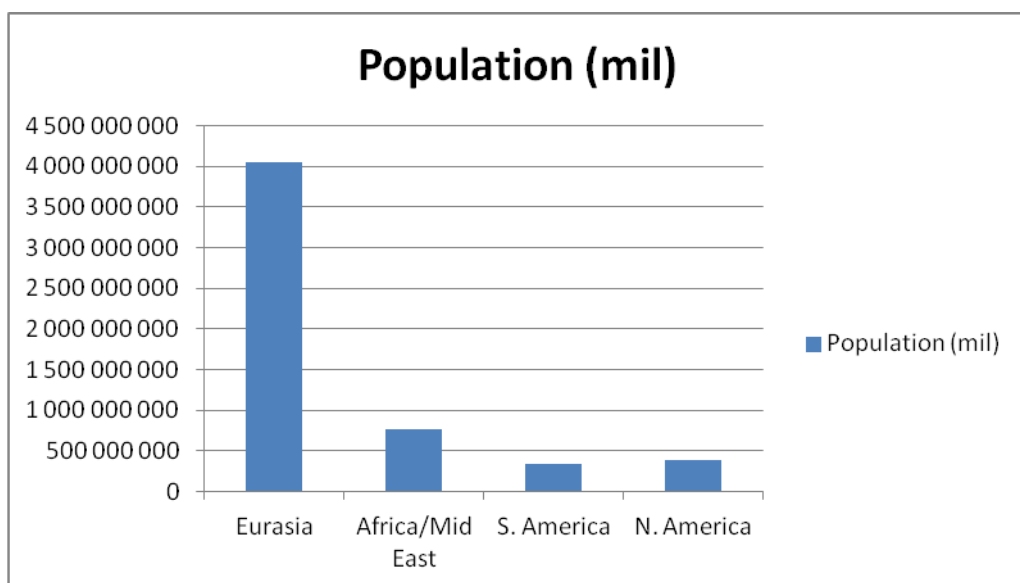


Figure 2: Population of Different Continents (Source: *The Grand Chessboard*)

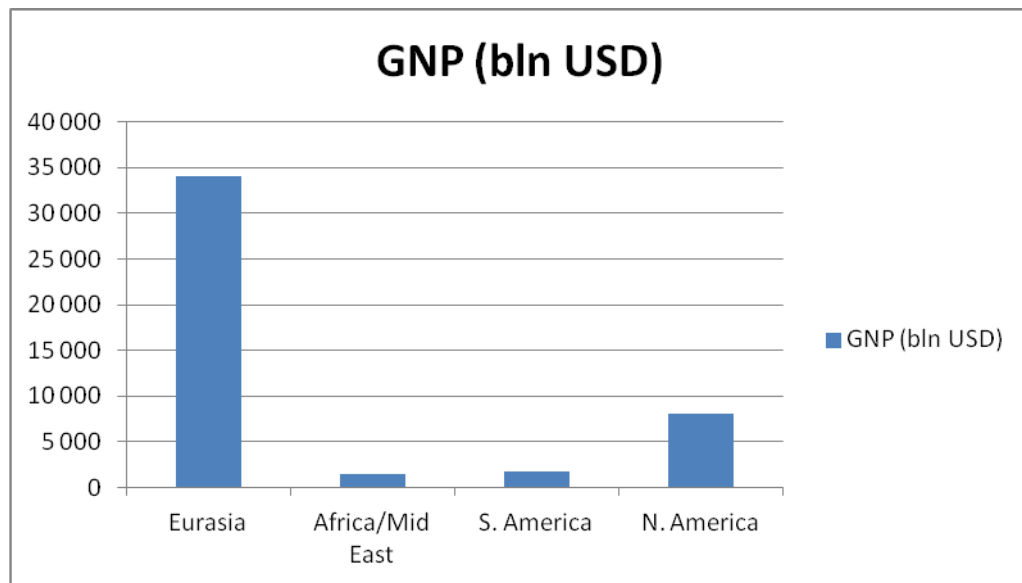


Figure 3: Gross National Product of Different Continents (*Source: The Grand Chessboard*)

1.3 The Eurasian Chessboard

Eurasia is a territory where the struggle for global power and supremacy will take place on. From geostrategic point of view – strategic management of geopolitical interests – the map of Eurasia looks like a chessboard, although it engages several players simultaneously with different “pawns”, taking under consideration their differences in power. The key players are located on east, center, west and south. The biggest attention has to be paid to eastern player, incredibly powerful, controlling an enormous population and, the most important - independent. America, if wanted to get control over that enormous land, can start from two positions. First is the western one, which they still have a good relationship with and can count on their help. The second option is an energetic rival of a previous player, restrained on nearby islands, fearsome opponent of USA during World War II. *“This huge, oddly shaped Eurasian chessboard – extending from Lisbon to Vladivostok – provides the setting for the game”* – Zbigniew Brzezinski. [19]

For America, global policy is a very sensitive matter, where international affairs have to be taken under consideration. Understanding the importance of political geography and adaptation to the new realities of power is crucial. Napoleon once said: *“To know a*

nation's geography is to know its foreign policy". Recently, geopolitics leading analysts have debated whether land power is more important than sea power. It was a significant matter to know what specific region is vital to gain control over to rule the entire Eurasian continent.

Harold Mackinder, one of the most famous and prominent analysts, at the beginning of XX century, made way for the discussion about the concept of the Eurasian "pivot area" and "heartland". First area includes much of Central Asia and all of Siberia and the other is Central-East Europe. He popularized the "heartland" idea by the famous phrase:

Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland;

Who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island;

Who rules the World-Island commands the world.

Nowadays, the question whether land power is more significant than sea power or which part of Eurasia is the starting point for continental domination is the geopolitical issue. Geopolitics has shifted from the regional to the global dimension, meaning they no longer take Eurasia as a region or continent, but as a base for global dominance. The United States enjoys primacy now, being the most powerful nation in the world with the ability to influence many other countries. And through its influence it can get to the Eurasia. It is right now the most important playing field on the globe, where a potential rival to America might rise at some point. USA has to focus on the key players that could be a potential threat to them in the future.

But for United States, to take control over Eurasian continent is a very sensitive matter. It includes deliberate management of geopolitics with keeping the twin interest of America's short-term preservation of its exceptional global power and the long-run transformation of it into growing institutionalized worldwide cooperation. USA can see it in a different terminology as great ancient empires join together to maintain security and prevent conspiracy among vassals and to keep barbarians from coming together. [1]

1.3.1 America's central objective

Europe, as it is known, is America's natural ally. The reason for that is simple, they share the same democratic politics, values, religious heritage and foremost, Europe is the original homeland for most of Americans. European Union's political and eventually economical

integration can be considered for the other nations as a message or a way that it is possible to transform multiple nation-states into one supranational union. Europe as it is nowadays, is already the most multilateral organized region in the world. If the political unification turned out to be a success, it would create a single “body” of over 400 million people under one democratic roof that would enjoy much higher standards of living – compared to the one in United States. Europe like that would inevitably become a superpower.

But as it is right now, Europe is foremost an essential geopolitical point for USA – the bridgehead to Eurasian continent. America already has links with Japan, but unlike that, the Atlantic alliance enables to focus American political influence and their military power directly on the Eurasian mainland. Lots of European countries are still highly dependent on U.S. security and protection. At this stage of American-European relations and its influence, even the slightest expansion in the scope of Europe is an expansion in the scope of United States as well. Simply put, without the cooperation with Europe, America’s chances to take over Eurasian continent come close to zero. It is because of the players on the Eurasian chessboard. Direct attack from eastern side could lead to nuclear war. Two strongest rivals are situated there – Russia and China, that soon will probably number one global superpower. Strike from the South isn’t an option either. Direct approach of Turkey or India would not be the smartest move. That’s why the bridgehead created by alliance with Europe is the only way. It gives the opportunity to gradually influence smaller countries and nations that could lead to further expansion in that territory. [4]

The main issue for United States is what kind of methods they need to use to construct a Europe based on America biggest allies’ connection – Franco-German. That structure of Europe would be viable, remain linked to the United States and it would strengthen the united international system, which American global primacy so much depends on. Thereby, the real matter is not a choice between Germany and France, because without any of these countries there will be no Europe. From the foregoing discussion we can emerge three broad conclusions:

1. European Union is suspicious that America does not favour European unity and they do not want to be USA’s puppet. In order to get European acceptance and commitment they have to prove to them that Europe is America’s global partner.
2. America’s support for German leadership and tactical opposition to French policy is justified, but only in a short run. For genuine Europe to finally become reality,

requires closer cooperation with France, especially regarding power distribution within transatlantic institutions.

3. Neither Germany nor France is strong enough to create “America’s Europe” on its own. That would require focused and determined USA involvement, their resources and expertise in foreign politics.

Only one glance at the map of the enormous Eurasian landmass emphasizes the geopolitical importance to America of the European bridgehead. For America’s security it is crucial to preserve that bridgehead as the springboard of democracy. One of the most relevant issues is the existing gap between America’s global concern for democracy and stability and Europe’s indifference to these issues. The priority is to close that gap and it can only be achieved if Europe adopts more confederated character. Despite of what Europe leaders believe, that continent cannot become a single nation-state. There are too many differences between national traditions and cultures or even the currency. EU tries to overcome the last issue by implementing Euro currency in all EU countries. Unfortunately, for countries with weak currency value, transfer to Euro currency has very bad influence on their economy. Even if Europe cannot become one state, it can become an entity that shares democratic values, willingness to help one another and finally the entity that identifies its own interests with their universalization. Left to themselves, there is a risk for Europeans of becoming devoured by their own internal social concerns. One of most important issues is the crisis of economic vitality and political legitimacy that Western Europe increasingly confronts, but is incapable to overcome. It is rooted in a widespread of the state-social structures that favors protectionism, parochialism and paternalism. The outcome is a cultural condition which combines hedonism with spiritual emptiness – a form that can easily be exploited by nationalist extremists. The idea of this condition, if becomes uncontrollable, can be lethal to the idea of Europe and its democracy.[1]

For that not to happen, one factor is crucial – all three major countries, in terms of economy, namely Germany, France and Great Britain, have to start working together. They ought to support other smaller and poorer countries for a reason to create and manage bigger community, which would allow them to create a real union between other nations and they would be a core of it. To stabilize the region’s economy and care for security of other countries would be on their shoulders.

Europe would then become American partner and a bridgehead to Eurasia, where American power and democratic system could expand. That is the reason why constant US support for Europe must be sustained. Although sometimes seems that America's main concern isn't supporting the union, but specific (and economically strongest) countries. The voices have risen against American help for Europe, stating that USA is only willing to help, when it comes to their own interest. They have no interest in helping to formulate European policies when it doesn't serve their purpose.

On December 1995, these two countries have signed the Declaration in Madrid, referred to American commitment to Europe's unity. But until United States are ready not only to declare unambiguously that they are prepared to accept the consequences of Europe becoming a global power, but also to act accordingly, the idea of the declaration will ring hollow. And by acting accordingly, means sharing in decisions and responsibilities as well. For Europe, on the other hand, the consequences of that declaration would be beneficial. It would mean a true partnership with America, instead of holding the status of favored, but still junior ally. That would completely change Europeans perspective on their role in global geopolitics and it would strengthen their relationship with America. That would also create a vision of how significant role true Europe could play in the world. Europe like that would be a great opportunity for U.S. influence in Eurasia, but it doesn't exclude them as a potential threat and a rival for United States either. Fast developing Europe would become a difficult competitor for USA in economic and technological field and their geopolitical interest could vary from the one that America has. But such a powerful a single-minded Europe is unlikely to be formed in the near future. Unlike the conditions in America during the time when United States were created, in Europe there are deep historical and cultural roots that divide most countries and don't allow them to join under one banner and democracy.

