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A NEW EURASIAN GEOPOLITICAL ARCHITECTURE TO RECONCILE WESTERN AND NON-WESTERN REGIONALIZATION SCENARIOS?

The author concerns the missing links in the security architecture of the European, Eurasian and Central Asian spaces that need to be fixed in order to avoid a further fragmentation of the European continent between Euro-Atlantic and Euro-Asian alliances. Synergy is formulated as a needed condition to achieve geopolitical stability between the various actors on the Eurasian continent. The impossibility of the Euro-Atlantic institutions (NATO-EU-OSCE) enlargement to the whole of the Eurasian continent is assumed. The author suggests the "Olympic circles" configuration to be adapted to the emerging multicentric world for maintaining a balance between the different states, alliances and political and security institutions.

Keywords: geopolitical architecture, regionalization, integration, Euro-Atlantic and Euro-Asian alliances, Central Asia.

A quick look at the map (Alliances and Major Zones of Instability in a Multicentric World) illustrating the alliances in the World and the major conflicts and potential instability zones reveals and underlines the striking realities of today's world.

First of all, the two major stability zones amid a world drifting towards instability, conflicts and growing uncertainty, are the Euro-Atlantic space covered by NATO and the Eurasian area covered by the Shanghai Cooperation organization (SCO). On the margins of these two groupings, conflicts and security threats can endanger these "Islands of peace". The danger of terrorism is already more and more present in these two zones and it is therefore a crucial objective to contain these fast growing internal security threats coming from the crisis zones.

However, the European project cannot be separated from global geopolitical trends. In order to guide political decisions, a more common diagnosis of the global evolutions between states and nations would be required. This would be possible after identifying hurdles to overcome, highlighting common interests, and hopefully adopting common strategies. Today, the danger lies in the spreading of a spiralling crisis under the "sleepwalker" syndrome [1], leading to confrontation caused by the absence of geopolitical knowledge on each other's interests and priorities.
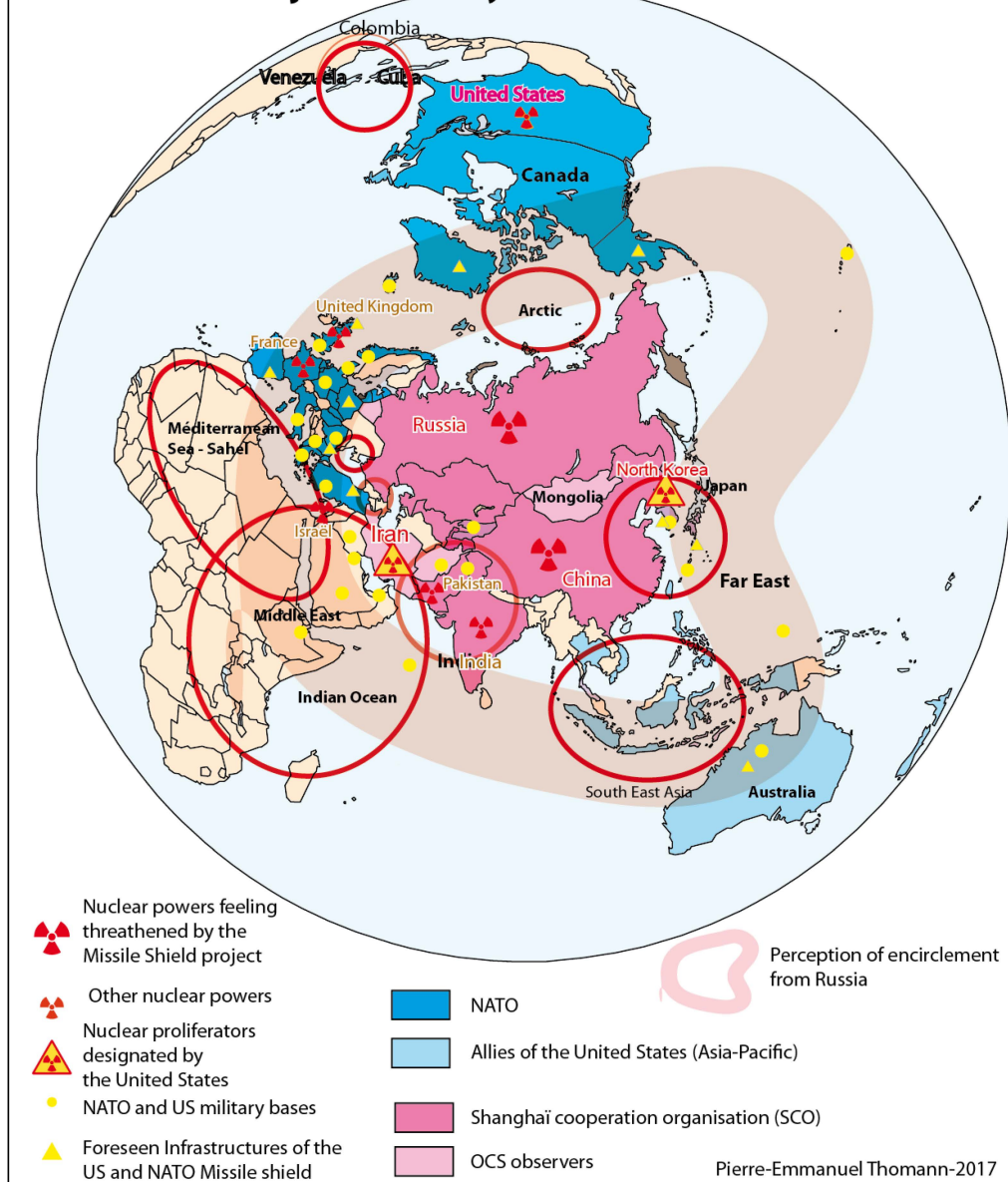
The new European Union Global Strategy [2] published in spring 2016, was written to conform itself to EU competencies and policies. However, a comprehensive threat analysis and sound geopolitical diagnosis of the situation were not included in the document. The European Union is closer to a *civilian and normative power [3] (Figure 1)* in international relations and fosters its own model of civil and military management and diplomacy. The absence of geopolitical reflection inside the EU leads to a worsening of its relations with Russia, whose objectives do not match EU objectives, and further, to a degradation of its own security, in the context of a Franco-German deadlock after Brexit.