1.4 Russia as a “Black hole”

Nobody can overstate the horrors, suffering and torments that Russian population experienced in the course of last century. Not many of them had a chance to live a normal civilized life. Russian terrible century started with Russo-Japanese War (1905), ending with Russia's humiliating defeat. Then World War I and World War II that had taken enormous number of losses. Not to mention the civil war (1918-1921) and the Great Purge

and Terror of the mid- and late 1930s. After WWII, Stalinist terror started with frequent executions. Then the Cold War and forty-year-long arms race with United States that seriously impoverished population. Next was debilitating war in Afghanistan (1979-1989) and finally the breakup of the Soviet Union and the bloody war against Chechnya. [1]

Because of everything that happened, Russia had lost their international status, but their geopolitical situation was adversely affected as well. As the result of Soviet Union breakup, in the west, Russia's frontiers had been shrunk, which had a consequences of its geopolitical influence. The loss of Riga and Tallinn with their ports was a heavy strike that limited Russia's access to the Baltic Sea. After all, Russia had controlled that states since 1700s. Russia managed to retain a dominant position in Belarus that formally was newly independent. Although, it seemed just like the matter of time before nationalists gain the upper hand in that region as well. Collapse of the Warsaw Pact was, among others, the result of Soviet Union's breakup. Because of that Russia was losing one of its most important frontiers, which were instantly driven toward NATO and European Union. But the biggest loss of all was forfeiture of Ukraine. The country that belonged to Russian Empire for over three hundred years now decided to be independent. That event really challenged Russians to rethink their ethnic and political identity and represented a failure of a Russian state. With Ukraine, Russia had lost potentially rich agricultural and industrial economy with the population of 52 million. These people were religiously and ethnically very close to Russians with the ability to turn Russia into confident and large imperial state. The loss of Ukraine also meant a loss of Black Sea, where Odessa served as gateway for trading with the Mediterranean.

After the Soviet Union was gone, Russia hoped to trade with the Central Asian states to keep the economy running. The problem was that these countries were already supported by Turkey, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Iran and had no intention in getting involved in a trade with Russia. The tension between Russia and Islamic nations seemed to turn with time into hostility. That tension has been and still is out there, which should be a big concern for Russia – potential conflict with the Islamic countries with the total population of 300 million people is a serious matter. [1]

In 1997, Brzezinky described Russia as a bankrupt nation, which will immerse into chaos, poverty and endless conflicts in a near future. He described Russia as a "Black hole" that does not have any geopolitical power or position to do or decide about anything. And that

the country that was once on the top, right now is fighting only for its survival. One of Brezinsky's ideas was to divide Russia into regions – European Russia, Republic of Siberia and Republic of Far East. That way it would be much easier to create new economic and political relations between Europe, Central Asia and Far East. Brzezinsky definitely rejected the idea to add Russia into developed western order. He justified that decision saying that Russia is underdeveloped a poor, therefore it cannot be suitable partner for USA. Same as France stood for permanent debilitation of Germany after World War II, also Brzezinsky, while talking about new world order, suggested that Russia, as defeated opponent, should not stay in a role of important and respected geopolitical player. [3]

United States' aversion towards Russia wasn't its only problem. In the Far East new geopolitical situation arose, even though there were no political, economic or territorial changes took place. For the last several centuries, China, in military-political field, had been weaker than Russia. It had all changed within few decades. China develops with enormous rate and is on its way to become more dynamic, advanced and successful than Russia. China is powered by their dynamic energy of 1.2 billion people, creating giant economic power and becoming a world superpower. The interaction between Russia and China has reversed. Right now China is an economic giant and Russia has to try hard to be in good relations with them to effectively cooperate.

In brief, Russia, until recently the creator of an enormous empire, stretching from the heart of Europe to the South China Sea, and an ideological leader of satellite states, had become a restless country without an easy access to the outside world, in terms of geography and politics. It is the country with the potential vulnerability to conflicts on its western, southern and eastern borders. The only territory that is geopolitically secured seems to be the northern part – Siberia, permanently frozen and uninhabitable land.

1.5 Middle East - Threat or opportunity?

U.S. policy with Middle East will be a key factor for creation of the Trans-Eurasian Security System as well as cosmopolitan policy, including new conflicts or even a war. United States have been involved in Middle East politics and economy for decades now, and the cores of their “official” interest are defined as:

- Protecting U.S. interests, security and territorial integrity of its allies against external attack.
- Ensure United States economic prosperity.
- Spreading and maintaining “American way of life” and its values.

These are three fundamental U.S. interests in the Middle East that has shaped its policy over the last decades. But the situation in Middle East is changing, evolving, and if United States still wants to implement its policy, they have to re-evaluate its interest in a region. There are lots of speculations about threats emanating from Middle East. There used to be Iraq of Saddam Hussein and Al-Qaeda of Osama Bin Laden. Right now a new “threat” arose – Iran and its access to nuclear weaponry. Iran is the only country in a region that challenges United States, which has been trying to create the stability and security cooperation in a region. Their relations with other countries, including Middle East, base on friendly, but authoritarian regimes – in other words: “*We are good for you as long as you do what we say*”.

U.S. priorities have not changed that much since Second World War. The main priority is stabilizing the price of oil on a global market. Nowadays, there is another, same important, priority – countering terrorism. Concerns, such a promotion of democracy or human rights play the secondary role. United States concentrate mainly on security cooperation and foreign policy and, unfortunately, do not pay enough attention to domestic political reforms. That leads to population’s discontent in the region. People and parties demand to be heard by their regimes as well as by USA. That was the reason that led to Arab Spring.

For the last decade USA’s main objective was fight against acts of terror, which, due to U.S. counterterrorism efforts, mistakes made by al-Qaeda and Arab Spring, has reduced in scope and magnitude. The revolution in counterterrorism fighting came after September 11, 2001. Since then, U.S. government decided that there is no more urgent matter than disrupt, dismantle and defeat al-Qaeda. Enormous military and intelligence resources were spent for that purpose. America were able to say they won against al-Qaeda after May 2, 2011, after official news that Osama Bin Laden has been killed in Pakistan.

If USA means to succeed in getting in Eurasian continent, the very important matter they have to solve is Arab-Israeli conflict. USA has ensured Israel’s survival and security over the decades, thanks to their support to USA against Soviet Union during the Cold War.

Because of U.S. help for Israel during the Yom Kippur War, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), declared embargo for USA, which had big consequences. The other reason is that Israel is a great strategic point – an eye on Middle East. United States has been supporting Israel also against Palestine, supplying weapons and medicine. In the same time, USA tries to broker the peace between these two nations as they did with Israel and Jordan and Israel and Egypt. Regardless of U.S. help for Israel, their relationship is getting worse. President Barack Obama and Benjamin Netanyahu, Prime Minister of Israel, have different strategies and perceptions about global policy, which leading to the tension in their relations. America should change their attitude and strategy toward Israel and together with them try to bring peace and stability in a region.

II. PRACTICAL PART

2 THE NEED FOR TESS

A truly comprehensive global domination of United States of America, on its own, is no longer possible. That is so for few reasons. In recent decades, world-wide social change has experienced historical acceleration. Mostly because of instant mass communications, such as radio, television and the internet that have been gradually stimulating a universal awakening of mass political consciousness. The result was a wide-spread rise in worldwide populist activism, which is proving inimical to external domination of United States. Persistent and highly motivated populist resistance against U.S. external politics makes it very hard to overcome and controlled. The result is the rising turmoil in Middle East and South East Asia. The creation of nuclear weapon cannot be overlooked in that matter either. USA is no longer the only country with the weapon of mass destruction. Countries like Russia, India, China or even North Korea have this kind of missiles as well, which makes them very hard, or maybe even impossible, to control. Last, but certainly not least, the on-going “shift in the centre of gravity of global political power” from the west to the east, dramatized by the rise of China, signals the onset of the historically new and more complex distribution of global power. The democratic America is still the richest, most powerful and the most influential state in the world. Therefore much depends of how the United States conduct itself in war affairs. But unlike in the recent past, nowadays, much more depends on other countries and major powers, namely China, Russia, India and Japan. European Union could be also included in that list, but it is not because of its lack of political understanding and differences between many countries. The states that would be included are Germany, France and Great Britain. These countries, with strongest economies, are the future of EU. It is mostly up to them, whether European Union will survive or not.

Unfortunately each of these currently most significant states are experiencing serious, systemic problems that reduce their capacity for shaping world affairs. America is losing influence also because of its own political system that cannot deal with their serious domestic economic and financial problems. At the same time, America’s global legitimacy has been damaged in recent years by its investment mostly in military power, especially in the Middle East. In the future, America’s global influence can be further jeopardized by its conflict or even a war with Iran. [11]

China, despite their truly incredible modernisation, is showing signs of internal political tension between its nationalistic armed forces and ruling bureaucracy. Also young, middle class people demands changes on the political side. Currently, geopolitical tension between China and its neighbours, mainly India and Japan is beginning to look exactly like Europe one century ago. People say that soon one spark will be enough to start a war or a bigger conflict and it is only a matter of time before it happens.

Russia, especially under the rule of Putin is dominated by nostalgia for global and imperial status and deep hopes for getting Ukraine back as its satellite. Its internal problems are getting worse with time. Its social, financial and economic difficulties are going parallel with its demographic crisis, especially in Russia's Far East. In the same time, growing violence in Caucasus region could jeopardize not only the peaceful Winter Olympics in Sochi, but also create bigger and bigger hatred towards Russia, especially in Islam fundamentalist circles. It seems that Russia is not ready yet to accept their future role in geopolitics. But Russia deserves to have a better future options than the imperial course on which Putin seeks to embark it. Fortunately, there is going evidence that Russia is changing in a way that its absolute regime will fade. That is, same as in case of China, because of younger and more western minded middle class that is emerging. It knows the world and increases its identity towards Europe. Thanks to that, for the first time in Russian history, fear no longer pervades Russia's political life. That is a new reality with far reaching consequences. It already signifies onset of a new era in Russia's political culture. It is most probable that in a decade or two that middle class will be shaping Russia's future and in doing so, it will not be driven by imperial nostalgia.

America must promote a revitalized west and provide balance to rising new east. It is certain now that United States of America will not be able to hold world's supremacy of power for long. East Asia, especially China is arising as a serious competitor for USA. Zbigniew Brzezinsky calls that situation "*A shift in a world central of gravity from the west to the east*". [12] It means the end of the global supremacy of the west. USA has declined its influence and simultaneously Asia has risen with great dynamic and competitiveness, which could lead to a period of instability in the Far East. Furthermore, all of that is covered by, as Brzezinsky calls it, "*Global political awakening*". It means that for the first time in all of human history the publics of the world are politically awakened in many parts increasingly motivated by anti-western narrative, such as Arab Spring.

USA came to the point where it cannot dictate everything to everyone on a global scale. It cannot be the “global policeman” any more. That would, in result, lead to the bankruptcy, social resentment and loss of international legitimacy. Global power are being divided and no longer concentrated on the west, in the hands of the United States. America has domestic and international problems on its own. On the top of it, there is no larger organizing vision for a world that for the first time needs to address global problems.

The problem that can appear with shifting the power is an American population. United States is a democracy and it can only have as good a foreign policy as the public’s understanding of world affairs. And according to Brzezinsky, the tragedy of it is that the public’s understanding of the world’s affair in America today is a disgrace. It is ignorant and it is probably the least informed public about the world among developed countries in the world. The problem could occur when people stand against the idea that America would treat anybody as a partner, after all it has always been a leader.

If America had tried not to adjust to the global shift, the consequences would have been very serious. Many goals that America is trying to achieve could get out of hands. Most important, of course, would be Iran and its destructive consequences of military violence there. The international crisis could evolve, which could lead to absence of collective responses to the new global problems that would affect all of humanity. That is also why Europe, particularly, has the opportunity or even an obligation to shape and participate directly with USA in the quest for such brother-like cooperation. But Europe right now is not the country that U.S. would like it to be. Today, the political EU is still a distant reality. Today’s European Union sadly proves that it is not a real union. The crisis in Greece, Spain or Ireland, not mentioning disapproval of the want of Greeks to come back to their previous currency, shows that not everybody has the same rights and the strongest rule. The result is, unfortunately, that nowadays, Europe as such counts for little in global political affairs. Only several and individual more powerful European countries, namely Germany, France and Great Britain, occasionally act in world politics. It does get worse because of Great Britain, which is also reluctant to fully identify itself as European.

Japan, despite the memories from 6th and 9th August, 1945, is a good “citizen of the world”. It is a passive global power, which still hesitates about its proper role in geopolitics. Japan is isolated from others and it is not in good relationships with either Russia or Korea nor

China. Although it is not defenceless, it is very important or even crucial for Japan to keep a good relationship with United States, which gives them security.

India, second most populated country in the world, shows large global aspirations and it has significant military forces. India wants to play an important role in a future, but at the same time it stays visibly behind China, taking under consideration economic dynamism, modernization and power. India is also weakened by its conflict with Pakistan, while the unresolved territorial disputes and conflicting international ambitions, especially with China, can lead to a problem with peaceful stability between these countries and in a region. [14]

A larger war over fragmenting Syria and an American conflict with Iran, hasten by Israel, can have serious future consequences for the currently, already vulnerable world economy. In the longer run, there is an issue between USA and China that has to be solved. The pacific rivalry between these two nations could, in some circumstances, become increasingly antagonistic. Highly visible pressures in the direction of mutual hostility have lately been rising in both countries. Both America and China should take steps to reassure each other that they have good intentions towards one another.

Right now, none of the world's leading powers is currently capable of promoting on its own the needed framework for enduring continental geopolitical stability in Eurasia. That underlines the importance of certain engagement on the part of United States to play a significant role in creating something new, something that could prevent any of above conflicts to transform into war. Europe, especially Germany and Japan – third world economy- should join U.S. in that project.

The solution could be a concept, a vision of how U.S. ought to strive to create a global balance and to include other countries to pursue that vision as well, so everyone collectively can be responsible for the problems of the world. That is a basic concept of how Trans-Eurasian Security System would work. It would be very important to include Russia and Turkey into that concept as well. It would greatly increase the vitality of the west. Drawing in Turkey into that vision is understandable. The Turks in the course of last century have shown determination to be modern, secular and democratic. In Russia today, can be observed a community, society that is young, modern and feel themselves to be the part of the west. That means that when they move much more towards the west, the

coalition between Europe, Russia and United States can be the basis for global order and stability. [12]

2.1 United States' potential strategy

Zbigniew Brzezinski, being once asked about the importance of U.S. partnership with Europe and EU role in global policy, against the rise of global superpowers such as Russia, China and India, answered that Russia, India and China are not a rising global powers. One is struggling with the nostalgia from the past and the other one has over exaggerated opinion of itself given its overall social and economic conditions, but with the gradual potential of promise. There is one emerging power, and it is China, that United States has to pay attention to.

As for Europe, it is USA's enormously important entity already. It is U.S. principal trading partner, principal global ally and has potentially great vitality, which can contribute to the global conditions. The question is what kind of future Europe wants. It is obvious that it misses its prior power and leadership, but being nostalgic about it is not the way to solve Europe's problem whatsoever. What Europe needs today is much more evocative, forward looking leadership of that kind that it had a few decades ago and today is lacking. It seems that United States can be exactly kind of a leader that Europe needs. If USA manage, with help of EU, to get into Eurasian continent, it will be also beneficial for Europe. That is why today's Europe needs so urgently leaders guided by historical confidence and driven by truly continental ambitions.

Europe, as it is, with America's encouragement and continued commitment to Europe security, needs its own vision of eventually wider European political community beyond the current limits of existing European Union. In the course of next few decades, that could involve intermediate arrangements embracing specifically Turkey and eventually Ukraine and then Russia. As for now, the persistent rejection of Turkey from the EU reflects not only a lack of European strategic ambitions, but actually the lack of strategic common sense. Turkey as a part of the European Union would enhance European security. It would promote prospects for stability in the important oil-producing Caspian region. It would also increase the security of Georgia and Azerbaijan and by closer cooperation across the Black Sea – fortify Ukraine's independence. In contrast, the frustrated and isolated Turkey, permanently excluded from Europe, could eventually become a relay for the spread of the

Middle East political, ethnic and religious disorders into the Balkan regions of Europe itself. Germany, as Europe leading and most successful power, could and should be playing the central role in it.

In today's world, Eurasia is the central arena for potentially disruptive international conflicts. Struggles or fights can appear anywhere because of differences in lots of regions. There already are conflicts for territory, conflicts of mineral or water rights, collisions because of the ethnic reasons and of course because of religion. The existing conflicts in the Middle East and nationalistic tensions in Asia, create the risk that will further spread and transform into regional violence with potentially serious international consequences. [14]

To get to Eurasia will not be an easy task. It is not sure that Eurasian countries will ever want to be under protection and rule of America. Especially Russia would stand against it. Even though Soviet Union does not exist anymore, and Russia faces other problems, it still is a very powerful and important player that cannot be underestimated. United States tries to have better relation with Russia, due to their mutual interests, which are for example stability in South-Central Asia, the issue of Iranian nuclear program and nuclear stability in general. These are very important objectives that drive U.S. and Russia to work together. These objectives can be, however, in contradiction with U.S. another objective, which is a consolidation of former Soviet Union countries. Two main issues for USA are for Georgia not to be undermined and Ukraine not to turn into a satellite.

These different objectives may seem, and are, in conflict, but only in a short run. Because if Georgia survives and remains independent and Ukraine will not let Russia get involved in their structure then the chances are much greater that Russia will become post-imperial democratic state. On the other hand, if Georgia or Ukraine falters, Russia will again become an empire with growing ambitions. That, in result, would make a long-term relation between America and "new great" Russia much more difficult. United States has to pursue both aspects very intelligently. The only reasonable way to do it is for USA to get more involved in Ukraine policy. Brzezinsky said that it is vital to do that because of what is happening on the political stage. Ukraine is ruled by their elite, wealthiest and most powerful in the country. But that elite is ruled by someone else. He points out, indirectly and unsurprisingly, at Russia, which even after the breakout of Soviet Union still has the power to influence their policy at every level. We can compare today's Ukraine, in political

terms, to Poland of XVIII century. At that time Poland was essentially dominated by elite that was aristocratic, wealthy involved in various interests and was manipulated by foreign powers such as Prussia, Austria and Russia. And the result was the loss of independence.

Nowadays, Ukraine is ruled by oligarchy elite that does not care about foreign interests, that is manipulating the wealth of the country for its own benefit and it is not genuinely committed to the shape of nationally based Ukrainian democracy, which then can be an attractive object of European expansion. Brzezinsky, in that aspect, said that the ultimate responsibility for preserving Ukrainian independence rests on the shoulders of the Ukrainian people and of the Ukrainian elite. Ukrainian government should focus on creating an independent country that would, eventually, become a point of interest for the rest of Europe. Nobody in Europe was begging Poland to be a part of European Union. The Poles became the part of EU, because they became an attractive object for European Union. Ukrainian goal for the future should be to become attractive as well, which, in turn, could lead to their joining to EU and loss of dependency on Russia. But to become attractive, Ukrainians first have to show that they are determined to be part of the European Union in every aspect and are ready to meet the conditions of entering that “international system”. But for Ukraine to become a part of UE does not mean to become anti-Russia. They need to decide how to best structure their relationship with Europe and with Russia in such a way that Ukraine is a viable, secure and independent state. That, in result, would create a wider system of European stability and cooperation, in which Ukraine, potentially wealthy country, could play a very important role of encouraging Russia to move more to the west. It is possible that Ukraine, in a way, can help to shape the future of Russia and give them greater security and a role to play in the world. Ukraine could be a critical political accelerator in Russia’s process of change. Otherwise Russia, between almost billion and a half Chinese and 550 million Europeans, much wealthier than Russians, would be an empty space with the declining population. In many respects, if Ukraine evolves constructively, it can help ensure Russia a much more promising future. [12]

The truth is that none of post-Soviet, newly independent states wish to be subject again to Moscow. They will do whatever they can to avoid their subordination under Russia again. On the other hand, to the new post-Soviet states, a Russia that is engaged in forging closer links with better prospered and richer Europe could be more acceptable sponsor of greater economic integration throughout the space of the former Soviet Union. The new states

would then fear less the potential restriction of their sovereignty; and Russia, connected now more closely to Europe, would be more likely to enhance their global influence.

2.2 America-Japan-China triangle

Brzezinsky's inability not to think in terms of Cold War has reflected in his prediction of United States' future role in world policy. In 1997, Brzezinsky suggested that USA will be able to remain as global superpower for the time period of one generation or even further, which is until 2027. That would give them enough time to create Trans-Eurasian Security System. That system, with the fundamentals in the Middle East, would allow connecting EU and NATO with Asian major nations. According to Brzezinsky, there is only one way to create world's status quo, which could sustain order, stability and run economy and it is through creating a network with other major countries. That would create kind of world system that would take a role of world's leader where U.S. culture and political system could spread among that network. Brzezinsky stated that that would lead United States to become first, only and the last world's superpower.

Today, of course, Brzezinsky looks at the world and its future from a totally different point of view. He is aware that America is losing its influence in global politics. Very important matter that USA has to keep an eye on is its cooperation with Russia and Turkey. If that collaboration is unsuccessful, it could lead to America's isolation, which in turn would lead to closer partnership between Russia and China. Another issue could be potential loss of influence in Mexico. Brzezinsky concludes that the time where United States is one and only global superpower is coming to an end. Nowadays, America cannot stand against China, Russia, India, Brazil or Iran with pretentious attitude any more.

Noteworthy is USA policy in Middle East, especially against Iran. Americas aggressive behaviour gives us an idea how they assert their policy all over the world. If United States, with help of NATO, start another war that would lead to increase hatred towards America. So called anti-American wave would arise not only in Middle East, but all around the world. We already have enough wars and conflicts and creating a new one would not be the best choice. [3]

The answer to that problem could be the U.S.-Japan-China triangle, which is among the most complicated and important trilateral ties in the post-Cold War world. United States and Japan are two countries with not only economical, but also political and military

cooperation, which has been enhanced over the last decade. On the other hand, USA and China have concurrent economic and strategy interests that were highlighted by China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) and U.S. war against terrorism. The two countries cooperate effectively, despite their consecutive strategic emulation and differences in their cultures and values. Cooperation between China and Japan (Sino-Japan relations) is still influenced by historical grudge, even though both countries got significant benefits from their collaboration.

According to Ezra F. Vogel of Harvard University, who examines Sino-Japan relations, underlines that the real cooperation between those two nations developed significantly after mid-1980s. However, Japanese corporations in China still have problems with local officials and regulations. The other issue is Japanese concern that Chinese companies will become a serious competitor in the market that, in long run, will get rid of Japanese ones. Vogel notices that events from World War II are still a key "blocker" to their cooperation. He also suggests that United States should encourage China and Japan to cooperate and integrate economically. As long as U.S.-Japan relations remain strong, it is in America's best interest to support these two countries to work together. There are two dangerous tendencies that could be a threat though. First one is Japan's insensitive policy that fails to build bridges with its neighbors. The second is assertive Chinese nationalism that reduces regional cooperation and mutual trust.