It is not enough for the European Union to adopt a position of "empire of standards", in anticipation of a potentially growing significance of the legal factor [4] in international relations, and in the face of geopolitical doctrines of other political entities. Geopolitical issues are either hidden in the European institutions or are deliberately removed from the eyes of citizens. A better appreciation of geopolitical issues would prove useful for the EU in its analysis and comprehension of territorial issues. It would also be beneficial for the development of a power strategy based on the control of territory and subordinated to the objective of a political Europe [5]. A reformed EU would have better chances to engage in the global balance of power and to obtain the status of autonomous geopolitical actor.

There is no credible policy in the EU Global Strategy for delivering "strategic autonomy". The growing number of political declarations on international relations rules and human rights is also inversely proportional to the collective helplessness of the European Union and its member states to manage crises in its geographical proximity in a decisive way. This is the case in Syria, Libya and in the Ukraine but also when it comes to Islamic terrorism on European territory, which is reinforcing internal EU fragmentation on the question of borders. This lack of strategic reflection leads to an instrumentalization of EU policies from external geopolitical projects.

Figure 1

Alliances and major instability zones in a multicentric world

Colombia
Venezuela — Cuba
United States
Canada
Arctic
United Kingdom
France
Russia
Méditerranean Sea - Sahel
Israel
Iran
North Korea
Japan
Mongolia
Pakistan
China
Far East
Middle East
India
Indian Ocean
South East Asia
Australia

Nuclear powers feeling threatened by the Missile Shield project

Other nuclear powers

Nuclear proliferators designated by the United States

NATO and US military bases

Foreseen Infrastructures of the US and NATO Missile shield

NATO

Allies of the United States (Asia-Pacific)

Shanghaï cooperation organisation (SCO)

OCS observers

Perception of encirclement from Russia

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There is also a neutralisation process between rival geopolitical projects within the EU itself. EaP (EU Eastern partnership) is therefore instrumentalized by the states that are most opposed to cooperation with Russia and who are the most eager to implement a Euro-Atlanticist vision, excluding Russia. (See *Figure 2: EU and Russia between geopolitical rivalry and interdependence*).