Ming Wan from George Mason University is of opinion that Sino-Japanese security relations are drift downward either by cooperation or conflict at a given time. On the other hand, the magnitude of their economic relationship is a bright spot. It is thanks to Chinese and Japanese governments, which made exertions to prevent any political or economic issue from destroying their relations. Ming Wan is in the same opinion as Ezra Vogel that United States should try to help improve Sino-Japan relations and simultaneously help their own cause through giving East Asian countries easy access to U.S. market, which lead to preserve control and balance of political power in a region. [6]

China and Japan share difficult history and problems they had to overcome to cooperate with each other, but at the same time, they see a bright future in their economic and political partnership. United States should encourage both nations to even strengthen their relationship, reasoning that it would have lots of benefits and could lead to their faster development. There are, of course, voices against that kind of partnership. Some say that it

could lead to China's enormous development, which would inevitably let them become the richest country and a global superpower that would challenge international status quo (see Table 1.).

Table 1: Nominal GDP of Japan, USA and China in 2010-2030 in USD/bln

(Source: *The Tokyo Foundation Asia Security Project*)

	2010	2015	2020	2025	2030
Japan	5458,87	6379,66	7380,36	8001,79	8409,96
USA	14657,80	17993,10	22205,97	24916,36	28411,29
China	5878,26	10061,80	16136,70	24163,59	34657,70

Leaders in USA try not let that to happen. The answer could be the Trans-Eurasian Security System - the international coalition of currently strongest global players: USA (with NATO), European Union, Russia, China, India and Japan. Such a transcontinental agreement, if created, could bring stability in many regions and create new worldwide status quo. There are, obviously, many things have to be done to achieve a goal like that. One of the first and most important steps would be an expansion of NATO and simultaneously engaging Russia in a bigger scope of security cooperation. In addition, United States and Japan have to cooperate very closely in order to create triangular policy, which involves China as well. American-Japanese-Chinese cooperation could be a milestone for multi-international cooperation that many other countries would later join to. Such a security talk could be a true beginning of TESS that would most probably expand with a high rate. In time, more and more formal structure would take shape, inducing the need of Trans-Eurasian Security System to expand and in consequence span the entire continent. The formation of that system, based on political and economic preconditions created earlier, would become main architectural initiative. That type of worldwide security system would have to be managed in a very proper way. The best way to form a cosmopolitan partnership and secure global stability is to create an international board of security committee, consisting major Eurasian entities. That, in turn, would most probably lead to the situation where smaller countries would start joining the international system created by major nations. Such a system would keep control over the world peace and stability, thus relieving America from some of its burden as a "world's protector". [1]

2.3 Future role of Czech Republic and Poland

The United States of America has a long history and cooperation with Czech Republic. In 1918, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson supported Tomas G. Masaryk in creation of independent and democratic Czechoslovakia. American soldier fought against Nazi for the liberation of Czechoslovakia during World War II. Czech Republic is also grateful for USA's help to reestablish their democracy and independence during the Cold War when Central and Eastern Europe were occupied by to Soviet Union. America was also a safe place for thousands of people that ran away from communists.

Czech Republic and United States see eye to eye in many areas. They share similar values, both spiritual and democratic, diplomatic and military cooperation and social interactions. They also share mutual admiration for political leaders such as Tomas Jefferson, Woodrow Wilson, Tomas G. Masaryk or Vaclav Havel. In 2008, Czech Republic participated in the U.S. Visa Waiver Program that allows constant two-way movement of individuals and tourists. These two countries share similar geopolitics views too, which was visible in December, 2012, at the United Nations General Assembly, where Czech Republic voted along USA and Israel not to admit Palestine as a member participant. Both countries pursue counter-terrorism activities and both are members of NATO. Last but not least, Czech Republic will be also involved in forthcoming Trans-Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (TAFTA) as a member of European Union. Czech Republic, situated in the middle of Europe, makes it a very interesting strategic point that could ensure European stability. United States will obviously want to keep good relations with such strategically potential ally.

Poland, similar to Czech Republic, has a great strategic value. It is situated in Heartland (Center-East Europe) with the potential to become one of the most important strategic points in Europe or even beyond. There are two possible future options that can happen and in both of them Poland could play a significant role. It depends a lot on the future situation of Ukraine. If Russia, in a near future, manages to re-gain full control over Ukraine, it will also gain an access to Europe and to the Mediterranean Sea, which will increase its trading activity and will improve its financial status. Russia would become a world imperium and superpower again. Belarus is still under the control of Russia, and together with potential Russian Ukraine, their next step would be to influence Poland – centre of the Heartland. On the other side, USA and NATO would not let that to happen, which in consequence put

much more pressure on Poland. Both superpowers would fight for that position, which lies on the border of Europe and Asia. Such a situation would definitely divide Poland between the ones opposing the Russians with the intention to cooperate with NATO and vice-versa. That, in result, could lead to turmoil and struggles within the country. It is possible that if two great powers were at stake, none of the sides would ask nicely to just stand on its side. Poland, in consequences, could become territory of two great struggling empires. The second option would be if Russia struggles with Ukraine. In this possible scenario Poland would not be the main point of interest, although it would still remain an important strategic player for others. Mainly because it will still have a border with Belarus and some sort of connection with Russia will be shaping.

Both Czech Republic and Poland are close allies to United States. The situation could have changed few years ago after Czech Republic did not allowed U.S. government to build a radar base on their territory and, simultaneously, Poland refused to station interceptor missiles in their country. However, U.S. government ensured that despite they did not come to an agreement, United States' relations with both Poland and Czech Republic stay the same.

2.4 Brzezinsky's influence on the relationship between USA and China

For more than fifty years now, Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinsky has been one of the most influential thinkers and analyst in setting U.S. global policy. He advised President Kennedy, Johnson and Reagan. He recruited little then known Governor of Georgia – Jimmy Carter - to the Trilateral Commission. After Carter was selected President, Brzezinsky became his national security advisor. Brzezinsky was in a center of U.S. power during the fall of the Shah of Iran, the Russian invasion in Afghanistan and the normalization of relations with Peoples Republic of China, which he had a big involvement in.

History indicates that two major powers cannot co-exist. That they will, eventually, get into a fight. Right now two powers like that are United States of America and rising China and their relationship will be the defining relationship of the XXI century. It will be critical for bringing peace and stability throughout the world.

In 1977, the Sino-American relationship was on a wrong course. Both countries were mutually isolated from each other. Their relationship was not moving forward. On

December 15, 1978, these two nations announced that they will establish a diplomatic relations on January 1, 1979. They did and all the previous problems they had were a history. Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security advisor to President Jimmy Carter throughout his entire administration, conceptualized and led that process. He had a main role to successfully transform the relationship between these two great powers.

Nowadays, both USA and China have a unique chance or even unique obligation to make it possible for two world powerful states to collaborate. All the conflicts that appear or will appear in the future have to be solved at once in order not to transform into something bigger and dangerous. The U.S. solution for rising China is to avoid direct collision, which was always the case in the past. It can be achieved, partly, by new independence - economic and financial. With the way that global economy works today, it is unlikely that a conflict that would lead to use of the military force, will arise. If these two countries started a fight between each other, it would be a mutual suicide. The economics, markets and trades linking these two giants are so strong and dependent on each other that United States as well as China knows that if one hurts another, they will suffer themselves. It is due to their trades in goods, which big part of their economy stands on (see Figure 4).

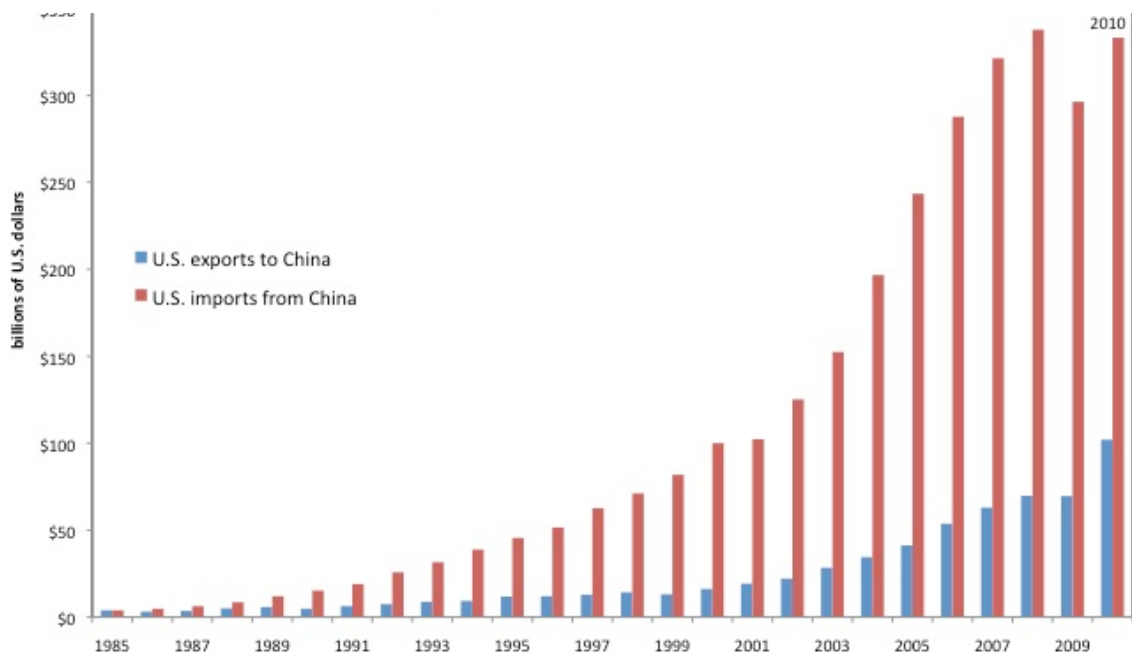


Figure 4: U.S. Trade in Goods with China in 1985-2010 (Source: U.S. Census Bureau and Economic Policy Institute)

U.S.-Sino relationship has been on a very good course, until recently, when United States realized that China is growing with great peace and can soon become a rival to the USA. Now, people speculate about the possibility of not only rivalry, but kind of hostility.

China already is a global player and makes its appearance on world's scene as a major economic power. That creates a business opportunity for America as well as a threat for U.S. employment, export and so forth. Nevertheless, these countries have joined interest to achieve global stability - economic and financial as well. Their relationship has been very stable until recently, when China's great development peace transformed it into U.S. rival. Now people even speculate about the possibility of not only rivalry, but kind of hostility towards USA that could negatively influence this unique relationship. The reason for that could be a rising nationalism in China. Chinese nationalism can be very strong and it has to be taken as a dynamic factor in that relationship. The answer to nationalism in China can be their young generation, which has an access to the internet, knows more and more about USA and the world and, in result differs from their parents, not mentioning grandparents, in terms of their world understanding and their point of view. It can make China a different and even better country than it is right now. [15]

In order to maintain a good Sino-America relationship in a long term, it is crucial to try to anticipate and to prevent future issues that could negatively influence that collaboration from happening. In '80s, the thing that influenced the relationship between USA and China was Tiananmen Square protest of 1989. It was exactly pro-democracy movement in the center of Beijing, which had last for several weeks. The protest ended on June 4, 1989, when the government decided to declare the martial law, resulting in a death of hundreds of civilians. [13]

In 2000s, it was 9/11 and a global war against terrorism. Now, it is very important to focus and to predict all the things that could influence – negatively and positively- that partnership. Focusing on the negative things that could affect Sino-U.S. teamwork, the most important would be the consequences of misleading the relationship, either by United States or by China – in which case, both will pay the price for it. It could also be the beginning of something totally new, which will arise in international affairs that will allow the prime power – which nowadays is USA – to handle the rising power of China, which in result would lead to avoiding the clash and fight or even war between these two countries. Next thing that could affect the relationship in near future is the situation in Middle East.

China, as a rising global power, will have to sooner or later take its part in the conflict. The issue of Iranian nuclear program could be crucial in that matter. If both countries focus on these issues in advance, it is much bigger probability that America-China relationship will evolve in a positive direction and would become the leading global partnership in the future.

2.5 Middle East–USA relations

That could be the most important question regardless U.S. future involvement in Eurasian continent. That is an enquiry not only about global stability, market changes, but also a world peace. And the answer is that it can be a threat as well as an opportunity.

It may seem like United States got involved in Middle East issues only recently. Before World War II their relations with Middle East were minimal. Unlike Britain and France, that had colonized almost entire Middle East region after defeating Ottoman Empire in 1918, United States main focus was to help those countries to rebuild. They were sending medicine and started educational institutions as well as providing highly skilled petroleum engineers. But there was also other side of the coin. There were some connections made between Middle East and USA before the Second World War. Two most important arrangements were the Red Line Agreement (signed in 1928) and Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement (1944). Both agreements were giving United States control over Middle Eastern energy resources, mainly oil. Red Line Agreement had been a part of “Network of agreements” made in 1920s to ensure that major (mainly American) companies can control prices of oil on world markets. The Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement was based on USA-Britain negotiations over the control of oil. In Summary, Britain got Persian oil (now Iran), oil from Kuwait and Iraq was divided between USA and Britain and United States got to control oil from Saudi Arabia. Political scholar Fred H. Lawson said: “the most significant event of the period was the transition of the United States from the position of net exporter to one of net importer of petroleum“. [8] USA considered Middle East region as “the most strategically important area of the world“, and „one of the greatest material prizes in world history“. [9]

During the period of Second World War, U.S. got directly involved in Middle East region, which was going through serious political, economic and social changes and as a result was in turmoil. Nacionalism was spreading across countries, creating more and more

nacionalistic groups, which caused great troubles for Britain and French colonies. It was obvious that Europeans could not hold those lands against Arab nationalism. Palestine was the only region that Britain could hold, but it also posed a major threat. This new political view in the Middle East clashed with United States' interests in that region. The period of World War II is also known as "the great divide" between U.S. and Middle East relations. As Louise Fawcett, Middle East scholar, describes, the relations got weakened because of "... the Soviet Union, access to oil and the project for a Jewish state in Palestine". [10] These three major issues were the reasons why USA had to backpedal, which then led to great number of U.S. interventions in the Middle East and, in result, to several future conflicts.

After USA-Middle East relations got worse, America had to find some convenient and safety way to transport oil. Syria, that became independent in 1946, offered their help. Their leader, Husni al-Za'im, who seized and got power thanks to Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), made several important decisions that benefited USA. The most important decision was approval of Trans-Arabian Pipeline (TAPLINE) that was the answer to America's problem with transporting oil from Middle Eastern countries. The main objective of TAPLINE was to transport oil from Persian Gulf to ports in Mediterranean Sea. It also helped with development of Lebanon and had improved U.S. relations with Middle Eastern nations. Stretched from Qaisumah in Saudi Arabia to Siodon in Lebanon, the Trans-Arabian Pipeline helped United States remain as a leader in global trade of petroleum. Husni Za'im helped USA greatly, not only by approving TAPLINE. He also signed an armistice with Israel, which formally ended Arab-Israeli War (1948) as well as improving relations between Israel and Turkey, both of U.S. allies. The last thing that Za'im did before being overthrown was getting rid of local communist that endangered U.S. business in that region. The Trans-Arabian Pipeline was operating until 1990, before it was cut off by Saudis in response to Jordan (where the pipeline was operating as well since 1976) support of Iraq during first Gulf War. [7] Today, TAPLINE is entirely unable to transport oil, yet the Persian Gulf remains strategically important point. The main reason is global economy that is still dependent on the flow of oil and gas. [4]

2.5.1 Invading Afghanistan

After terrorist attack on World Trade Center in New York in September 11, 2001, USA launched “Operation Enduring Freedom” one month later. With the help of Canada, France, United Kingdom and other allies, they went to Afghanistan with two objectives. The primary objective was to defeat Al-Qaeda and Taliban as well as stopping the acts of terror in a region. American forces do not want Afghanistan to be a basis for international terrorist activity directed particularly at United States as well as its allies. U.S. forces gave the Taliban regime the option either to give them the organization that attacked them or become the object of an unavoidable military action designed to eliminate the terrorist threat, particularly Al-Qaeda. Taliban had chosen the second option.

Fighting terrorism activity is and has ever been an easy task though. Terrorist is a weak person, but he is also a fanatic, the person that has nothing to lose. Their fanaticism and determination is their strongest weapon. Brzezinsky notices that terrorist attacks are inevitably linked with Islam, which is a very harsh and aggressive religion. Since 9/11, Muslim minority not only in America, but also in other countries, is under special “control”. That, on the other hand, increases the Muslim’s hatred towards the west and U.S. support for Israel is not on the Muslim favour either. United States has already spent billions of dollars for this war and it cost them thousands of lives of its troops (see Table 2). It has to deal with that issue as soon as possible. [16]

Table 2: U.S. Casualties in Afghanistan in 2009-2013 (*Source: iCasualties.org, Brookings Institution*)

Year	'01	'02	'03	'04	'05	'06	'07	'08	'09	2010	1011	2012	2013	TOTAL
Deaths	12	49	48	52	99	98	117	155	317	499	418	310	55	2229

The secondary objective was to create a democratic and modern Afghanistan. The idea of democratic Afghanistan is still far from reaching though. It is needed much more that frontal assault to transform the country like that into democratic state. Bringing stability in a region would be a very important step that could result in inspiring other countries to follow democratic path. America is a protagonist in a region and has to do everything in its power to avoid further conflicts in a region. It has to handle the region in a proper way. Developing the economy, engaging trades, create more options for politics as well as for

people and building more pipelines is a way of stabilizing the region and gaining the influence.

2.5.2 A way from Iraq

There is a doubt that the war in Iraq has really given the democracy a big push in the Middle East, on the contrary, it made things worse. There are huge costs for American involvement in Iraq counting in billions of U.S. dollars (see Figure 5). Thousands and thousands Iraqis were killed, many U.S. soldiers as well. There are great economic and international costs that United States will have to pay.

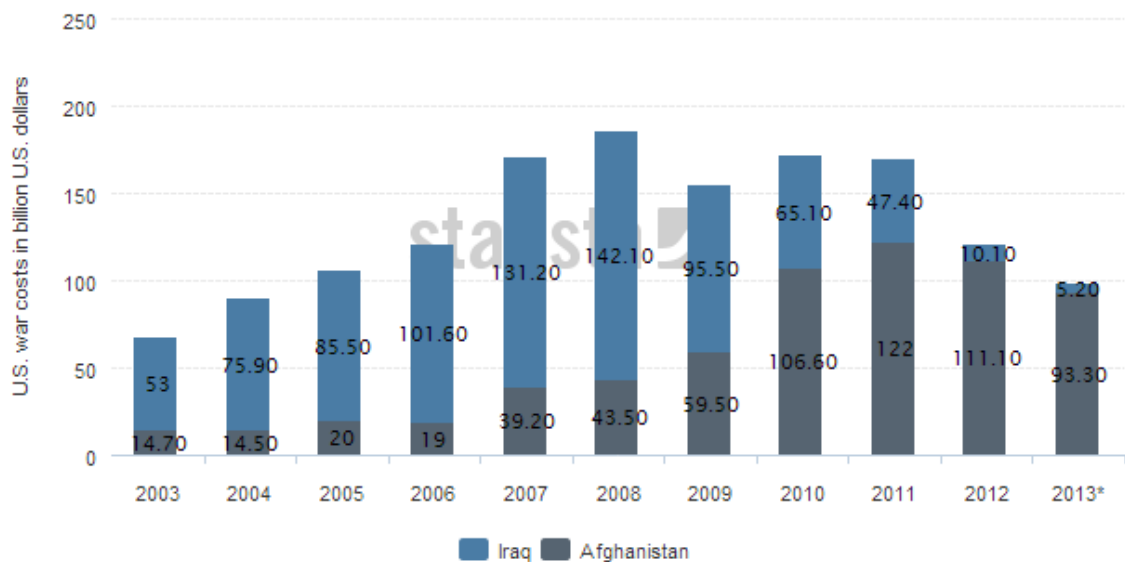


Figure 5: U.S. war costs in Iraq and Afghanistan from 2003 to 2013 (*Source: National Priorities Project - <http://www.statista.com/statistics/173138/us-war-costs-in-iraq-and-afghanistan/>*)

Nowadays, USA is a part of a problem of Iraq, in the sense that U.S. presence in Iraq is contributing to the continuing fragmentation of Iraqi society and eventually to Iraqi state. Because of that United States has no other option, but to disengage and it has to disengage intelligently. It means not only militarily, but also through creating a political framework in the region that can deal with the consequences of American actions. Right now, the victory is for USA just an imaginary objective. United States realized that it is impossible to change a region with such a long history and traditions by injecting the foreign army, destroying the state and then saying that they are, in fact implementing democracy. The

country has to evolve on its own and its own culture has to adapt to these changes. It is a very bad way, from strategic point of view, to form actions that inflame the country and put its population at risk. That is why it is very important to finally bring a war in Iraq to an end and contribute in its renovation. United States has lost in Iraq even more troops than in Afghanistan (see Table 4). This is a message to finally leave, but before that - help them rebuild their country.

Table 3: American Military Casualties in Iraq (*Source:*

<http://antiwar.com/casualties/>)

Date	Deaths
Since Operation New Dawn	66
Since Obama Inauguration (1/20/09)	256
Since Handover (6/29/04)	3627
Since "Mission Accomplished" (5/1/03)	4347
Since War Began (3/19/03)	4488

As U.S. commanders in Iraq regularly admit, military efforts cannot stabilize the country for long. The formation of a new policy in Iraq has to start for the country to be rebuilt. The first step would be a new political process that would include all political players. They would have to set goals they want to achieve to have a country as they want without the intervention of United States. It is very important to give them some freedom, a choice, but not entirely. It would, of course, happen under the supervision of USA and NATO. Next step would be to bring lots of groups together such as United Nations, NATO, other international organizations and even the countries that share the border with Iraq and encourage them to help. Some Arab countries, like Saudi Arabia, have already opened their embassies in Bagdad. After everything is set and done and the new, democratic government has the power in the country, that would be the time for U.S. and for others to leave. [11]

2.5.3 Iran and the nuclear issue

Iran, among other issues, namely, Afghanistan, Iraq, Arab-Israeli peace, terrorism and energy security, is now U.S. critical interest. United States, in that matter, has chosen wrong strategy. Confronting Iran militarily, trying to change its government or putting an embargo will do no good. Firstly, because Iranian elite and government think that there is no reason for them not to have a nuclear energy access. It is totally unfair that

USA, which has nuclear weapons, prevents others from having it. President of Iran, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, stated that Iran is for a peaceful use of uranium, namely, energy sources, and that they do not pursue a nuclear program in order to attack other countries. American leaders got very susceptible about Iranian “peaceful program” after President Ahmadinejad has ordered to keep UN inspectors from freely visiting the nation’s nuclear facilities. America and its allies are not afraid of Iranian government possessing weapons of mass destruction, but of the situation where nuclear missiles fall in the hands of extremists, which in result, could lead to the nuclear war.