EU and Russia: two parallel visions - obstacle to EaP implementation?

According to the EU Global Strategy (See *Figure 3: EU: euro-globalist normative power*), "managing the relationship with Russia represents a: key strategic challenge". The European Union is closer to a *civilian and normative power* in international relations and fosters its own model of civil and military management and diplomacy. However, the absence of geopolitical reflection inside EU leads to a worsening of its relations with Russia, whose objectives do not match EU ones, and increases difficulty to implement the EaP.

The Russian representations are in contradiction with the ambition of European Union to transform the world according to its image. The European Union has the ambition to export its normative model based on the "interdependence theory". This ideology postulates that commerce and norms are gradually bringing stability and Westernization of its neighbourhood. However, the perspectives of Westernization of Russia are blocked by the Russian government. The government defends the concept of "sovereign democracy" and position itself in the multipolar world as an autonomous Eurasian pole of power. Today, the rival visions between European Union and Russia are an obstacle to the identification of common interests, in particular regarding the Eastern partnership countries.

As part of a EaP policy reform process, a better appreciation of geopolitical issues would be useful for the EU in its analysis and comprehension of territorial issues. Otherwise, we can expect that it will be difficult for European Union to become the central forum to negotiate about European security since member states and Russia will continue to privilege the NATO, OSCE or ad hoc intergovernmental forum like the "Normandie format" since central geopolitical issues will be negotiated there.

In Ukraine, as in Armenia, Georgia and Moldova, the European Union is increasingly engaged beyond its borders in the countries of the former USSR. EU is at risk of becoming involved in geopolitical discontinuities originating in the geo-historical borders that mark the Eurasian continent: past EU enlargements in Central and Eastern Europe proved that these processes weakened the coherence and the identity of the European Union and increased the risks of dilution because of the dividing lines this induces within the European Union.

The objective for the European Union to project its method of governance beyond its borders has also coincided, since the election of Donald Trump, with greater caution of the United States in former USSR countries. The new approach of the US government is increasingly unilateral, without synergy with the member states of the European Union.
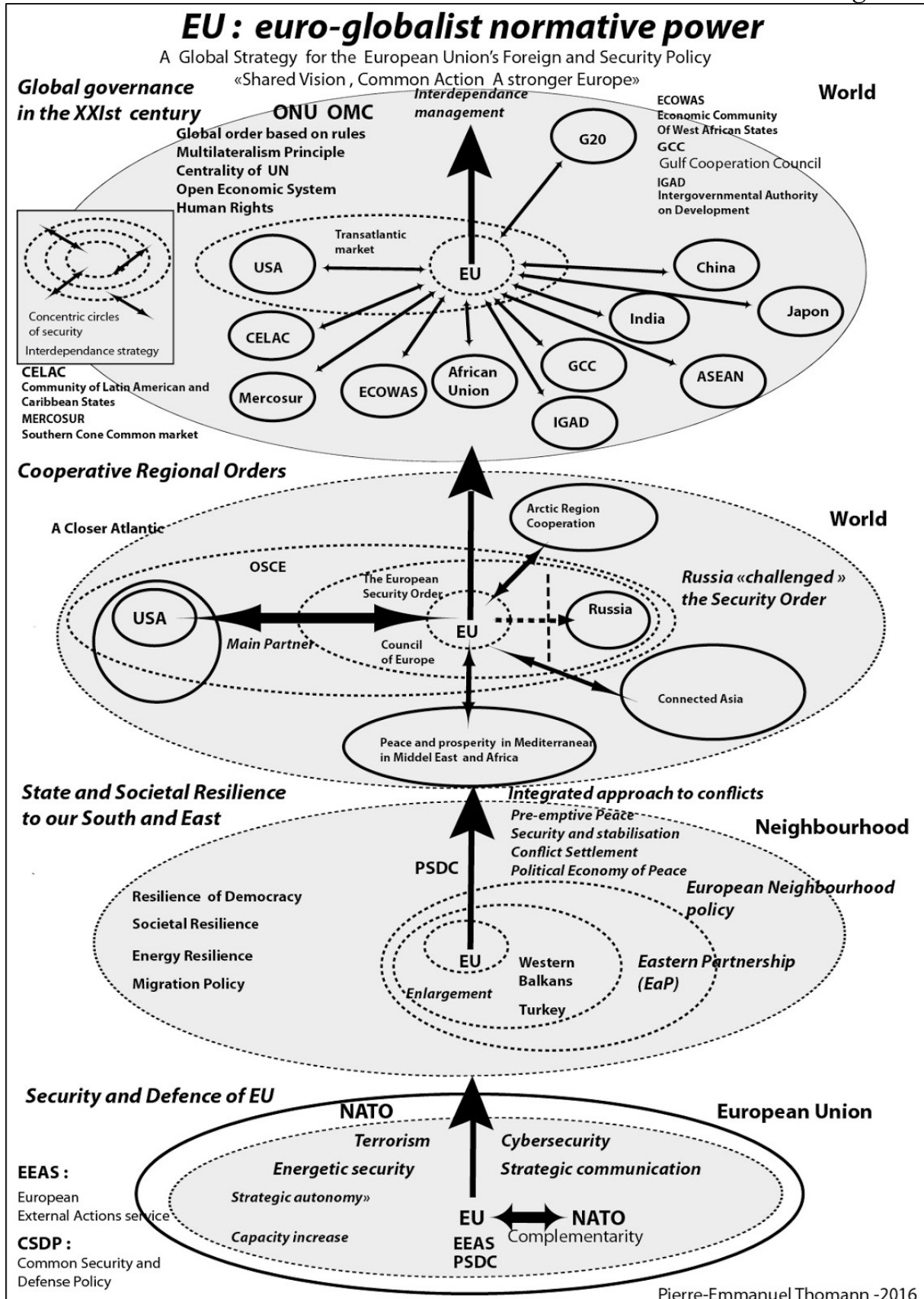
The European Union and NATO risks over-extension by becoming more involved in its geopolitical neighbourhood, but without the means to really influence the course of the different crisis.

This risk of over-extension is aggravated by the geopolitical regression process initiated with the Brexit and which is aggravated by the unresolved multiple crises of the European Union.

Figure 2

EU and Russia between geopolitical rivalry and interdependance

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Zones of geopolitical rivalry between EU and Russia

European Union	Eastern Partnership
Three Seas Initiative (Baltic-Adriatic- Black seas)	Central Asia
Russia	Crimea Territorial disputes

Main pipelines

South Corridor for alternative access to energy to be less dependant on Russia

Figure 3

EU : euro-globalist normative power

A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy
«Shared Vision , Common Action A stronger Europe»

Global governance in the XXIst century

ONU OMC

Global order based on rules
Multilateralism Principle
Centrality of UN
Open Economic System
Human Rights

Interdependance management

World

ECOWAS
Economic Community
Of West African States
GCC
Gulf Cooperation Council
IGAD
Intergovernmental Authority
on Development

G20

Transatlantic market

USA EU China

Japon

CELAC India

Concentric circles of security

Interdependance strategy

Mercosur ECOWAS African Union GCC ASEAN

IGAD

CELAC
Community of Latin American and Caribbean States
MERCOSUR
Southern Cone Common market

Cooperative Regional Orders

A Closer Atlantic

World

OSCE

The European Security Order

Russia «challenged» the Security Order

USA

Russia

Main Partner

Council of Europe

EU

Connected Asia

Peace and prosperity in Mediterranean in Middel East and Africa

State and Societal Resilience to our South and East

Integrated approach to conflicts
Pre-emptive Peace
Security and stabilisation
Conflict Settlement
Political Economy of Peace