United States should find another way to solve this issue. The scale of the conflict is big already as it is and there is no need of increasing it. The direct collision with Iran would make USA’s task in Afghanistan absolutely impossible. The after-effects could be a re-ignition of the war in Iraq, which would lead to very difficult situation in the Persian Gulf. The most important thing why United States will not engage Iran directly is because Iran cooperates with China. East-Asian superpower needs energy and they get it from Iran, so any conflict with them would also involve China. [21]

It is obvious that Iranian leaders will never agree to any agreement where they have to retreat or publicly admit defeat. According to Ayatollah Khamenei, Iranian political elite, compromise as a result of pressure shows weakness and would, in time, encourage USA to demand more and more. Iranian leaders know that not United States nor France or Great Britain, can, through their foreign policy and imposing sanctions, create costs big enough to force Iran from enrichment of uranium. However, as a result of imposing sanctions, Iran’s export of oil and its revenue has decreased (see Figure 6).

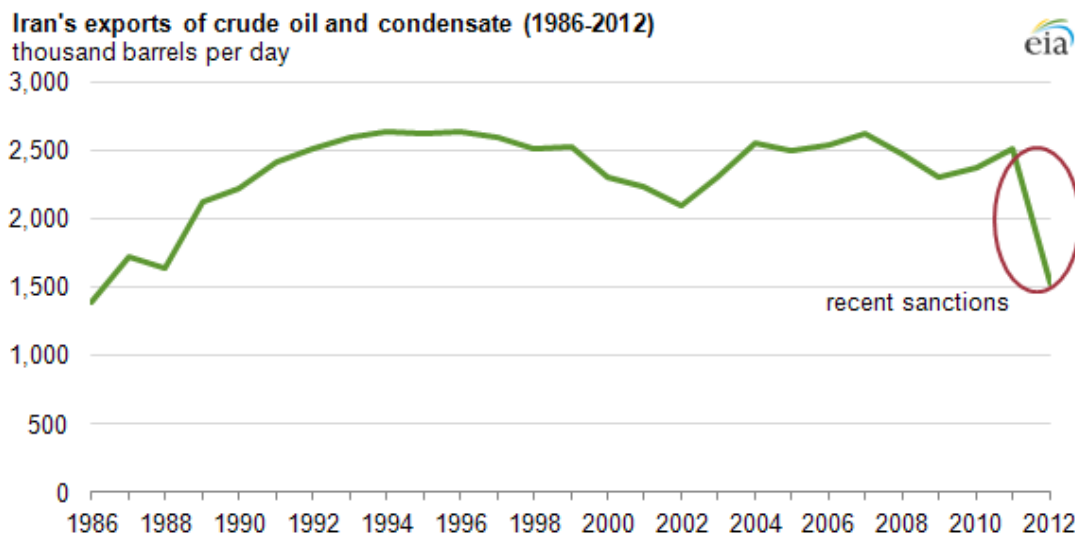


Figure 6: Iranian oil export's reduction in thousands barrels per day (*Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration, International Energy Statistics Database and Iran Country Analysis Brief.*)

The best way to solve this matter is diplomacy. First of all, United States should attempt to formulate and engagement policy with Russia, China and European allies. Next step would be lifting an embargo against Iran without putting any other pressure on them. After that, they should, together with Iran, focus initially on Iraq. USA and Iran share mutual interest in retaining Iraq's territorial integrity and stop a bloody civil war. That would be very good preliminary for gaining their trust and, in result, could initiate a talk concentrated on nuclear issue. The talk about nuclear policy would be a very sensitive matter, but U.S. has to, finally, pressure on a solution where Iran could continue some enrichment activity under international monitoring. [11]

2.5.4 Future of Israel and Palestine

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has been existed for approximately 100 years. Both nations claim that the land they are fighting over belongs to them religiously and historically. Over the years of the conflicts, Israel's dominated territory has greatly expanded. Nowadays, Palestinians, which used to rule all the land over 90 years ago, now, are completely overwhelmed by Israelis (see Figure 7).

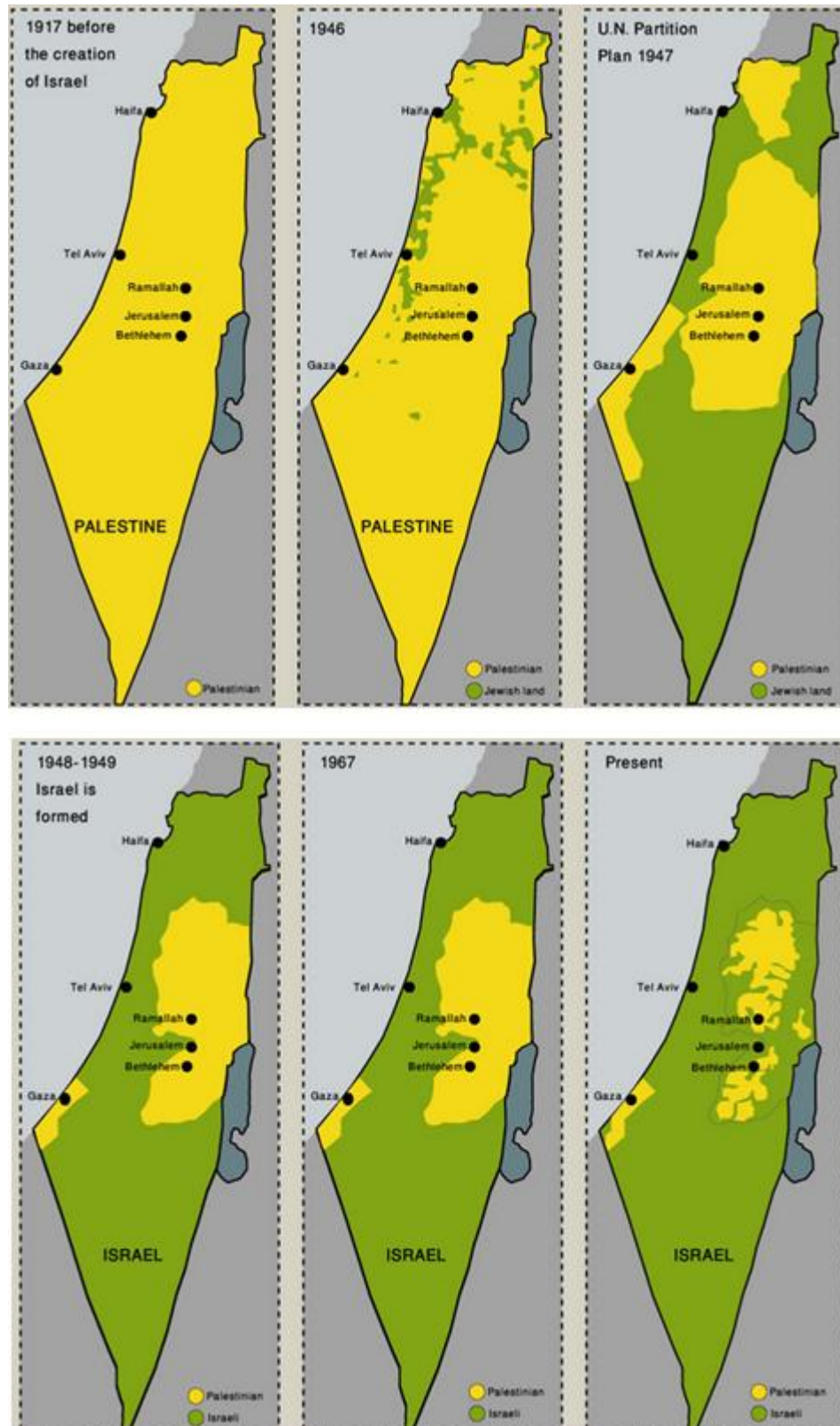


Figure 7: Israeli-Palestinian Fight for the Territory (Source: *unhcr.org*; *unispal.un.org*)

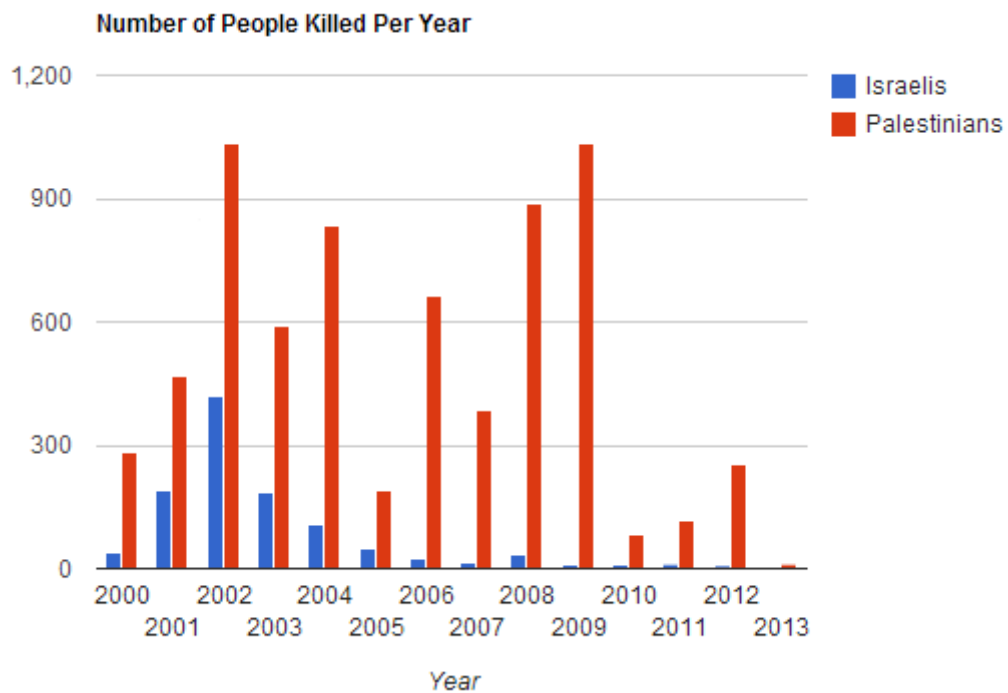


Figure 8: Number of People Killed in Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (*Source: <http://www.ifamericansknew.org/stats/deaths.html>*)

The conflict between those two countries is U.S. core interest in Middle East region. That conflict is much bigger that it seems. Hundreds of people die every year, mostly on the Palestinian side (see Figure 8). If it was possible to bring peace, which United States is trying to do, that would mean not only peace between Israel and Palestine, but also peace between Israel and all Arab countries. The only possible solution at the time is the one, which would preserve the existence of Israel and protect Palestinian rights, is the two-state solution. The basic concept is to create the State of Israel alongside an independent Palestinian state in the former British Mandate of Palestine's territory – two states for two peoples.

Benefits from that kind of agreement are obvious – better protection for Israel's security and identity, decrease of the threat of wider war and easier way to pursue U.S. diplomatic strategies. But as far as benefits are obvious, the strategy how to achieve that goal is not. On the other hand, it is easy to identify the factors for reviving a two state solution. On the Israeli side, all the actions they provoke against two-state solution must be stopped. That is mostly related to all settlement constructions, which in result force Israel to negotiate territorial exchange for settled areas to recompense the lands that Palestine has lost. On the

Palestinian side the situation would be much harder. To create two-state solution, Palestine has to have a strong leadership. That means that reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas – two government oppositions – will be necessary. That would be a very delicate case, considering not only that none of these political groups would want to share the power but also turning Hamas out from their proclaimed goal of destroying Israel. Other than that, Palestinian people have to be convinced that situation like that will bring political and economic benefits.