Neighbourhood

PSDC

European Neighbourhood policy

Resilience of Democracy

Societal Resilience

Energy Resilience

Migration Policy

EU Western Balkans

Eastern Partnership (EaP)

Enlargement

Turkey

Security and Defence of EU

NATO

European Union

Terrorism *Cybersecurity*

Energetic security *Strategic communication*

EEAS :
European
External Actions service

Strategic autonomy»

Capacity increase

EU ↔ NATO
Complementarity

CSDP :
Common Security and
Defense Policy

EU
EEAS
PSDC

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Konrad Adenauer, the first Federal Chancellor of West Germany, insisted on the primacy of foreign policy objectives over national domestic policy agendas [6]. Following this adage, let us first examine issues of global scale before we look at more regional issues.

Without first reforming and consolidating the European project, the choice for the European Union to project itself without limits in order to advance its normative ideology and Westernize its geographical proximity will not resolve its own existential crisis.

It is the strategy of "geographic tightening" principle that would be more appropriate so as not to import all external crises, and avoid to cross the red lines of other powers.

"Realpolitik" taken in its noble sense could be a more usefully guide for action and become the new European compass. The term Realpolik must be demystified: Realpolitik is based on geographical and historical realities, but also lucidity and caution. It requires combining cunning and knowledge. It is useful and effective only in the service of a political project.

There is no effective foreign policy without a strategy of territorial control in a historical and temporal perspective, and supported by popular legitimacy.

The current challenge for the European Union and its Member States is twofold:

– rethink the foreign and external policies of the European Union and its member states and to rethink the European model of society. Crises in the European Union and crises in its neighborhood can be resolved simultaneously, but a European Union in crisis cannot serve as a crutch to other countries in crisis!

– The Euro-Atlantic scenario of further intrusion by the European Union into the former USSR space would be counterproductive: it would lead to friction with Russia and would become an obstacle to the principle of economy of means.

In a multicentric world, the adjustment between competing geopolitical projects and the stabilization of area of friction between poles of power oscillating between latent rivalry and cooperation will be difficult to achieve other than on the balance of forces principle. It is a prerequisite for a negotiation between poles of power to sustain stability and promote the development of common values. With the increasing reduction of resources, the principle of geographic tightening around its immediate geopolitical environment is also a response to the problem of over-extension, according to a strategy of concentration of actions and economy of means.

In the name of political realism, the European Union should concentrate on its southern flank, where lies the main threat to its security. Radical Islam and the migratory crisis threaten its own internal cohesion. EU increasing weakness in the face of global challenges will undoubtedly lead to drastic choices. The current geopolitical challenges suggest a two-way strategic manoeuver,

combining a major reorientation of stabilization efforts towards the Mediterranean and the Euro-African depth, and a rapid rapprochement with Russia to jointly manage the challenges of European security in the East, and face together their common southern arc of crisis (Morocco to Afghanistan).

There are missing links in the security architecture of the European, Eurasian and Central Asian spaces that need to be fixed in order to avoid a further fragmentation of the European continent between Euro-Atlantic and Euro-Asian alliances [7]. (See map: Alliances and major zones of instability in a multicentric world).

What could this new geopolitical architecture look like? The following map illustrates the need for a new European security treaty, in the context of an emerging global and European multipolarity (See *Figure 4: Overlapping Circles of World stability and Peace*).

Synergy is needed between the various actors to achieve geopolitical stability on the Eurasian continent. On a longer term basis, a new Eurasian geopolitical architecture based on a new doctrine of overlapping circles of international organizations would be a major factor for developing and improving Eurasian security (diagram: Overlapping Circles of World stability and Peace). The diagram illustrates the need for a new "European security treaty" with a Eurasian reach, and a new "Central Asian treaty".

We also have to assume that an enlargement of Euro-Atlantic institutions (NATO-EU-OSCE) to the whole of the Eurasian continent is impossible. This new security architecture is based on the "geographical tightening" principle in the context of NATO's and EU's overstretched capacities.