It seems almost impossible to convince Israel of the Palestinian commitment for two-state solution, while simultaneously bringing Fatah and Hamas back together. Israeli and Palestinian citizens also have to be convinced and believe that two-state are credible and permanent. To bring Hamas and Fatah together, foreign policy of other Arab countries will be necessary. Their involvement and domestic opinion of the population demanding prosperity will be crucial to achieve the mutual compromise between the oppositions. For United States it means that it has to convert from its policy of imposing sanctions on Hamas and instead of that it has to focus on revival of the national unity government in Palestine. The last step that America has to do is to support of a cease-fire between these two nations as well as promote an agreement among Palestinian groups with Israel. [11]

2.5.5 Democracy

The idea of democracy is divided into two segments; in the long run, Middle East with all democratic countries would be enormously favourable development for U.S. as well as for inhabitants of Arab countries. In the short run, however, could lead to many conflicts, which would complicate USA-Arab relations. The mistake that Bush's administration made was to pursue the idea of democracy in Arab countries as a short-term strategy. Democracy in Middle East means a total change in politics and it can ever be achieved only as a long-term idea that has to be pursued quietly and consistently. United States tried to push a democracy in Arab countries between 2003 and 2005, but it was made in very clumsy and unprofessional way. USA talked about democracy and tried to implement it in very general and universal way, both for countries with the visible path to democracy, such as Egypt, and for others, namely Saudi Arabia, where the idea of democracy was even hard to imagine. Their short-term idea of democracy had found its reflection in U.S. great impatience in practice. The result was Hamas' victory in Palestine and the solid

presentation by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, which led to military court trials and long prison sentences. Situation with democracy was very similar in Jordan and Bahrain that time. As a result, U.S. government look at short-term interests and kept silent.

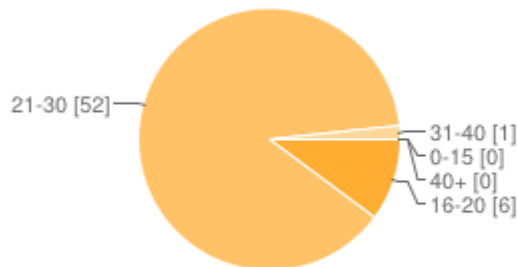
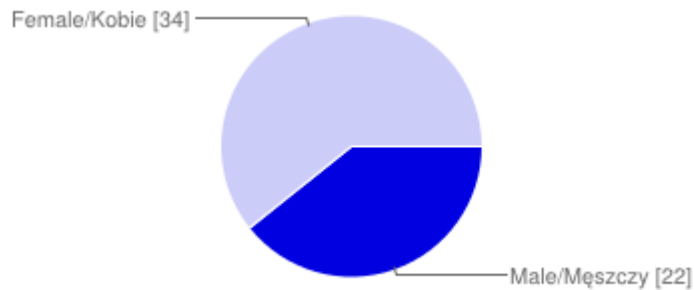
Successful creation of a democracy can be only accomplished as long-term goal and it has to meet two conditions. Firstly, United States has to clearly define the concept of democracy promotion. The mistake that America did was that it focused simultaneously on extreme things such as an aggressive regime take-over on one side, and small things, namely, basic education, women's rights or cultural exchange programs on the other. This situation created a huge deal of confusion. The idea of democracy has to be precisely defined. Actions like regime overthrow, even the most tyrannical one, have no place in formation of democracy, because these two ideas are counterproductive, as we have seen on example of Iraq. The second thing that USA has to do is to understand and accept the consequences of its policies. To do it U.S, has to know detailed situation in each country to successfully initiate its ideas, including the idea of democracy. It has to understand political forces in different countries, one by one, to be able to act reliably and avoid back-pedaling that had damaged its credibility in recent years.

After all the conditions are met, United States can promote democracy in a new way, but it also has to choose the best candidates for reform, such as Egypt, Morocco, Jordan, Yemen or Algeria, with varying degrees of pluralist politics. In this kind of countries, USA can concentrate on defined goals, designed for satisfying the needs and improve conditions of each country. The situation is significantly different in countries without independent political forces unable to support a democratic system. In this case, U.S. has to identify its fundamental lack of knowledge about how to form a democracy. In such countries the idea should be to focus on pushing governments towards reforms that would improve the situation of its people, such as more press freedom and greater focus on human rights.

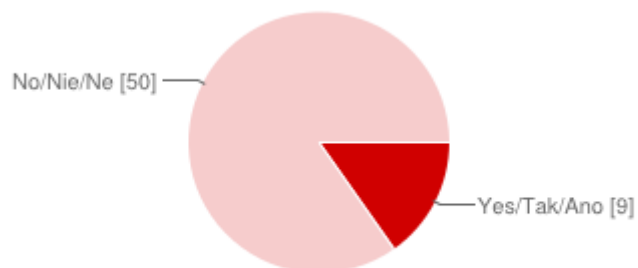
All these efforts for long-term democracy strategy have to be pursued and promoted quietly. It does not really matter how carefully policies for the future are shaped, it is inevitable that conflicts will arise between long-term idea of democracy and significantly different short-term security interests. [11]

2.6 Survey

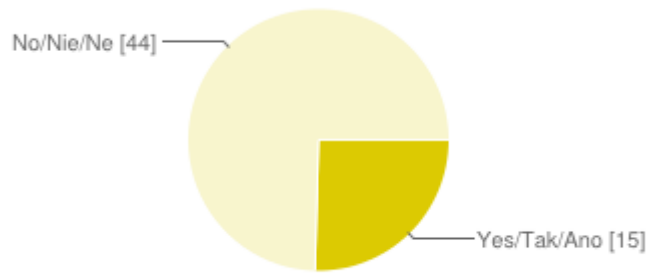
59 people replied to the questionnaire (see Appendix I) prepared for the survey, from which 39 per cent were males.



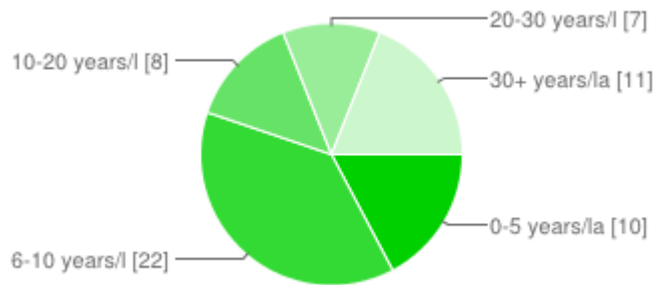
People from 16 to 30 years old almost unanimously (84 per cent) answered that they do not actually know who Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski is.



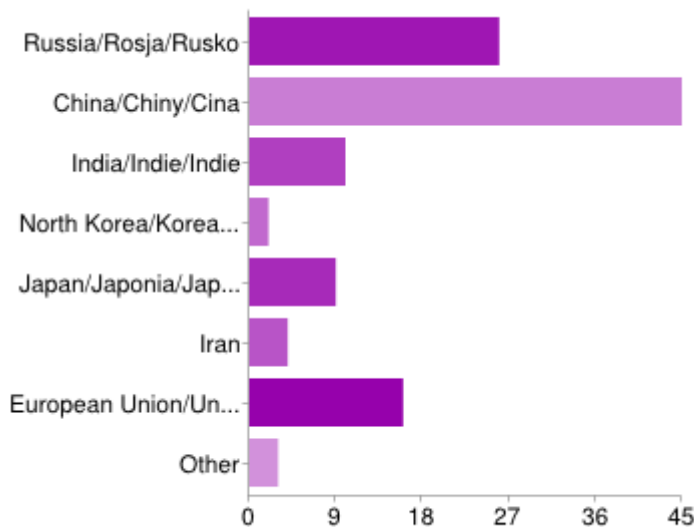
Only a little bit more of them (74 per cent) have ever heard about Trans-Eurasian Security System.



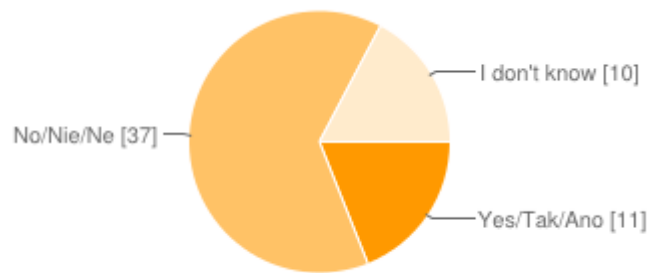
The opinions are divided on the matter how long will USA remain as a dominant country. Some answers were that it will not be a leading nation within 5 years. That's a big contrast to some people that answered that it will remain the world's greatest superpower for more than 30 years.



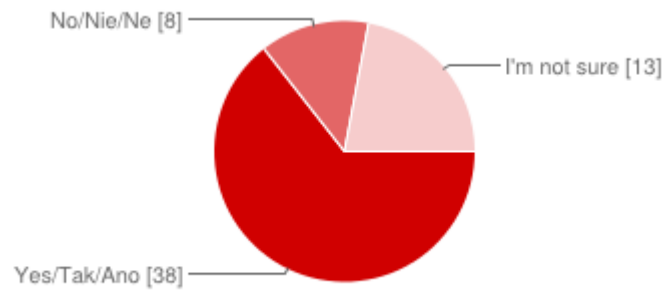
On the question “Which country will be a potential competitor for U.S. in the future?” People most often answered China or Russia.



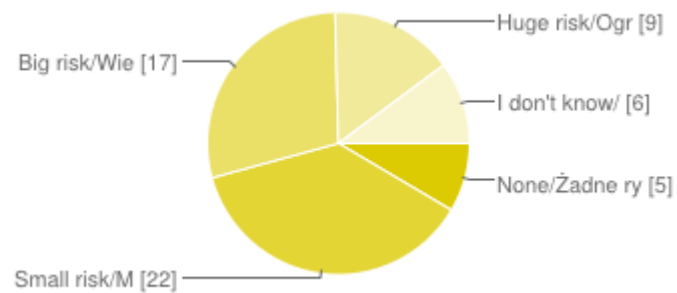
The public pretty agrees that United States should not attack Iraq or Afghanistan (64 per cent)



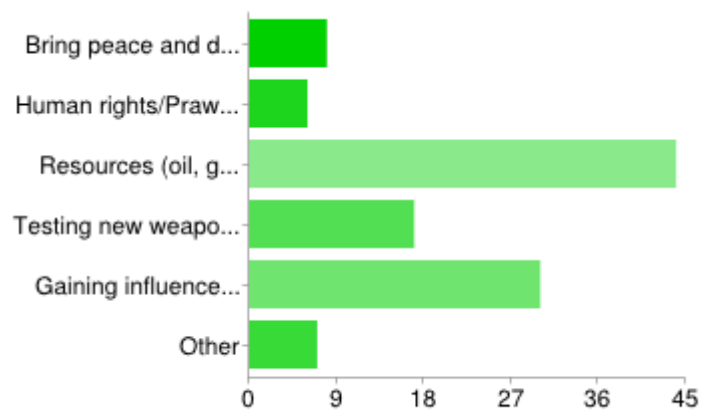
What followed was the opinion that USA should withdraw their troops from those countries (63 per cent).



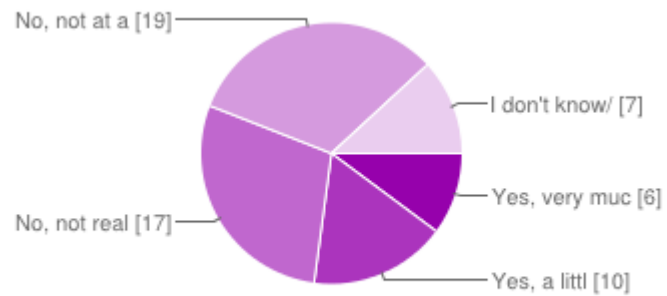
People do not consider Iranian nuclear program as a great threat, more like a medium.