Firstly, the individual EU and NATO member states disagree on further enlargement. Secondly, it would be impossible for these Euro-Atlantic institutions to manage the geopolitical diversity of the Eurasian continent. This new security architecture is based on the "geographical tightening" principle. Geographical proximity would be a central criterion to build regional alliances in order to foster stability and prevent any further Eurasian fragmentation.

The EU can neither represent the whole of Europe in an exclusive way, nor can it extend itself to the Eurasian continent. It would therefore be interesting to imagine a new netting of treaties and institutions, resembling the "Olympic circles", which would allow to maintain stability on the whole Eurasian continent.

This architecture is aimed at promoting synergies between interleaved organisations like NATO, EU, OSCE, SCO, CIS, OTSC, EEU, OIC and stabilize the overlapping security spaces. The role of UN would be crucial as a forum to manage this diversity and identify convergence, divergence, competition and/or complementarity. It should lead to greater levels of stability. In-between spaces between these structures would be subject to common stabilization policies or "non-aggression agreements".

This netting of institutions resembles the "Olympic circles". The described configuration would be adapted to the emerging multicentric world to maintain a balance between the different states, alliances and political and security institutions.

A new "security space" from *Lisbon to Vladivostok* would be the inner circle of a wider Euro-Atlantic security space from *Vancouver to Vladivostok* (See figure 4). In this configuration, we would find the EU as a pivot/political centre and Russia as a neighbouring pivot/political centre at the crossroad of overlapping security spaces from *Vancouver to Vladivostok* (NATO and OSCE, USA-EU-Russia), *Lisbon to Vladivostok* (UE-Russia), *St Petersburg to Peking* (OCS) and *Minsk-Dushanbe* (OTSC). Stabilisation policies and "non-aggression agreements" would need to be negotiated between these geopolitical spaces. This netting of institutions resembles "Olympic circles". The described configuration would be adapted to the emerging multipolar world to maintain a balance between the different states, alliances and political as well as security institutions. This architecture is aimed at promoting synergies between interleaved organisations like NATO, EU, OSCE, SCO, CIS, OTSC, EEU, OIC and should lead to greater levels of stability. In-between spaces between these structures would be subject to common stabilisation policies or "non-aggression agreements".

This new doctrine of "overlapping circles" supposes the acceptance by international actors of the emergence of a variety of international organisations whose objectives are contributing to Eurasian and world stability. The strengthening of the SCO should, for example, not be perceived in the West as a geopolitical rival, but as a future partner to manage multipolarity. It is in the long-term interests of Euro-Atlantic structures, EU and NATO, to be complemented by other international organisations like Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), EEU, OTSC, CIS, OIC in order to stabilise the Eurasian continent. The Shanghai Cooperation organization (SCO) is covering the major part of the Eurasian landmass, and therefore, the future of the organization is crucial to world stability. Central Asia in particular plays a crucial role in maintaining stability on the Eurasian landmass : It is also a geopolitical lock to prevent instability from Afghanistan and Middle East to spread to the whole of Central Asia, and therefore to Russia and China. This is also of decisive importance for Europe: if there is no peace and stability on the Eastern part of Eurasia, there is no chance to have peace and stability on the Western part because of the growing interdependences in energy, commerce, migrations flows, terrorism and criminal activity (including drug trafficking).
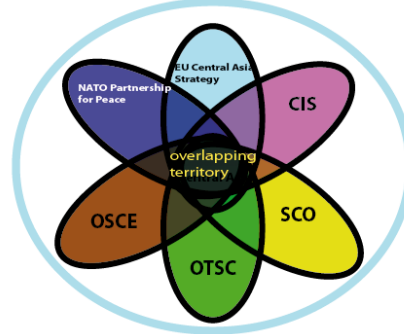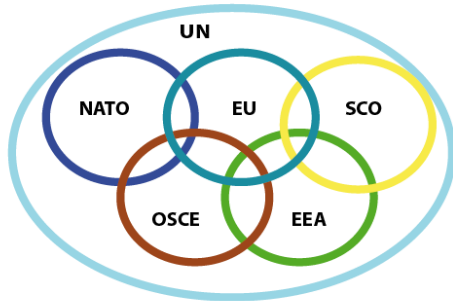
Figure 4

Overlapping Circles of World Stability and Peace :
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Conceptualization of a new doctrine of overlapping circles of security to promote synergies in the context of Multipolarity
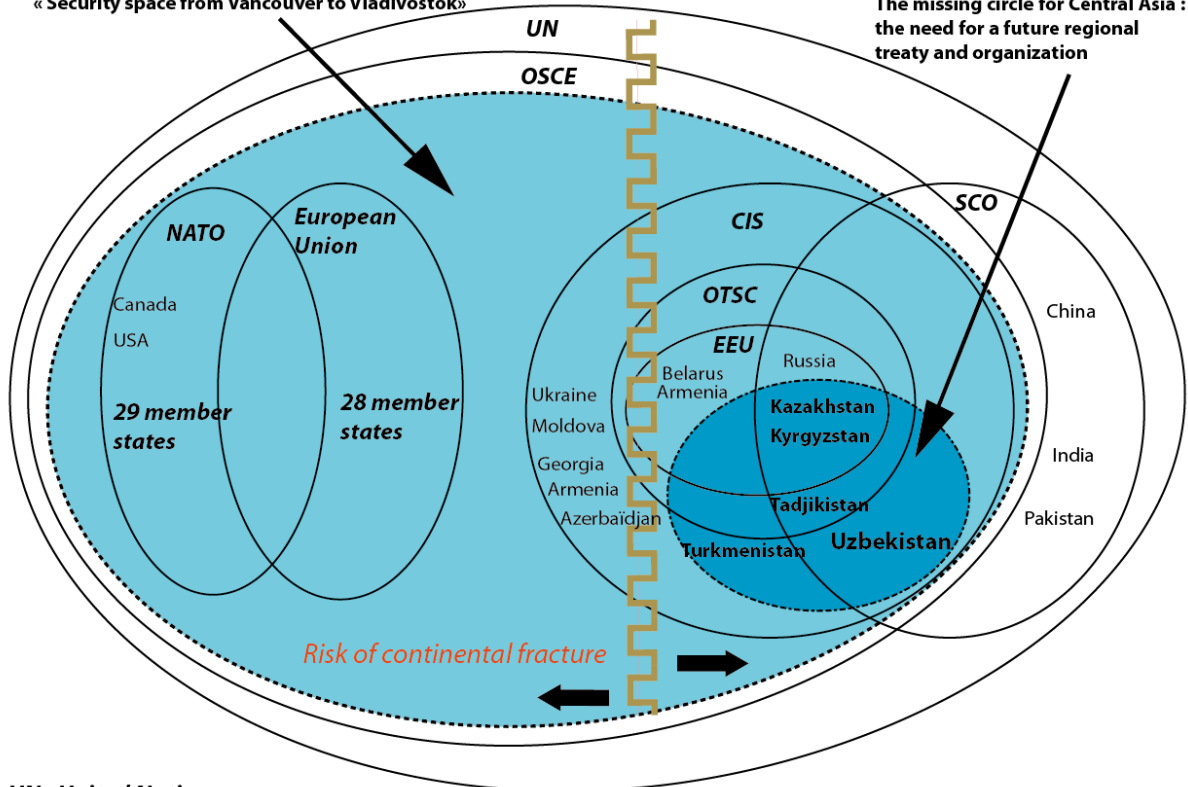
Olympic circles of Eurasian stability

The rose window of regional cooperation

Missing European circle : the need for a new European security Treaty with Eurasian reach « Security space from Vancouver to Vladivostok»

The missing circle for Central Asia : the need for a future regional treaty and organization

Risk of continental fracture

UN : United Nations
EU : European Union
NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OSCE : Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe
EEU : Eurasian Economic Union

SCO : Shanghai Cooperation organization
CSTO : Collective Security Treaty Organization
CIS : Community of Independant States
OIC : Organization of Islamist Cooperation

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