They also think that that the reason why United States is in the Middle East on the first place, is because of resources (39 per cent) and gaining influence (27 per cent). They do not think that U.S. really cares for peace and democracy or human rights.



And as the conclusion, majority of people (62 per cent) do not support U.S. policy in the Middle East.



CONCLUSION

Throughout the course of the history, USA has made itself a protector of the world. It is now the most responsible for world's economy, stability and peace. However, it seems that its role will soon change. On the Far East the new power is emerging with spectacular pace – China. It is a very powerful player on the Eurasian chessboard indeed that U.S. should cooperate with.

The center of global gravity has been shifting for some time from the Atlantic world to the Pacific. It is visible already that the domination of the world by the Atlantic countries, which lasted five hundred years, is coming to an end and now it is increasingly shared with Asia. USA has to cooperate with these new rising powers, especially China. It has to develop common policies and be responsive to their concerns and vice-versa. Such a partnership would benefit both countries, giving the beginning to Trans-Eurasian Security System. But to achieve a future goal like this, it is crucial that at present global powers start cooperating with each other.

United States has to solve all its problems in the Middle East at first. It is vital that its entrance on the Eurasian mainland starts there. By solving issues with Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran and then become a broker to the peace between Israeli and Palestinians, U.S. would gain huge influence on Asian continent. Such a country would be worthy to follow and to collaborate with.

Today, the world in general and Eurasia in particular, need a larger and longer range vision of the globally influential United States and Europe, otherwise, our still young 21st century threatens to become a century not dominated by hegemonic aspirations but by intensifying global turmoil. It is therefore not too early for the world's leaders to emulate the example for the next generations and dedicate themselves to the goal of world-wide peace and stability.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- [1] BRZEZINSKI, Z. *Velká Šachovnice*, Vyd. 1. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1999, 228 s. ISBN: 8020407642
- [2] LAUCKÝ, V. *Bezpečnostní futurologie* Skripta, FAI UTB2007, ISBN: 978-80-7318-560-2
- [3] BUZAN, B., WAEVER O. *Bezpečnost-Nový rámec pro analýzu*, Vyd. Brno: Centrum strategických studií, 2005, 267 s. ISBN 8090333362
- [4] BRZEZINSKI, Z. *America and the World: Conversations on the Future of American Foreign Policy*, Createspace Independent Pub, 2010, 450 s., ISBN: 9781458765956
- [5] Four Rights. In: *Wikipedia: the free enciclopedia* [online]. Last modified 22-4-2013, [cit. 2013-05-19]. Available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Four_Freedoms
- [6] Asia Program Special Report, *The U.S.-Japan-China Triangle: Who's the Odd Man Out?* July 2003. [cit. 23-05-2013]. Available at: http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/asia_rpt113.pdf
- [7] American Intervention in the Middle East. In: *Wikipedia: the free enciclopedia* [online]. Last modified 13-05-2013, [cit. 26-05-2013]. Available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_intervention_in_the_Middle_East#cite_note-6
- [8] ANDERSON, I. (1981) *Aramco, The United States, and Saudi Arabia*. U.S.: Princeton University Press. s. 36
- [9] Chomsky, N., (January/February 2005) *Imperial Presidency Canadian Dimension*, Vol. 39, No. 1, s. 8
- [10] WATSON, J., (1981) *Success in Twentieth century World Affairs since 1919*, Norwich: John Murray (Publishers) Ltd s. 295
- [11] OTTAWAY, M., BROWN, N., HAMZAWY, A., SADJADPOUR, K., SALEM, P., *The New Middle East*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, [cit. 2013-05-24]. 48s.
- [12] BRZEZINSKI, Z., *Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power*, Vyd. Basic Books, 2012, 208 s. ISBN 0465029558
- [13] Tiananmen Square. In: *Wikipedia: the free enciclopedia* [online]. Last modified 30-05-2013, [cit. 26-05-2013]. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tiananmen_Square

- [14] BRZEZINSKI, Z., Europejskie Forum Nowych Idei: *The Role of the West in the Complex Post-Hegemonic World*. Warszawa 26-09-2012.
- [15] Kansas City World Citizen, *China Town Hall with Zbigniew Brzezinski*. 17-11-2011, [cit. 2013-05-20]. Available at: <http://irckeworldcitizen.blogspot.cz/2011/11/china-town-hall-with-zbigniew.html>
- [16] BRZEZINSKI, Z., *Volba: globální nadvláda nebo globální vedení*. Vyd. 1. Praha: Mladá fronta, 2004, 290 s. ISBN: 8020411798
- [17] YERGIN, D., (1991) *The Prize: The Epic quest for Oil, Money and Power*. New York: Simon and Schuster s. 401
- [18] CURTIS, G., *Getting the Triangle Straight: China, Japan and the United States in an Era of Change*. [cit. 2013-05-27]. Available at: http://www.jcie.org/researchpdfs/Triangle/1_curtis.pdf
- [19] BRZEZINSKY, Z., (2007) *The Grand Chessboard*, Basic Books, s. 35
- [20] ROOSEVELT, F., excerpted from the State of the Union Address to the Congress, January 6, 1941.
- [21] FAWCETT, L., (2005) *The International Relations of the Middle East* UK: Oxford University Press, s. 284

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

TESS	Trans-Eurasian Security System
USA	United States of America
U.S.	United States
EU	European Union
GB	Great Britain
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II
WTO	World Trade Organization
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
TAPLINE	Trans-Arabian Pipeline
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
TAFTA	Trans-Atlantic Free Trade Agreement

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Area of Different Continents (<i>Source: The Grand Chessboard</i>)	18
Figure 2: Population of Different Continents (<i>Source: The Grand Chessboard</i>).....	18
Figure 3: Gross National Product of Different Continents (<i>Source: The Grand Chessboard</i>).....	19
Figure 4: U.S. Trade in Goods with China in 1985-2010 (<i>Source: U.S. Census Bureau and Economic Policy Institute</i>).....	41
Figure 5: U.S. war costs in Iraq and Afghanistan from 2003 to 2013 (<i>Source: National Priorities Project - http://www.statista.com/statistics/173138/us-war-costs-in-iraq-and-afghanistan/</i>).....	46
Figure 6: Iranian oil export's reduction in thousands barrels per day (<i>Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration, International Energy Statistics Database and Iran Country Analysis Brief.</i>)	49
Figure 7: Israeli-Palestinian Fight for the Territory (<i>Source: unhcr.org; unispal.un.org</i>)	50
Figure 8: Number of People Killed in Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (<i>Source: http://www.ifamericansknew.org/stats/deaths.html</i>)	51

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Nominal GDP of Japan, USA and China in 2010-2030 in USD/bln (<i>Source: The Tokyo Foundation Asia Security Project</i>)	38
Table 2: U.S. Casualties in Afghanistan in 2009-2013 (<i>Source: iCasualties.org, Brookings Institution</i>).....	45
Table 3: American Military Casualties in Iraq (<i>Source: http://antiwar.com/casualties/</i>)	47

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I Survey on TESS and U.S. foreign policy.

APPENDIX I Survey on TESS and U.S. foreign policy.

Edit this form

TESS, USA policy

What is your sex?/Jakiej jesteś płci?/Jaké je Vase pohlavi?

Male/Mężczyzna/Muz

Female/Kobieta/Zena

What's your age?/Wiek/Kolik je Vam let?

0-15

16-20

21-30

31-40

40+

Do you know who Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski is?/Wiesz kim jest Dr Zbigniew Brzezinski?/Víte kdo je Dr Zbigniew Brzezinski?

Yes/Tak/Ano

No/Nie/Ne

Have you ever heard about Trans-Eurasian Security System (TESS)?/Slyszales/aś kiedyś o Euroazjatyckim Systemie Bezpieczeństwa (TESS)?/Slysel/a jste nekdy o Trans-Eurasijskym Bezpečnostnim Systemu (TESS)?

Yes/Tak/Ano

No/Nie/Ne

For how long do you think will USA remain the most powerful country in the world?/Jak długo jeszcze USA pozostanie najpotężniejszym krajem na świecie?/Jak dlouho bude jeste USA nejsilnějším státem ve svete?

0-5 years/lat/let

6-10 years/lat/let

10-20 years/lat/let

20-30 years/lat/let

30+ years/lat/let

Which country/countries will be potential competitor/s for USA in the future?/Który kraj/kraje będzie potencjalnymi rywalami dla USA w przyszłości?/Ktery stát/státy bude potencialním konkurentem pro Spojene Státy do budoucna?

Russia/Rosja/Rusko

China/Chiny/Cina

India/Indie/Indie

North Korea/Korea Północna/Severni Korea

Japan/Japonia/Japonsko

Iran

European Union/Unia Europejska/Evropska Unie

Other:

Is it good that USA interferes in issues in the Middle East?/Czy Stany Zjednoczone postępują dobrze ingerując w sprawy Bliskiego Wschodu?/Je dobre, ze USA zasahuje v politiku Blizkeho Vychodu?

- Yes/Tak/Ano
 No/Nie/Ne
 I do not know/Nie wiem/Nevim

Do you think United States' conflict in Afghanistan and Iraq has been a good move?/Czy wydaje ci się, że Ameryka postąpiła sprawnie atakując Afganistan i Irak?/Mylis si, ze Americane postupili spravne kdyz zautocili na Afganistan a Irak?

- Yes/Tak/Ano
 No/Nie/Ne
 I don't know/Nie wiem/Nevim

Do you think USA should now withdraw its troops from Iraq and Afghanistan?/Wydaje ci sie, że Stany Zjednoczone powinny już wycofać swoje oddziały z Iraku i Afganistanu?/Mylis si, ze Amerika mela by uz zanehat valku v Iraku a Afganistanu?

- Yes/Tak/Ano
 No/Nie/Ne
 I'm not sure/Nie wiem/Nevim

How do you rate the Iranian nuclear program as a potential threat?/Jak oceniasz ryzyko Irańskiego programu nuklearnego?/Jak bys posoudil Iransky nuklearni program jako potencialni hrozbu?

- None/Żadne ryzyko/Zadne riziko
 Small risk/Male/Male
 Big risk/Wielkie/Velke
 Huge risk/Ogromne/Obrovske riziko
 I don't know/Nie wiem/Nevim

What is the reason of United States being in the Middle East?/Z jakiego powodu Stany Zjednoczone są na Bliskim Wschodzie?/Z jakeho duvodu Spojene Staty jsou na Blizkem Vychode?

- Bring peace and democracy/Pokój i demokracja/Mir a demokracie
 Human rights/Prawa człowieka/Lidska prava
 Resources (oil, gas, etc.)/Bogactwa naturalne (ropa, gaz ziemny, itd.)/Natulani zdroje (zemni olej - nafta, zemni plyn, atd.)
 Testing new weaponry/Testowanie nowych broni/Testovani nových zbrani
 Gaining influence/Zyskowanie wpływów/Ziskani vlivu
 Other:

Do you support U.S. policy in the Middle East?/Popierasz zagraniczną politykę USA na Bliskim Wschodzie?/Podporujete zahranicni politiku Spojenych Statu na Blizkem Vychode?

- Yes, very much/Tak, bardzo/Ano, velice
 Yes, a little bit/Tak, trochę/Ano, trochu
 No, not really/Raczej nie/Asi ne

- No, not at all/w ogóle/Vubec ne
 I don't know/Nie wiem/Nevim